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Supporting desistance through prison education: an exploration of the contribution of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program^{TM} in three English prison-university partnerships

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Supporting desistance through prison education: an exploration of the contribution of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program™ in three English prison-university partnerships

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LLB LLM

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This qualitative study explored experiences of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program™ (hereafter Inside-Out). The research sampled twenty-two prison-based former Inside-Out students across three English prisons in the United Kingdom (U.K.) and an international sample of twenty-nine Inside-Out practitioners. The objectives of the research were: to interrogate the core claim of Inside-Out, that it will provide a transformative learning experience; to gain a deeper understanding of how course practitioners create a learning space for transformative learning to occur; and, to determine the extent of the transformation on U.K. Inside-Out prison-based students to establish whether there is a possible nexus between Inside-Out and desistance theory.

The research found that while only fourteen of twenty-two former 'inside' students declared that Inside-Out had been transformative for them, there were considerable personal and developmental benefits voiced by the entire sample, following their participation on the programme. The research concluded that sustained involvement in the programme through think tanks could prolong such benefits and contribute to desistance processes.

Glossary and List of Abbreviations

BAME   Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic.

Categorisation of Prisons   In the United Kingdom (hereafter U.K.), categorisations of prison indicate the level of security. Rule 7 of the Prison Rules for England and Wales is the governing legislation allowing for the classification of prisoners.

Desisters   The term 'desisters' is used to describe those engaging with the desistance process. Desistance literature is presented in the Chapter One for further context.

Facilitator/Instructor   For the purpose of the research, the terms 'facilitator' and 'instructor' are used as interchangeable terms to describe one who has been trained by the Inside-Out Center to deliver an Inside-Out course. Facilitation in the context of Inside-Out is the way in which the course is delivered and the way in which an Inside-Out class is managed.

Gatekeeper   For the purpose of this research, the term 'gatekeeper' is taken to mean one who is involved in the selection and recruitment process to determine suitability of interviewees. Those considered 'gatekeepers' include: the education and reducing reoffending staff in three prisons concerned; the prison Governors; prison staff; key holders; probation officers; and, supervisors.

Grade	To grade means to award a mark or result for educational achievement (for example, the grading of exam papers).
Incarcerated individual	The terms 'incarcerated individual' and 'formerly incarcerated individual' are used interchangeably with the terms 'prisoner' and 'former prisoner'.
Inside-Out	Inside-Out is an abbreviated form of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program™.
Inside student/ Inside participant	The terms, 'Inside participant' and 'Inside student' are used throughout the research to refer to Inside-Out students who have participated in the research.
Men and Women of Colour	While in the U.K. terms such as 'black', 'white', 'mixed race' were used by U.K. interviewees, these terms could be viewed as unacceptable and highly offensive in some parts of the United States of America (hereafter, U.S.) and so, the term, 'men and women of colour' is used in this thesis.
Participant	Participant is taken to mean a party which was interviewed during the course of the research.
Prison/Jail	The terms prison and jail are one and the same in the context of the U.K. It is noted that in the U.S. prisons and jails differ with the former housing those serving longer sentences (see Fuller, 2013).

Prison Officer   A prison officer in the U.K. is akin to a Correctional Officer in the United States. The terms are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

TA   Teaching Assistant.

Declaration

I am solely responsible for the work submitted in this thesis and certify that the work herein has not been previously submitted to Durham University or any other institution for a higher degree.

Statement of Copyright

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, thank you Professor Roger Smith (Department of Sociology) and Dr Catherine Turner (Durham Law School) for being my supervisors for the last two years. I could not have hoped for a more attentive supervisory team. I am so thankful to you for all you have done and I'm most grateful to you for your kindness throughout this process. Thanks also Dr Ivan Hill, as my initial supervisor you were instrumental in steering my PhD in the right direction and you have since been a constant support and an extraordinary friend, especially in my final year. It has been a privilege to work with all three of you - thank you for everything.

Sarah F Jackson I'm forever grateful to you. Thank you for being such a positive force and for always being in my corner.

Thank you to academics beyond Durham University who provided ongoing support. Professor Shadd Maruna, thank you for being a truly endless source of wisdom and inspiration, thank you for believing in me and thank you for first telling me about Inside-Out! Professor Rory O'Connell thank you for advising me before I left for Durham and thank you for always being there to listen. Thanks Dr David Honeywell, Dr Roxanna Fatemi-Dehaghani, Dr Shauna Page, Jo Murphy and Dr Terry Murphy for your friendship and valued advice.

Thank you to my best friends Diana Scott and Fiona O'Connell, I am indebted to you for all that you have done. Thank you David Young and Dr Sophie Doherty for reading and re-reading, your support and encouragement over the last few months has been incredible. Thank you to my friends in SASS and to everyone who checked in and listened to me talk non-stop about prisons, Karel, Hodge, Mezheb, Rachel, Aisling, Rispah, Megan, Melissa and Marty. Thank you Carol McKeown, Heather Morrison-Campalani and Caroline Malloy for keeping me level and focused. Thanks also to my former team in the Northern Ireland Assembly, Committee for Justice: Leanne Johnston, Alison Ferguson, Sinead Kelly and Roisin Donnelly for helping me during my first year and for approving (almost!) all of my leave requests.

Special thanks to Francesco Campanell. You have taught me so much and I know I'll be thanking you for years to come. *Everyone* should have a friend like you.

Communication protocols in a prison are understandably considered very significant and so, I thank all three prisons and partnering universities who openly communicated with me, granted access and enabled me to carry out this research, unobstructed. I am grateful to the prison Governors and prison gatekeepers for their generosity and the overwhelmingly positive and thankfully incident-free experiences I had across all three research sites.

Thank you Lori Pompa, the SCI Phoenix Think Tank, the HMP Frankland Think Tank and the fifty-one research participants for informing this work and making it possible.

Finally, I extend the greatest thanks of all to my family to whom I dedicate this PhD. My parents Billy and Carmel, my sisters Jennifer and Carol and my brother Michael. I could not have done this without your love, support and guidance – thank you.

Dedication

Do mo thuismitheoirí, Carmel agus Billy.

Tá an PhD seo, ar ndóigh, tiomnaithe daoibhse agus dár dteaghlach, Jennifer, Carol agus Michael. Bhí sibh riamh, agus beidh sibh i gcónaí, ar na teagascóirí is tábhachtaí agus is ábhartha i mo shaol. Go raibh maith agaibh as bhur gcríonnacht a roinnt, as an tacaíocht a thug agus a thugann sibh, agus as na rudaí tábhachtacha sa saol a theagasc dom. Threoraigh sibh mé ó thús go deireadh an phróisis seo. Dáiríre, ní thiocfadh liom seo a dhéanamh gan sibh.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND THESIS OVERVIEW

1.1. Introduction to Chapter One

The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program™ (hereafter, Inside-Out) is an educational prison-university partnership founded in 1997, in the U.S. by Lori Pompa of Temple University, Philadelphia. The scope of Inside-Out is international[1] and the first European partnership commenced in the U.K. with Durham University in 2014 (King, Measham and O'Brien, 2019). Inside-Out endeavours to provide "transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132) experiential learning, empowering students to think deeply and to critically, and crucially, question their position on issues of crime and justice (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). The objective of this research is to interrogate the claim that the design of Inside-Out provides experiential learning (see Davis and Roswell, 2013 and Pompa, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) and has a transformative effect on students (see Crabbe, 2013 and Shay, 2013).

Furthermore, this research aims to establish whether there is a nexus between Inside-Out and desistance theory. The term 'desistance' has been defined as, "the long-term abstinence from criminal behaviour among those for whom offending had become a pattern of behaviour" (McNeill *et al.*, 2012. p.3), "ceasing to do something" (Laub and Sampson, 2001, p.5), "a sustained *absence* of a certain type of event" (Maruna, 2001, p.17), and, "the process of ending a period of offending behaviour" (Farrall and Calverley, 2006, p.1). It has been broken into categories, such as "genuine desistance" and "false desistance" (see Laub and Sampson, 2001, p.6), and stages labelled as "primary desistance", "secondary desistance" (Maruna and Farrall, 2004, p. 174-5) and tertiary desistance (see McNeill, 2016a, see also Graham and McNeill, 2017). While there are definitional variances, as Maruna (2017, p.6) comments, "[a]t the heart of desistance research is a very simple idea: people can change". Inside-Out has been described by its creator as "deeply transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132), as change is therefore central to Inside-

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[1] A full list of Inside-Out Higher Education partners is available from the Inside-Out website: http://www.insideoutcenter.org/higher-education-partners.html.

Out's ethos, it is hypothesised that there may be a connection with desistance theory in that the programme may aid desisters and make a positive contribution to desistance pathways.

This introductory chapter begins by presenting the origins of Inside-Out, its aims and its pedagogical approach.[2] The chapter then explores desistance theory and presents the view that transformative learning pedagogies can contribute to desistance pathways thus, creating possible linkage with Inside-Out. The chapter concludes with a thesis outline and chapter summary.

1.2. Origins of Inside-Out

Pompa (2013b, p.128) recalls how Inside-Out began as a result of an organised prison visit with students studying corrections (i.e. studying prisons),

> *"We did the usual tour of the facility, followed by a conversation with a panel of men serving life there. The conversation was remarkable and went places that I had never experienced before."*

Describing discussions of "crime and justice, race and class, politics and economics" and the interplay between each, Pompa (2013b, p.128) observed that in under one hour, a "complex and nuanced" conversation had taken place. The remarks of a member of the panel, Paul, led to the subsequent development of his idea to consider facilitating more conversations over a semester, "as a class" (Pompa, 2013b, p.128). A curriculum was developed and, after the initial difficulty of gaining access to a prison site, the first Inside-Out class commenced in 1997. Inside-Out has continued to develop State and country-wide ever since, with the Inside-Out Center confirming programmes across thirty-four American states, six countries and three continents; it also advises that over thirty-five thousand students have either taken or are currently enrolled in Inside-Out and there are over nine-hundred-and-fifty trained instructors and thirty 'think tanks' comprised of former Inside-Out alum.[3]

The Inside-Out website reports that the first Inside-Out think tank was created in 2002, at State Correctional Institution (SCI) Graterford and the first 'Instructor

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[2] As a trained Inside-Out instructor, my own examples of programme design and exercise design are presented alongside reflections on the Inside-Out training. See Appendix 1 for the certificate provided by Inside-Out upon completion of the 2017 June/July training.

[3] This information is taken from the February 2019 infographic on the Inside-Out website, available at: http://www.insideoutcenter.org/PDFs_new/InfoGraphic_Feb2019.pdf.

Training' was held in 2004.[4] The intentions for the Instructor Training were to train participants to be 'instructors' (interchangeably used with the term 'facilitators' hereafter) able to develop and facilitate their own iterations of Inside-Out and effectively roll out the programme to different States and eventually, multiple countries. The Inside-Out Center later formed the National Steering Committee and National Research Committee in 2007. By 2008, Inside-Out had expanded and further centres were created throughout the U.S., the programme was later brought to Canada in 2011 (Pollack, 2016) and by 2014, both Australia and the U.K. had commenced courses (Martinovic *et al.*, 2017, 2018; and, King, Measham and O'Brien, 2019).

Pompa (2013a, p.24) has remarked that Inside-Out is "different from the idea of hands-on, engaged learning as a 'feel good' experience", that its outcomes are not "superficial", rather, the pedagogy "involves depth, direction, hard work, and a commitment to make change in the world". Pompa (2013a, p.13) contends that what has resulted is the development of 'normal' social engagement behind prison walls which has produced "unprecedented and unpredictable developments". Essentially, Inside-Out unites two 'groups' of students, one 'inside' group and one 'outside' group (Pompa, 2013a, 2013b). The aim of Inside-Out is to create a 'safe space', a community within a class of peers where everyone is equal and of the same value, collaborating regardless of racial, social, political and personal differences (Davis and Roswell, 2013). As Davis and Roswell (2013, p.3) note,

> *"Inside-Out begins with the assumption that all human beings - whether they reside behind bars or on the outside- have innate worth, a story to tell, experiences to learn from, perspectives that provide insight, and leadership to contribute to the community."*

Both groups meet weekly in a jail or prison over a set period of time with a view to learning a subject together (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). As Chapter Two will explore, institutions may differ when deciding on the length of a course for numerous reasons. These may include: the number of sessions the corresponding prison is prepared to commit to, given the resources needed to move students through the prison to the 'classroom'; whether university staff have the time and ability to run a longer or shorter course; and, access to prisons during certain times

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[4] All information pertaining to the history and development of Inside-Out is taken from the Inside-Out website available at: http://www.insideoutcenter.org/history-inside-out.html.

of the year (i.e. where there are scheduled prison lock-downs which may cause disruptions such as cancelled classes). Additionally, classes can vary in terms of the number of students and the balance may not always be equal between 'inside' and 'outside' students (see Martinovic *et al.*, 2018). There is an extensive list of reasons for this, but more common issues may include security clearance problems for 'outside' students and movement in the prison population for 'inside' students who may have to transfer to another facility, such as a higher or lower security prison, mid-course.

Inside-Out is perhaps best described by its creator,

> *"On one level, it is a class - though not an ordinary one. In this class, roles are intermingled: everyone is the teacher, everyone is the learner. The process of investigation and discovery is a communal enterprise. We explore together, we grapple together, we create new knowledge together - and we challenge one another to go deeper, always deeper"* (Pompa, 2013c, p.275).

Sessions are not taught in a 'traditional' sense, i.e. lecture-based (see Omelicheva and Avdeyeva, 2008, for a discussion of traditional teaching methods) in Inside-Out, as "the instructor serves as a facilitator, encouraging ongoing dialogue and collaborative work" (Pompa, 2013a, p.16) between what Davis and Roswell (2013, p.4) refer to as "two 'populations'" coming together to build one community. The educational approach of Inside-Out is rooted in critical pedagogy and draws from a number of pre-existing learning strategies (see Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). For example, Boyd (2013, p.81) comments on the work of bell hooks which highlights the way in which Inside-Out has been designed to embrace and empower students from various backgrounds but in particular, to empower students of colour. Inside-Out is also said to be influenced by Paulo Freire and the Freierian concept of dialogic teaching (see Pompa, 2013a and Maclaren, 2015). Freire's (1972) model suggests a form of teaching and learning where all participants enter into a dialogue as equals with mutual respect for one another; the extent to which Inside-Out can provide a truly Freierian model is a matter revisited in Chapter Two. Davis and Roswell (2013, p.4) note the influence of others on the Inside-Out pedagogy:

> *"Inside-Out's approach to the teacher's role, developed over 15 years and evolving, has great resonance with the works of Paulo Freire, Myles Horton, restorative justice and peace-building circles, and a long history of informal educational practices in prison settings.*"

The physical layout of the room is integral to creating a safe space in Inside-Out and a circular format is recommended (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b; Pompa, 2011). The aim is to create a space where thoughts can be expressed and debated without judgement with a view to generating new knowledge and better practices; the circle also serves as a visual statement of equality (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). Circular seating has become a widely used method of creating a 'safe space' and encouraging people to engage with one-another, and it is used extensively in conflict resolution and restorative justice practices (Morrison and Vaandering, 2012; and, Greig, 2000), peace building initiatives and addiction treatment group meetings (see Mäkelä *et al.,* 1996). The Inside-Out classroom adopts this method and is typically laid out in a circular format alternating 'inside' students and 'outside' students (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b; Pompa, 2013a, 2013b). As Larson (2013, p.64) notes, this classroom etiquette also echoes that of the "Aboriginal Seven Grandfather Teachings, (respect, love, bravery, humility, honesty, wisdom and truth), a holistic approach in keeping with the less formalized, Socratic nature of this experiential learning process."

1.2.1. Inside-Out stakeholders and benefits

The Inside-Out Center discusses the various 'stakeholders' in Inside-Out.[5] These consist of but are not limited to: 'inside' and 'outside' students; facilitators and teaching assistants (TAs); their university; the prison; and, the wider public (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). The programme carries various benefits for each stakeholder, for 'inside' students, the course provides an opportunity to share their knowledge and lived experience, creating an exchange of social and cultural capital. It could be said that from their vantage point, 'inside' students have first-hand experience of the criminal justice system, which could only be speculated upon by those from the outside; there is therefore a unique opportunity to harness cultural capital. This in turn may give 'inside' students a sense of agency and purpose in adopting such an important role within Inside-Out (Maclaren, 2015; Pollack, 2016). Thus, it is an educational experience unlike any other in prison, an opportunity to work with those on the outside, to engage with a university and to potentially obtain an accreditation towards a degree pathway. This will be discussed in greater detail in

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[5] Benefits to students are listed on the Inside-Out website:
http://www.insideoutcenter.org/students.html.

Chapter Three which explores the limitations of educational opportunities in U.K. prisons and the position of Inside-Out in prison education.

Furthermore, Inside-Out offers students the prospect of educating those from the 'outside' and challenging pre-conceived notions of prison, prison culture and incarcerated individuals (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). While one must remember that 'inside' students were not always in prison and therefore already have an 'outside' perspective and experience of both sides of the divide, the opportunity to engage with and educate 'outside' students by drawing on their own experiences can provide a unique and powerful learning experience. For many 'outside' students, Inside-Out will be their first contact with those in prison, it therefore provides an opportunity to confront any prejudices they may have and learn from the experiences of others. 'Outside' students will obtain experience of the prison environment and culture in addition to a visual insight into the criminal justice system which they otherwise may not have had.

Benefits to partnering prisons can be challenging to convey. It could be suggested that Inside-Out may generate positive media coverage (see for example BBC coverage of the Inside-Out programme at Durham University)[6] and potentially impact prison morale and prisoner/staff relations. It may also change the public perception of prisons, which are known for keeping a distance from researchers and external bodies (Reiter, 2014). However, whether a partnering prison is receptive to Inside-Out depends entirely on the nature of its relationship with the partnering university which can be fragile and easily jeopardised (Leon and Perez, 2019). A relationship of trust must be built between partnering institutions for any benefits to be derived from Inside-Out.[7]

Informed by existing pedagogical practices (discussed at 1.5), facilitators and TAs involved with Inside-Out adopt a different teaching strategy from the conventional, traditional lecture format (Omelicheva and Avdeyeva, 2008). Inside-Out

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[6] BBC coverage of Durham University's Inside-Out programme demonstrates how positive media coverage can be generated and potentially benefit a prisons public image, see https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tyne-35409927.
[7] The Inside-Out website provides testimony from contacts in several correctional facilities which have hosted Inside-Out: http://www.insideoutcenter.org/corrections-partners.html.

encourages teaching and learning through group discussions, echoing the holistic intentions of the programme, creating a mutually beneficial learning environment for both the educator and student (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). In terms of the benefits to the wider university, Inside-Out provides a learning experience that may appeal to future university applicants and also allows for universities to collaborate and share resources, to form working partnerships, research opportunities and establish inclusive and good practice.

1.2.2. Rules and Guidelines

Inside-Out suggests compliance with 'Rules of Inside-Out' and 'Rules of the Institution' relating to appropriate behaviour and appearance while participating in the class (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). The programme also recommends that participants should create their own 'Guidelines for Dialogue' (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a) and to abide by these at all times. Within the rules which more generally encourage students to be mindful and respectful of one another, there is a particular rule relating to contact. Further contact with 'inside' students must only be programmatic in nature, meaning that any contact with Inside-Out alumni which is not beneficial to the programme or related to the programme is not condoned (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a).[8] This can be problematic as some students may find it difficult to detach from the experience and want to maintain some form of contact with their 'inside' classmates. Acceptable contact could be in the form of a think tank, a recognised initiative and one which many students choose to form or join following their participation in an Inside-Out course (see Haverkate *et al.,* 2019; and, Soares, 2013).

However, it should be noted that not all students can join a think tank; there may be a number of logical reasons for this, but it is most likely that accommodating all Inside-Out alumni would be impractical in the prison setting due to the space and resources which would be required to manage a large group of people. Think tanks typically create their own Mission and Vision statements to give them a sense of purpose; they are a continuation of the Inside-Out class as they follow the same format and Guidelines for Dialogue (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). Inside-Out think

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[8] For further information, see the Inside-Out website in relation to 'What Inside-Out is not': http://www.insideoutcenter.org/not-inside-out.html

tanks have had global success with some influencing prison policies, others producing their own academic work (Haverkate *et al.,* 2019) and several participating in Inside-Out training sessions and workshops to educate future facilitators on the course and members of the local community on issues of crime and justice (Draus and Lempert, 2013; Soares, 2013). The first Inside-Out class at SCI Graterford, Philadelphia formed the 'Graterford Think Tank' (discussed at 1.2.3.) in 2002 which has been instrumental in shaping the Inside-Out training model (Pompa, 2013a, p.21).

1.2.3. The Graterford Inside-Out Think Tank

In its 'Welcome from the Graterford Inside-Out Think Tank' to new Inside-Out students, The Graterford Think Tank (2013) places particular emphasis on what it determines to be five core elements of the Inside-Out pedagogy. It states, "[c]rucial to the Inside-Out pedagogy is the powerful exchange that occurs between 'inside' and 'outside' students, noting that it is the "reciprocity and authenticity" which makes the programme unique (Graterford Think Tank, 2013, p.278).

Considering a methodology consisting of five core components, namely: dialogue, group process, facilitation, shared learning and perceived others, the Graterford Think Tank (2013, p.279) notes that the programme considers the "mixing and meshing" of both the individual and collective dialogue to be pivotal in empowering students and deepening their understanding of personal and greater societal issues. Through facilitated group processes where students are encouraged to respect each other as equals, the programme is designed to facilitate these conversations and foster critical thinking between students with a view to breaking down perceived barriers and creating a sense of "shared power" (Graterford Think Tank, 2013, p.279).

The Graterford Think Tank (2013, p.279) draws particular attention to the concept of 'othering' and the 'us versus them' mentality that some students may feel, noting that Inside-Out endeavours to make students aware of the potentially dehumanising nature of their language and encourages them to "move beyond normalized mental blocks, creating the possibility of learning in fuller and deeper ways". As section 1.3. will explain, one of the ways in which Inside-Out can

determine whether this aim has been achieved is through student evaluation of the course.

1.3. Evaluating the programme: student evaluations

Importantly, Pompa (2013a, p.16) notes, "Inside-Out is not a situation where those of us from the outside enter the prison to study the men or women on the inside; it is neither research nor voyeurism". In listening to each student speak, one can learn a lot about student perception and whether the course is having the intended effect, i.e. meeting the learning aims and objectives set out in the syllabus. Facilitators are encouraged to obtain student evaluation forms as the information gathered can potentially influence the content and delivery of future classes (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). However, one must remember that the classroom can be a pressured environment (see Weaver and Qi, 2005). Therefore it may be the case that there is a contradiction between what a student says in class and what they say in their reflective journals, anonymised written feedback, or indeed in the separately held sessions when they have had adequate time to think and when they are not under pressure to 'perform' in front of their peers.

The Inside-Out Center advises on-going evaluation of programmes, noting the importance in constantly reviewing material and strengthening each future course based on each facilitator experience and student feedback (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). The Center also advises that the staff on the course evaluate themselves. Staff self-evaluations may include subjects such as: what staff think worked well or did not work well; what staff could do differently; whether their facilitator style needs to be improved; what problems they encountered; and, what they could have done differently to mitigate risks. Obtaining feedback from TAs on the course is possibly just as valuable, as the role of a TA is to help the facilitator observe the class and provide support where it is needed. The TAs role in the classroom provides a different perspective and their feedback may offer a different solution to an issue raised. This is one of a number of subjects addressed during the Inside-Out Instructor Training discussed below.

1.4. Inside-Out Instructor Training

The Inside-Out Instructor training attempts to emulate the programme, although in a much shorter timeframe, to equip facilitators with all the tools necessary to turn this pedagogical approach into a transformative experience for all involved. The Inside-Out Center developed a training institute to educate future facilitators, with the first 'training' held in Philadelphia in 2004. The Center hosts a number of training events throughout the year with a view to training individuals who want to become facilitators on the course.

The purpose of the training programme is to educate each attendee on a student-centred pedagogical approach and to make a distinction between standard lecture-style teaching (i.e. where classes are more 'front-loaded' with the lecturer at the front dictating course content such as facts specific to exam topics) and facilitating a discussion (i.e. shaping a class-lead discussion). Training events are "designed to give trainees the experience of an Inside-Out classroom and prepare them to lead their own courses" (Boyd, 2013, p.80). The training programme brings potential facilitators together, seating them as if they were in an Inside-Out class (i.e. in a large circle). It takes place over a period of seven days during which participants will meet and engage with an Inside-Out think tank and experienced facilitators. During sixty hours of training, future facilitators are educated on every component of the programme, preparing them "to facilitate Inside-Out courses in their own disciplines, to establish and sustain functioning agreements between prisons and universities, and to pursue credit-bearing options for inside participants" (Davis and Roswell, 2013, p.3).

Participants are trained on: how to recruit 'inside' and 'outside' students; how to facilitate a class discussion; how to build a curriculum; how to maintain good relations with prison personnel and university colleagues; how to encourage student engagement; and, how to navigate problems or obstacles that one might encounter along the way. In addition to the practical elements of the training, instructors are provided with a comprehensive selection of reading materials to supplement and further inform their training sessions and futures as facilitators of the programme.

Figure 1: Author's photograph of the Training Room at the Inside-Out Instructor Training classroom in Philadelphia June-July 2017

At the end of the Instructor training, participants are invited to sign an 'Instructor Contract' which is a commitment to the Inside-Out Center of good conduct thereafter. The contract considers that good conduct consists of: the core values of the programme being upheld; commitment to following the criteria that constitutes an Inside-Out course; commitment to following the Student Contract; accrediting the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program where it is appropriate and necessary to do so (i.e. in publications where the programme is referred); and, commitment to respecting and communicating with other practitioners of the programme.

The application and screening process for entry onto the Inside-Out training programme consists of three parts: an application form, application payment and a telephone interview with the Executive Director and founder, Lori Pompa. The Inside-Out Center expects that instructors may need further support post-training. It attempts to combat potential knowledge gaps by providing on-going support in the forms of: "e-mail support; telephone consultation; review of the course

materials or activities; site visits; and, follow-up trainings, if needed" (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). Instructors can also avail of support from the wider Inside-Out Network via the international 'list-serv' which emails instructors *en masse* for advice and support in relation to the programme.

1.5. An introduction to the structure of Inside-Out

The programme is comprised of a number of pre-existing methodologies used to encourage student engagement and "break down the barriers that inhibit connection" (Daniel-Bey, 2013, p.74). These are discussed in-depth in Chapter Two, however, an overview of the components in Inside-Out is provided at this introductory stage in the thesis.

Inside-Out classes can take place in various types of spaces, for example, as this thesis discusses from Chapter Five onwards, some classes have taken place in prison chapels, libraries, prison workshops, auditoriums and smaller classrooms (see Bennallick *et al.,* 2019). The restrictive conditions of a prison can make it more of a challenge to create a functional and comfortable learning environment and so, a facilitator or TA must learn how to encourage a class discussion to grow and shape it into a learning experience. With this in mind, the facilitator and TA must work to achieve the best conditions for the group to have the optimum learning experience.

It is a challenge to facilitators to make sure the environment meets the basic needs of the students and fosters conditions needed for a successful, collaborative learning experience and equal opportunities for all learners involved (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). The product of essentially shifting the responsibility for conducting the class from the facilitator and TA to the students themselves creates a "shared responsibility for the quality and direction of the discussion" (Pompa, 2013c, p.267) and the result is that an unscripted debate develops organically between both groups. If a facilitator or TA fails to create a 'safe-space' the Inside-Out class may not have the same impact on the students involved.

As noted above (see 1.2.2) at the beginning of an Inside-Out course, students are encouraged to construct their own 'Guidelines for Dialogue' (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a) which outline how students will communicate with one-other. They are a

hallmark of Inside-Out which require the group to come to a consensus on what they deem to be acceptable rules for each-other to follow for the duration of the course. Entrusting students with the responsibility to develop and adhere to their own rules is one of the ways in which Inside-Out attempts to address the notion of power and control within the class (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). This sets the tone for the course and, once established, students progress to participate on icebreaker exercises.

1.5.1. Icebreaker exercises

Inside-Out employs a number of icebreaker exercises (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b) primarily used as a means of eradicating stereotypes. They are intended to break down the 'walls' between both groups of students, addressing pre-conceived notions and facilitating the "gradual building of trust" among the group (Turenne, 2013, p.127). To encourage group discussion and critical thinking prior to integrating course content, students are firstly introduced to the Alligator River Story (Appendix 2). As Chavez and Ge (2007, p.88) note, the Alligator River Story, "was originally designed to teach young children values clarification". It involves students reading a short story in which they must consider the culpability of each of the characters following their involvement in a situation. This is an interactive exercise which forces students to think about each other's choices and their respective rationale. The results may encourage students to change their initial order of characters and question their own rationale, based on having the opportunity to hear an alternative point of view from other students in the circle.

Inside-Out also uses the Wagon Wheel exercise which involves students forming two circles: one large circle and one smaller circle within (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). The students on the inner circle remain stationary however the 'outside' students rotate clockwise as timed, unfinished questions are posed to the group. As Shankman (2013, p.145) notes,

> "It is crucial that it be the outside students who sit in the stationary, inside circle. Were it the inside students sitting stationary, it could create the impression that the inside students are being made objects of the gaze of a group of tourists from the outside."

Examples of unfinished sentences may include: 'if I could have any superpower it would be…'; 'my favourite food as a child was…'; 'my funniest memory is…'; and, 'if

I could be an animal, I would be…' (see Heider, 2018 for further examples). That students are given a finite time to finish each sentence and engage with the person(s) opposite is significant for three reasons. Firstly, the exercise gives students a chance to develop their conversational skills and, while they may not always tell the truth, it is an opportunity to get to know something unusual and potentially authentic about one-another; the added measure of timing takes the pressure out of the situation if students are feeling uncomfortable or if they feel they cannot uphold the conversation; and finally, the exercise allows students to bond by acknowledging their commonalities rather than treating their inside or outside peers differently, or as 'others' (see Pinfari, 2019 for a discussion on 'othering').

The Wagon Wheel exercise is usually scheduled at the beginning of an Inside-Out course as a tool to encourage a lighter conversation in advance of more in-depth discussions about the course content (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). It serves as an example of Inside-Out's use of pre-existing methodologies which have been proven to be effective in other contexts to create a sense of comfort in difficult situations, for instance, in a study by Cummings *et al.,* (2004, p.290) into aggression in adolescent girls, the authors note,

> *"The next activity used a wagon wheel which comprised an inner and outer circle with the girls facing each other. The pairs talked for a few minutes about eight sentence prompts and then changed to a new partner for the next sentence prompt. Examples of sentence prompts included the following: what I like/dislike about being a girl, what I would change about being a girl, what I find hardest about being with my group of friends, how I show I feel comfortable in a group. This activity was followed by an open discussion about the difficulties of being a girl and being part of a group, both a peer group and a counselling group."*

In addition to the Wagon Wheel, Inside-Out also uses the Forced Choice exercise, a method used to encourage independent thought by posing two choices and asking students to opt for their preference, students are expected to physically move from one side of the room to the other (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). This exercise requires the group to respect one-another and behave appropriately and so, this will occur after the group has agreed its Guidelines for Dialogue (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). Examples of Forced Choice may include: would you rather drive a bicycle or a bus?; or, would you rather be the sun or the moon? While the discussion

may seem unrelated to the overall course content, the exercise can be a useful tool to integrate students. The exercise also serves as a tool to prepare students for discussions more pertinent to their course content. For example, on an Inside-Out course in Criminology on restorative justice, more pertinent questions could be: 'are perpetrators ever victims?; does restorative justice work?; which is better, prison or restorative justice?'. The exercise serves as an important segue into the deeper group discussions, laying the groundwork for students to engage at a deeper level having already built a degree of trust (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b) and paving the way for self-reflection and subsequent written journals.

1.5.2. Reflective writing

Inside-Out can be an accredited course where participants receive a qualification upon completion but, as Pompa and Crabbe (2004a) note, this is dependant on the institutions involved. Where Inside-Out is run by a University, the 'outside' students will often be accredited as it is a module which is part of their degree and results will contribute to an overall degree classification. However, in some instances, it has not always been possible to have the 'inside' students accredited.[9] The formal mode of assessment in an Inside-Out class is usually via reflective writing papers where students are encouraged to reflect on their experiences in class, their readings and their feelings. It is anticipated that students will learn from each-others' experiences as they reflect on the previous week's reading and the class discussions (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b).

Reflective writing papers provide an opportunity for students to speak freely, increasing participants' "capacity for critical inquiry" (Davis and Roswell, 2013, p.5). They may write about things they feel they cannot say in class and so, reflective papers can, in some cases, provide early feedback on the course to the facilitator and potentially impact the way in which the rest of the course is taught. Pompa (2013a, p.21) considers that the format of reflective writing assignments in an Inside-Out class should consist of "observations... integration of discussion... and personal reaction". She notes, "this format offers all participants the opportunity to use multiple dimensions of themselves in their papers, leading to a deeper

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[9] Further information in relation to accreditation is available from the Inside-Out website: http://www.insideoutcenter.org/FAQs.html

understanding of both the issues and the overall experience of the course" (Pompa, 2013a, p.21).

1.5.3. Group work

Throughout the course, students engage in large and small group exercises and project work and towards the end of the course, the class is split into smaller groups to present a project on a theme related to the subject area (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). Davis and Roswell (2013, p.3) note that the collaborative experiences of designing projects present students with an environment where they "are challenged to think through change strategies and explore their personal and collective potential as change agents". Considering the experiential learning methods above, Daniel-Bey (2013, p.75) suggests that these strategies are developed partly to return the feeling of openness which can in turn make learning fun while "at the same time maintaining a high level of educational rigor". An Inside-Out group project is "a practical application of course material" (Ryder and Carroll, 2018, p.39); it may be a short play, acted out by the group, it could be a game where the larger group is invited to participate or, it may be a presentation where each student has a designated role. Participants will later have an opportunity to perform a group project at the Inside-Out Closing Ceremony discussed below.

1.5.4. Closing ceremony

The closing ceremony is the concluding component of an Inside-Out course, providing an opportunity for students to perform a group project to a collection of peers and receive a certificate of course completion; essentially a closing ceremony celebrates Inside-Out students (Hilinski-Rosick and Blackmer, 2014) and "marks the achievements of the class" (Pompa, 2013a, p.15).

1.6. Creating an Inside-Out course: building a curriculum

In accordance with 'The Inside-Out Curriculum' (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a), Inside-Out courses can contain an average of eight to fifteen sessions. For the first, third and final classes, 'inside' and 'outside' students meet separately, this is intentional as it offers both groups an opportunity to ask questions, to get to know one another and to process the experience. The first class is designed to provide students with an overview of Inside-Out and to alleviate some of their concerns. At this introductory stage, it is important for students to understand they will only ever refer to each-other in an Inside-Out class by their first names; this is an essential measure used to safeguard both groups of students and to protect anonymity (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). This measure helps to prevent students from researching one-another and locating personal information such as details of convictions, family and living arrangements. The first class is also an opportunity for 'outside' students to sign a waiver to ensure they are aware of the risks associated with partaking in an 'experiential learning' course within a prison. The waiver is a means of safeguarding the individual as well as the university and prison (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a).

The Inside-Out model can be applied to any course content in any prison setting; *Figure 2* below uses the template contained in 'The Inside-Out Curriculum' (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a) and demonstrates how a framework for a ten-week course could be applied to a class on the themes of Identity and Culture; it includes the course objective and a suggested reading list.

1.6.1. Curriculum example – 'Identity and Culture'

Week	Class Focus - Identity and Culture	Separate ('Inside' and 'Outside' groups) or Combined (both groups together)
1	Orientation	Separate
2	Introduction	Combined
3	Debrief	Separate

3	Topic - What makes up a person's identity?	Combined
4	Topic - Flag Culture	Combined
5	Topic - The Northern Irish Identity	Combined
6	Topic - Identity and Culture in the Media	Combined
7	Group Project	Combined
8	Group Project	Combined
9	Group Project	Combined
10	Closing Ceremony	The combined closing ceremony is followed by a separate debrief with each group of students.

Figure 2: Author's own example of an Inside-Out course created for a Northern Irish prison

1.6.2. Course objective

This course explores the construct of 'identity'. Through group-dialogue, both groups of 'students' will have the opportunity to engage critically with themed literature. This course is designed to encourage students to think about the cultural and societal factors which may be influential in forming an identity.

1.6.3. Course readings materials

Week Three

What makes up a person's identity?   Clare, J., 'I am' (1840).

Henley, W.E., 'Invictus' (1875).

Kipling, R., 'If' (1895).

Week Four

Flag Culture   Bryan, D. (2018) 'The Material Value of Flags: Politics and Space in Northern Ireland'.

Week Five

The Northern Irish Identity	McNicholl, K., (2017) 'What exactly does it mean to be Northern Irish?' - The Irish Times.
	Garry, J., and McNicholl, K., (2015) 'Understanding the 'Northern Irish' Identity', Briefing Paper, Knowledge Exchange Seminar Series (KESS), Belfast.

Week Six

Identity and Culture in the Media	Gal, N., Shifman, L., and Kampf, Z., (2016) '"It Gets Better": Internet memes and the construction of collective identity.'

As explained above, the objective of this research is to interrogate the claim that Inside-Out provides "deeply transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132) experiential learning and establish whether there is a nexus with desistance theory. It is acknowledged that Inside-Out does not claim to have *any* association with desistance from crime however, the rationale for exploring this avenue of research is due to the reported outcomes of Inside-Out which indicate parallels with desistance theory; these are outlined below.

1.7. Considering a nexus between Inside-Out and Desistance Theory

Theories of desistance have progressed over the last thirty years and these developments will be discussed below, beginning with the age/crime curve (Moffit, 1993) before considering the so-called stages of desistance: primary, secondary (Maruna and Farrall, 2004) and tertiary (McNeill, 2016a); and, the position that desistance is best viewed as a process (see Burnett, 1992; Maruna, 1997 and 2001; Farrall, 2002; and McNeill, 2004). One of the earliest desistance studies commenting on criminal behavioural patterns over the life-course was published by Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck (1937) in their research which considered 1000 juvenile delinquents and their treatment in court and clinic. It found evidence that over the course of time, i.e. as one aged, their propensity to engage in criminal

activity decreased. The graph below (*Figure 3*) depicts an interpretation of the age/crime curve. As Moffit (1993, p.677) explains, "the solid line represents the known curve of crime over age. The arrows represent the duration of participation in antisocial behavior by individuals".
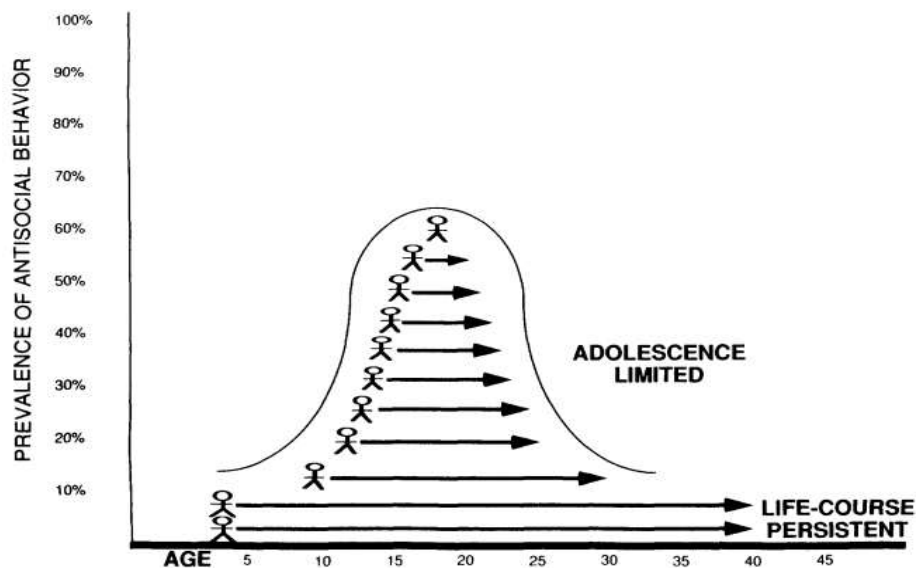
Figure 3: Age Crime Curve (Moffitt, 1993, p. 677)

Barry (2006, p.17) notes, "desistance is not an easily measurable phenomenon because of the difficulty of identifying when desistance has occurred" as such, there have been a number of approaches taken by researchers when trying to deduce how, when and why desistance transpires. While the relationship between age and crime has been the subject of much discussion (Loeber and Farrington, 2014), Maruna (2001, p.20) notes, "[t]here is little doubt among the research community today that the vast majority of delinquents and adult offenders reliably desist from offending behavior in later life". As indicated above, research has sought to view desistance in stages, such as primary, secondary and tertiary. As Maruna *et al.* (2004, p.274) clarify, there are at least two "distinguishable phases" in desistance theory, primary and secondary desistance.

However, in recent years, research has advanced and 'primary desistance' studies i.e. those concerned with short term 'lulls' in offending (see Bottoms et.al. 2004)

have to an extent become less informative than 'secondary desistance' studies, as Maruna *et al*., (2004, p.274) explain,

> "Because every deviant experiences a countless number of such pauses in the course of a criminal career, primary desistance would not be a matter of much theoretical interest. The focus of desistance research, instead, would be on secondary desistance: the movement from the behavior of non-offending to the assumption of the role or identity of a ''changed person''."

As McNeill (2009, p.26) clarifies, "secondary desistance is about ceasing to see yourself as an offender and finding a more positive identity; it is about successfully peeling off the criminal label that criminal justice systems are so effective at applying". Consider for example, Maruna (2001, p.7) and the concept of "self-transformation", that is, personality development and the individual experience of personal change. The objective of Maruna's (2001) research was "to understand the psychological mindset that seemed to best support efforts to "go straight" and maintain a desistance from crime" (Maruna, 2004, p.188). The research consisted of sixty-five participants varying in age, criminal records and race. There were fifty-five men and ten women and findings indicated that, over four years, participants were inclined to desist. Maruna (2001) suggested that to successfully desist from criminal behaviour, offenders (ex-offenders) must first make sense of their lives. Maruna (2001, p.7) noted that this "making sense" comes from a better understanding of one's "life story or self-narrative". Maruna (2001, p.7) discussing McAdam's theory of the 'life-story identity' states,

> "modern adults create this internalized life story - or personal myth - and reconstruction of this narrative, integrating one's perceived past, present, and anticipated future, is itself the process of identity development in adulthood".

Maruna (2001, p.7) therefore presents the argument that to desist from crime, "ex-offenders need to develop a coherent, prosocial identity for themselves" and crucially they also must understand their past and "why they are now not like that anymore". Thus, while there are studies of desistance that continue to consider the processes of change associated with aging (Kazemian, 2007), there is also research detailing the nuances in the desistance process.

A third term, 'tertiary desistance' has been added to the 'phases' of desistance by McNeill (2016a) and taken to mean the acknowledgement of others in relation to

behavioural change. However, as Graham and McNeill (2017, p.435) comment, "[s]ince the 2000s, desistance scholars have more commonly come to conceptualise and debate desistance as a process rather than an event or as the moment of crossing an arbitrary threshold". Research in the area has advanced and as Weaver and McNeill, (2015, p.95) argue "an aspiration and an expectation that better understandings of desistance can and should enable the development of better approaches to punishment, rehabilitation, and reintegration, and thus the creation of safer and fairer societies" underpins the increase in desistance research.

Whereas research suggests that desistance is an inherently individualised journey (see Burnett, 1992; Maruna, 1997 and 2001; and, Farrall, 2002), (for example, those who identify as 'desisters' may reduce the frequency of their offending, others may cease offending in all forms entirely and some may intermittently offend on their 'journey' to total cessation) it has more recently been argued that desistance should be viewed not as "an individual process or journey, but rather as a social movement" (Maruna, 2017, p.5). At surface level, there are parallels between Inside-Out's aims and objectives and desistance theory, these are sign-posted below and revisited in Chapter Eight in the discussion and context of the research findings.

1.7.1. Parallels between Inside-Out and Desistance Theory

As introduced above, Inside-Out endeavours to provide mutual, "deeply transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132) learning experiences. At a most basic level, the language used by Inside-Out equates to the same concept in desistance theory that "people can change" (Maruna, 2017, p.6) which seemingly draws a parallel. The transformation described by Inside-Out presents the notion that students attach meaning to their participation on the course implying that Inside-Out is a significant event, providing more than just an opportunity to work with those on the outside, to engage with a university and to gain an accreditation towards a degree pathway; this aligns with desistance theory, in particular, with McNeill (2004, p.429) who discusses the significance of "seizing… windows of opportunity",

> *"although desistance studies have revealed that certain life events (like securing employment or becoming a parent) can prompt reconsideration of a criminal career it appears that success in seizing such windows of opportunity depends on the subjective meanings that the individual concerned attaches to these life events."*

In relation to the pedagogical approach of Inside-Out, the programme's 'Guidelines for Dialogue' reverse the onus of responsibility onto the students of Inside-Out to develop and adhere to their own rules, rebalancing power and control within the class. An increase in responsibilities and what this means to an 'inside' student also aligns with theories of desistance suggesting propensity to desist increases with responsibility and identification as an 'adult'. Consider for example, Massoglia and Uggen's (2010) research into the identity of the persistent offender which argued that the construct of 'adulthood' was crucial in understanding why some offenders continued to offend while others did not. Their research indicated that those who continued to offend were less likely to identify as 'adults' and less likely to achieve the standard life goals such as employment, marriage and family which are associated with adulthood than other offenders of the same age meaning that age was not necessarily enough to establish whether or not an offender was likely to desist.

It has also been suggested of the Inside-Out pedagogy, that students "are challenged to think through change strategies and explore their personal and collective potential as change agents" (Davis and Roswell, 2013. p.3) thus modelling different behaviours through integration and collaboration in icebreakers, group exercises and projects. This too aligns with the notion of secondary desistance, specifically role-transition (see: Maruna, 2001; and, Giordano *et al.,* 2002) potentially connecting facets of Inside-Out's methodology with desistance. The added opportunity to continue Inside-Out and prolong its benefits in the long-term through think tank attendance indicates the possibility that there are aspects of the programme which resonate with theories of desistance and processes of change, this therefore creates a very real likelihood that there is a linkage between the two and across the stages of desistance theory. The objective of this research is to explore this linkage to understand whether Inside-Out could provide an opportunity to engage with or complement the desistance process however, it must be clarified that this research is not a desistance study.

1.8. Thesis objective and chapter overview

The thesis is comprised of eight chapters. This chapter has explored the origins of Inside-Out and provided an overview of the structure, associated benefits of participation and the core claims of the programme. It has considered, based on Inside-Out's claim of transformative learning, that there could be a nexus with desistance theory. Having discussed theories of desistance, it was suggested that whether a nexus exists is dependent on the extent of the post - Inside-Out transformation.

Chapter Two provides a literature review of Inside-Out. It explores and critiques the methodologies and development of the programme with a view to understanding the nature and extent of the so-called transformation which is central to the thesis. Chapter Two begins by presenting the literature relating to the transformative claims of the programme before discussing the way in which this has been and can be assessed. It then discusses the purpose and the value of the Inside-Out Instructor Training and sustained contact after the programme in the form of Inside-Out think tanks. The chapter highlights emerging questions following the literature review.

Chapter Three furthers the discussion of the value of Inside-Out, positioning the programme within Higher Education and specifically, prison education in the U.K. It begins by providing the context to education in the criminal justice system and subsequently uses Dame Sally Coates' (2016) review of prison education as a basis for a wider discussion of the developments in prison education in the U.K and the need for and value of prison-university partnerships. It considers a number of alternatives to Inside-Out and the way in which prison-university partnerships can be evaluated. The chapter concludes with emerging questions to guide the research.

Chapter Four explores the methodological framework needed to address the research questions created in response to Chapter Two and Chapter Three. It presents the methods used, the rationale for opting for a qualitative approach, and the limitations of the research.

Chapter Five is the first of three data chapters and presents the research findings from inside students in relation to their experiences of Inside-Out in the U.K. Inferences are drawn from student responses as to the extent of their experiences of transformation following participation in Inside-Out. Chapter Six follows, expanding on experiences of think tank members in the U.K. Core Inside-Out claims are mapped onto the research with a view to clarifying whether the experiences of those in the U.K. equate to the claims of Inside-Out literature. Chapter Seven then presents the views of the international sample of facilitators and TAs to gain an insight into variances in programme delivery and a thorough understanding of how the Inside-Out methodology promotes transformative learning and a potential step towards desistance.

Chapter Eight is the final chapter of the thesis and forms a discussion and analysis of the research findings. It considers responses from the twenty-two 'inside' students across all three case studies and the views of twenty-nine international facilitators and TAs, presenting a discussion of the key elements of Inside-Out and how they may contribute to transformation and desistance. It provides unequivocal links between participation on Inside-Out and desistance theory. It argues that sustained involvement with appropriately operated Inside-Out think tanks can best support transformation and desistance processes. The research concludes with a summary of findings and proposed recommendations for prison education in the U.K.

CHAPTER TWO: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE INSIDE-OUT PRISON EXCHANGE PROGRAM™

2.1. Introduction to Chapter Two

It has been said that Inside-Out is "an educational experience so structured that it almost literally teaches itself" (Butin, D., 2013, p.ix). As discussed in Chapter One, this reportedly "powerful model" of "transformative education" (Butin, D., 2013, p.x) consists of a combination of pre-existing teaching strategies. These strategies are intended to provide dialogic learning in a circular setting, where "everyone is equal – with an equal voice and an equal stake in the learning process" (Pompa, 2013a, p.16). Whereas Chapter One explored the origins of Inside-Out, providing an insight into the structure of the programme, this chapter critically reviews the Inside-Out literature. The objectives are: to understand the benefit(s) of the "dialogic interaction" (Pompa, 2013a, p.24) between students; highlight key claims in relation to the perceived impact of the programme; and, locate and critique the data supporting the claim that Inside-Out is a transformative learning experience.

As discussed in Chapter One (see 1.2), Inside-Out is not taught in a 'traditional' way (see Omelicheva and Avdeyeva, 2008), opting instead for a series of facilitated discussions aimed at encouraging a dynamic partnership (Pompa, 2013a, p.13). The model is "rooted in reciprocity, dialogue, and collaboration" (Davis and Roswell, 2013, p.2) and, stemming from experiences of this "blended classroom" (Van Gundy *et al.,* 2013, p.190) are student and staff testimony sounding the benefits of the programme (see Spencer *et al.,* 2019; Reitenauer, 2018). The chapter begins by examining the Inside-Out model and the literature relating to its structure, style and delivery. Experiences of Inside-Out are explored in order to understand the nature of the transformative claims of the programme. The chapter then discusses the way in which facilitators are trained to deliver Inside-Out and whether this has an impact on the learning outcomes for students and the overall transformative effect of the programme. The scope of Inside-Out is subsequently explored and it is acknowledged that sustained, regular association with the programme over a longer period of time through participation on Inside-Out think tanks may be a way of prolonging the benefits of Inside-Out. It is argued that this could lead to

transformative outcomes. The chapter concludes with questions emerging from the literature review and a chapter summary.

2.2. Creating conditions for transformation

The circular arrangement of Inside-Out is aimed at integrating the 'inside' and 'outside' students to encourage them to work as one cohesive group in a productive learning environment where there is shared power (Pompa, 2013a). As Pompa (2013a, p.17) notes "[w]hen students take class together as equals, borders disintegrate and barriers recede". This concept of breaking down walls is at the very core of Inside-Out and the need to achieve this is highlighted by Harris (2013, p.54) who explains the fundamentally different perspectives both groups of students may have,

> *"People who are incarcerated are not unfamiliar with popular stereotypes about them and this awareness may lead to a fear that the outside college students coming in will be aligned with those they perceive as being out to wreak vengeance on them. Alternatively, inside students may come to the classes believing that the outside students view them mainly as curiosities or objects to study."*

This is further evidenced in the literature by Durán and Strikland (2017, p.11) who reflect on an Inside-Out experience,

> *"External participants arrived with these ideas, partly because of what we heard when we mentioned that we would attend a course inside the prison: 'Really? But there are only drug dealers, kidnappers and murderers there!', 'They are all highly dangerous criminals'."*

Durán and Strikland (2017, p.11) also commented that inside students expressed preconceptions,

> *"They said that at the beginning they thought that the university students, especially Criminology students, had joined the course in order to "study them as criminals."*

However, the opportunity to challenge preconceived notions through participation in Inside-Out resulted in a "significant change" (Durán and Strikland, 2017, p.12) in students. In order to understand the effects of Inside-Out, the model and its components must firstly be discussed.

Each component of Inside-Out has a purpose and a place within the methodology; for example, icebreaker exercises are used to challenge stereotypes from the

outset (Carines, 2013, p.84). Soares (2013, p.253) considers the significance of the icebreaker exercises at the beginning of Inside-Out,

> *"I see now how appropriate it is that Inside-Out opens its first class with a circle. Just as our lives begin in a perfect little circle, a single cell that holds within it infinite potential, that first wagon wheel exercise ignites a spark of intellectual life that enlivens every successful inside-Out class."*

Icebreakers serve to draw out commonalities between students and, as Harris (2013, p.57) explains, they are useful when "[d]eveloping an atmosphere of trust". This is a particularly helpful strategy prior to embarking on group-work and helps to create the conditions necessary for "for intellectual, emotional, and academic liberation" (Butin,G.W., 2013, p,94).

However, Harris (2013, p.55) also makes clear that Inside-Out classes "do significantly more than shatter stereotypes", explaining that "Inside-Out crosses physical walls and breaks down psychological ones" (Harris, 2013, p.57). She notes that the space created for critical thought allows for "authentic questions" (Harris, 2013 p.55) to emerge and meaningful discussions to follow. As Pompa (2013a, p.18) comments, "it is an experience through which people speak their lives, by the simple yet profound act of being together in an environment of mutual respect, dignity and trust". According to Pompa (2013a, p.19) the objective is to provide a "framework" for students to work within and a "space" for diverse, dynamic and integrated debate. This can result in what could be described as *untraditional* learning outcomes, for example, in her discussion of the methodology of Inside-Out, Turenne (2013, p.121) highlights the theme of authenticity noting that,

> *"something about the Inside-Out model offers people who would not normally be in the same room with each other the resolve to be their best - and perhaps their truest – human selves."*

Similarly, Sayre (2018, p.593) comments on the development of new self-perspectives in students,

> *"This pedagogical approach also encourages students' to gain new perspectives on themselves, perhaps a form of self-recognition."*

A possible explanation for this could be the way in which students are encouraged and allowed to express themselves within the circle and in "alternative spaces" (Harkins, 2013, p.193). Hyatt (2009, p.24) has furthered this point suggesting that

even the choice of student assignments contributes in a significant way to the learning environment,

> *"The pedagogical strategies developed by the founder and national director of Inside-Out, Lori Pompa, and by the assistant national director, Melissa Crabbe, emphasize using assignments that foster the kind of egalitarian environment that is an essential value of Inside-Out."*

However, it is not explicitly clear in the literature what part of the design of Inside-Out gives way to a transformative learning experience.

Harris (2013, p.61) presents a core claim in the Inside-Out literature explaining what the Inside-Out pedagogy can achieve,

> *"Inside-Out is not the only means for exposing deeply seated myths and ideologies that underlie the fissures that divide people in our society, or for generating belief in the real possibilities for creating a better future, but it is an extremely potent and accessible one. It makes a powerful contribution by lifting the veil of ignorance, building connections and community, and engendering hope and empowerment."*

This claim has been upheld by Follett and Rodger (2013, p.132) who comment on the 'Diversity, Marginalization, Oppression' class taken at Wilfrid Laurier University, Ontario which adopted the Inside-Out framework. In their discussion they remark:

> *"[w]e remember thinking that the course would feel risky or touchy, and we worried that it would not be possible to talk openly about diversity and oppression with people who were themselves "oppressed."*

They observed that challenging these assumptions was part of Inside-Out and what one instructor, Shoshana Pollack, described as 'trusting the process.' Analysing the Inside-Out experience through a feminist lens, Follett and Roger (2013, p.132) provide an insight into the use of space, discussing the 'traditional' classroom and the "illusion of safe space",

> *"Feminism was not always welcome in the MSW program on campus, however, and I spent a lot of time establishing my feminism in the room, learning when to speak up, learning when to share my feminist perspective, and also negotiating when to keep quiet."*

They subsequently compared the 'traditional' classroom to the Inside-Out classroom,

> *"Our Inside-Out classroom, by contrast, was facilitated, rather than taught. We were encouraged to respond, not just to course material, but also to each other."* (Follett and Roger, 2013, p. 132)

Follett and Roger (2013, p.132) presented the view that Inside-Out offered an authentic experience, allowing for diversity, debate, disagreement and difficult conversations. Noting that in comparison to their traditional classroom experiences, the "space was a safe space" where there was 'freedom' to speak:

> *"my feminist perspective was deepened in an environment where I did not have to temper my opinions or deal with the commonly held belief that feminism was pure anger."* (Follett and Roger, 2013, p. 133)

The authors also commented that Inside-Out resulted in,

> *"a deeper perspective on the power of assumption… the process of relationship building, and the intersectional complexities of life, experience, and feminism."* (Follett and Roger, 2013, p.134)

In an Inside-Out class, while students may not always tell their [back]story, they do present their thoughts in group discussions which can lead to relationship building as students may bond over their commonalities. This is therefore demonstrative of the reach of Inside-Out, indicating that it is more than an opportunity for intellectual or academic growth, it is potentially a pathway to more positive social interactions and emotional growth. Link (2016) furthers this point, discussing the planning and implementation of an Inside-Out course entitled, 'Myths and Realities of Crime and Criminal Justice.' Link's (2016, p.50) reflections on her Inside-Out experience revealed that "the course allows students to examine their life experiences in a different context and thus grow as individuals and scholars", further commenting:

> *"Not only do inside students leave the class enlightened and more critically aware, they also leave knowing that at least some people on the outside are actively involved in improving the current system of criminal justice. As an added benefit, they might receive information on job opportunities to which they would not otherwise have access."* (Link, 2016, p.52)

In establishing the 'space' referred to by Pompa (2013a), students feel 'free' to express their own points of view without fearing the judgement of others. It has further been argued that creating space to integrate and have discussions or debates where differences of opinion are encouraged, allows participants to see themselves as "fully human" (Turenne, 2013, p.123). Davis and Roswell (2013, p.3) consider the view that through this engagement, everyone involved in the class has equal value and something to contribute regardless of their background or levels of educational achievement:

> *"Inside-Out begins with the assumption that all human beings - whether they reside behind bars or on the outside – have innate worth, a story to tell, experiences to learn from, perspectives that provide insight, and leadership to contribute to the community."*

Whereas prison education evaluations in the U.K. typically focus on levels of academic achievement (see, 3.3.1), and measure success by numbers, i.e. attendance and results, the personal impact of prison education is not viewed as an outcome that matters. This highlights the need to qualitatively assess prison education because these alleged outcomes speak to the rehabilitative purpose of U.K. prison education and this information cannot be deduced or inferred from the current statistics. This is discussed further in Chapter Three.

In addition to the expected learning outcomes from the programme, literature also suggests further benefits of the programme because of the opportunity for all members of the class to educate one-another. In reallocating the role of 'teacher', there is a chance to harness social capital and in the process, empower students, giving them a sense of purpose they may otherwise not have. Butin (G.W., 2013, p.95) argues that by shifting the focus from the educator to the learner and by confronting differences instead using them as "as a source of synergy", the pedagogy of Inside-Out not only empowers students but creates the "conditions of possibility for intellectual, emotional, and academic liberation". As Turenne (2013, p.122) notes, students are often "unaccustomed to being stretched beyond their comfort zones or to experiencing the tension that can lead to growth" and one of the ways in which students are challenged is when they are obliged to take on the role of 'educator' or 'teacher', looking to themselves and each-other for answers. Pompa (2004, p.28) explains,

> *"This perspective takes the focus off the instructor as receptacle and dispenser of knowledge, challenging learners to take responsibility for their own and each other's education. Through a participatory methodology, theoretical knowledge is enhanced in ways that are difficult to replicate through a solely didactic pedagogy."*

This instils the belief in students that they have cultural capital, that is, the experience to be the educators in the room and control of the direction of group discussion. Moreover, it further highlights positive outcomes which have not been assessed in U.K. annual reviews of prison education (discussed further at 3.3.1).

As Pompa (2013a, p.19) notes:

"In shifting the focus from the passive acquisition of knowledge to a fully integrated, dynamic process of discovery, the essential ingredient is participatory dialogue. Through both small group interaction and large group discussion, students grapple with issues in a constructive dialogic fashion."

The result of this style of facilitated learning is that it can readdress the balance of power in the classroom, encourage leadership and potentially serve as an important learning experience unlike any traditional or conventional educational approach. It could also be said that widening the scope of assessment of U.K. based prison education to include the personal impact of Inside-Out and other prison-university partnerships, would result in a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of prison education and potentially effect positive change in educational delivery.

The literature presents a picture of a safe space where students are 'free' to have an opinion different than the person next to them. The authenticity Inside-Out generates therefore allows students to consider multiple 'right answers' from the group rather than just the opinion of one teacher as would be the case in a 'traditional' classroom. This ultimately leads to a deepening of understanding of the subject matter and a more nuanced understanding of individuals, their opinions, feelings and social interaction. It could therefore be said that the creation of a safe space fosters transformative learning. However, as the next section outlines, evaluating the programme is not, and has not been, a straight-forward process. As such, it is difficult to discern the difference between parts of the programme which are beneficial from those which are not, making it a challenge to develop a best practice or a blueprint for transformative learning.

2.3. Assessing the impact of Inside-Out

Assessing Inside-Out is inherently problematic as literature suggests the success of the programme lies in the personal impact it has had on individuals rather than academic achievement. As Bumiller (2013, p.178) notes,

> *"There is another reason to reflect more seriously about the meaning of these accounts. While they attest to the significance and the often-inspirational quality of the course experience, they tell us little about the dynamic process in a classroom that produce a paradigm shift in students' thinking about crime and social justice."*

Bumiller (2013) considers the nature of boundaries within the two seemingly opposing institutions coming together in an Inside-Out class, noting that assumptions of freedom and restriction are at the core of Inside-Out. Furthermore, Bumiller (2013, p.179) acknowledges that Inside-Out instructors "work within and between two highly bureaucratized organisations". Bumiller (2013, p.179) suggests:

> *"The ideal of transformational learning might be better understood by clarifying how the university and the prison represent bounded institutions, while at the same time exhibiting many of the same aspects of institutionalized power and restraints on citizen action."*

However, there are studies on Inside-Out which have attempted to capture the effects of the programme, although interpretations of the term 'transformational' are not consistent or the same. Allred (2009, p.242) in a mixed-methods study, assessed three features of Inside-Out: "the course location (context), structure (e.g. ice breaker activities, small group discussion, large group brainstorming sessions, etc.), content (e.g., nature of questions, precise topics of discussion), and daily required readings".

Allred's (2009) research concerned week four of a fifteen-week course in a county jail which adopted the Inside-Out model.[10] The data included reflective essays based on the fourth session and a questionnaire used to gauge the importance of "the reading, content and structure" (Allred, 2009, p. 245). Allred (2009, p.254) discovered that participants found the structure of the course to have the greatest educative value (followed by content and readings) and that responses between

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[10] This would have been during the second combined class (i.e. where both groups returned to the jail for a joint session).

'inside' and 'outside' students were similar.[11] Allred's (2009) findings suggest that the structure of the programme (i.e. the exercises, the practical and physical elements) causes a deepening of learning that students acknowledge and rate more highly than the content of the course and the required weekly readings which are, arguably, more in-line with traditional teaching. It could therefore be said that the experiential element of the course had a greater impact on the students than the traditional components of the class.

In a later study, Allred *et al.* (2013) measured shifts in student's self-efficacy within prison-based courses which used the Inside–Out model. They noted that self-efficacy is a "socially created propensity to view oneself as capable of responding to a range of life contingencies" (Allred *et.al.*, 2013, p.211). Allred *et al.* (2013) considered self-efficacy at two different stages in time (Time 1 and Time 2). They hypothesised that at Time 1, self-efficacy levels would "be lower among inside students compared with levels among outside students" and that at Time 2, levels of self-efficacy would have increased from Time 1 for all students (Allred *et al.* 2013, p.218). Allred *et al.* (2013, p.218) considered that there were several elements of the Inside-Out pedagogy that related to self-efficacy noting that the programme provided:

> *"…powerful opportunities for direct personal successes and observing others engaging in accomplishments (i.e., vicarious experiences of success); self-regulatory expectations and benefits that accrue by self-awareness of compliance (e.g., helping create and sustain rules of class engagement); opportunities to display and when necessary improve academic skills via graded course components (e.g., critical analysis of weekly readings, writing assignments that integrate observations, course readings, and personal reflections); and opportunities for students to make cognitive connections across the seemingly diverse tasks and situations (e.g., integrating substantive material effectively in spoken and written exercises)."*

Using Schwarzer and Jerusalem's self-efficacy scale which is used to ascertain people's "belief in their own ability to cope with daily hassles as well as to adapt

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[11] Allred (2009) noted the limitations of this study however, based on a point during the course rather than at the end of the course means that different results may have occurred otherwise. At the fourth or fifth week, students deemed the class structure to be the most important component of the three they were questioned on, but this may have changed ten weeks later when they had finished the course. While the author did include some final papers from the end of course to demonstrate this was not the case, the sample size could not be said to reflect the views of the whole sample of students commenting on the impact at the fourth week mark.

after experiencing stressful life events" (Allred *et al.*, 2013, p.222) it was found that although 'inside' students experienced lower self-efficacy than their 'outside' student counterparts at the beginning of the course, by the end of the course, levels of self-efficacy in 'inside' students had increased. In this sample, the 'outside' student's self-efficacy levels remained constant. One could deduce from these results that participation on the Inside-Out programme did have a transformative impact although seemingly only notably on the 'inside' students.

Furthermore, in their evaluation of the impact of Inside-Out on 'outside' students, Hilinski-Rosick *et al.* (2014) analysed attitudes of "punitiveness and empathy among university students participating in the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program" (p.389). Hilinski-Rosick *et al.* (2014) sampled 151 reflective papers from 'outside' students from four sections of the Inside-Out class over two years and found, through thematic analysis in four areas - "observations, analysis and integration, and reactions" (p.389), papers indicated "that the course had a profound impact on the students across semesters" (p.390).

However, as Davis and Roswell (2013, p.8) note, "for transformation to matter, it needs to persist". While gauging the impact of a programme which prides itself on educating people on what it is not i.e., an opportunity to study 'inside' students, can be problematic, in order to know the effectiveness of a programme, one must assess and evaluate the output based on evidence from those it serves.

While it is the intention of Inside-Out to skill participants in facilitation (Boyd, 2013) through its Instructor Training, introduced in Chapter One (see, 1.4.) there will always be a chance that the programme is not delivered as intended in every iteration. The Inside-Out Instructor Training is discussed in the following section to gain an insight into what Inside-Out is attempting to achieve and how it prepares facilitators to deliver a transformative learning experience.

2.4. Inside-Out Instructor Training: learning the art of facilitation

The scene of the Inside-Out Instructor Training is illustrated by Belcher (2018, p.3),

> *"The training to become an Inside-Out instructor is intense. Twenty-or-so of us spent a week together in eastern Pennsylvania, splitting our time between a Quaker retreat center and a maximum-security state penitentiary. Our guides and instructors were the men of "The Think Tank," many of whom have been instrumental in the founding of the Inside-Out program."*

Pompa (2013a, p.14) considers that in Inside-Out, the role of the instructor is "to call forth, with subtlety and grace, the choices of those in the class, through a dialogic exchange among equals" and the Inside-Out training is designed to teach participants how to perform this role and equip future instructors for successful implementation of the programme (Van Gundy *et al.,* 2013, p.190). According to Boyd (2013, p.80) Inside-Out training opportunities "are designed to give trainees the experience of an Inside-Out classroom and prepare them to lead their own courses, and we all take turns teaching and learning, as we evolve individually". This section considers how the Inside-Out instructor training prepares instructors (facilitators) to deliver a transformative learning experience.

In relation to the admittance onto the Inside-Out Instructor Training, while there is a wealth of information on the programme's website, there are no official interview guidelines provided and there is no direction on what exactly is being assessed and how (i.e. on what scale or mark scheme you are being judged and selected against other applicants). To get to the interview stage of the application process, one does not need to be a professor or hold a PhD – the Inside-Out website notes that there is no necessity to have been involved in Higher Education to benefit from the training institute.

Judging eligibility in this way could be seen as injudicious due to the nature of the work post-training. There is no pre-assessment or expectation of one's competency as a practitioner of Higher Education or suitability to deliver a course in a prison and there is no qualification upon completion of the training or evaluation to assess post-training competency. Furthermore, the matter of competency does not align with practices used to assess ability to be a Higher Education practitioner in the U.K. In the U.K., the Higher Education Academy manages and leads "the development

of the U.K. Professional Standards Framework (UKPSF), a nationally-recognised framework for benchmarking success within HE teaching and learning support".[12]

There are four types of qualification awarded based on the level of competency one can evidence and demonstrate: Associate Fellowship (AFHEA); Fellowship (FHEA); Senior Fellowship (SFHEA); and, Principal Fellowship (PFHEA). An increasing number of universities are in partnership with the Higher Education Academy which ensures those involved in delivering educational programmes are demonstrating an acceptable, accredited level of competency by an official *bonafide* body.

Furthermore, as detailed above, the literature reveals that feedback from participants relates to their feelings of transformation rather than their understanding of how to apply the Inside-Out pedagogy. The focus is on the holistic or therapeutic outcome rather than the educative value of the training. This raises two important questions: to what extent is the training truly transmitting a Freirean pedagogy?; and, to what extent are trainers delivering this pedagogy?

To address these questions, one must consult the literature relating to the Inside-Out Instructor Training. Davis and Roswell (2013, p.xiv) claim that "[e]very one of the hundreds of individuals who have attended an Instructor Training has benefited from the wisdom and counsel of trainers in the Graterford Think Tank, the Theory Group in Michigan, ACE in Oregon or the Walls to Bridges Collective in Ontario". However, there is an ample body of research questioning and to some extent denouncing the validity of this form of evaluation (see, for example: Carter and Dunning, 2008; Dunning *et al.,* 2004; Dunning *et al.,* 2003). The nature of Inside-Out training is to provide an intense, condensed experience of the Inside-Out programme in the space of a week – given the emotional toll this experience can take on participants, self-reported evaluations may be unreliable. It may take many months to fully process the nature of the experiences the training programme provides, for example: exposure to a high-security prison in which participants may not have experience; participation in reflective writing which can be extremely emotional; and, integration and engagement with a diverse group of learners

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[12] For further information in relation to the Higher Education Academy, see https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/guidance/teaching-and-learning/ukpsf.

potentially in a country or state in which participants are unfamiliar. The vulnerability of participants and propensity to 'people please' with positive evaluation post-training must be acknowledged in-line with pre-existing literature on self-evaluation. It could be argued that, in light of this, there is a need for Continued Professional Development[13] (CPD) and longitudinal evaluations.

However, Pompa (2013b, p.131) considers the value of the trainings,

> "These trainings have become a core function of our program. Given the complexity of what happens in an Inside-Out class, we find it crucial for instructors interested in taking on this challenge to participate in a comprehensive training institute. The weeklong program covers the full gamut of issues required for one to be adequately prepared to facilitate these blended classes."

Indeed, academics who have participated in the Instructor Training have emphasised its value. See for example Osterman and Zampini's (2017) reflections[14] on the Inside-Out training and their comments on the creation and use of the group space,

> "While challenging others can be deceivingly easy at times, challenging yourself is one of the toughest of tasks. But it is also hugely rewarding. And this is exactly what this space allowed us to do. Going in with a somewhat sceptical mind, we soon found ourselves challenged in completely new ways, which was nothing less than powerful. Giving ourselves a chance to participate and question our own thinking, we started to see the power of the methodology in action."

In addition, Boyd (2013, p.81) considers the skill set provided during the training,

> "As we gain more clarity about who we are, we begin to view ourselves as well as others as essential parts of this bigger picture. This is part of the skill-set that the instructor training provides: together, we discover in a new way that, for those we encounter in the classrooms to be fully engaged, the educator must be fully engaged, as well."

Belcher (2018, p2) also comments on the transformative impact of the training noting:

> "As the teacher, facilitator, and witness to student learning, I am also renewed in the process. It is not an overstatement to say that we all are transformed by the experience we share in our eleven short weeks together. We all get a 'fresh start'."

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[13] For further information relating to Continued Professional Development, see: https://cpduk.co.uk/.

[14] Full blog accessible at https://www.prisonerseducation.org.uk/case-studies/reflections-from-Inside-Out-training.

Furthermore, Davis and Roswell (2013, p.4) note that "Inside-Out's emphasis on teacher trainings helps to ship and integrate community engagement more fully into academic experience". Others have indicated how the training transformed them (Carines, 2013, p.88). In discussing the apprehensions of their training group, Carines (2013, p.89) echoed other facilitators' views that the training experience resulted in instructors perceiving "the healing and transformational potential that Inside-Out and other educational programs can have" on all involved.

Conti *et al.'s* (2013) assessment on the facilitator training focused on the interaction with the think tank. Conti *et al.* (2013, p.164) noted that "the most powerful aspects of the training are the mechanisms used to lift the stigma from incarcerated men". Examining the impact of the structure of the training, Conti *et al.* (2013, p.169) analysed the training's "intentional reversal of the stigmatization process, and how it facilitates "wisdom" regarding people ensnared in the criminal justice system". All three authors of the research attended the training at different points in time (2007, 2009 and 2011), therefore, three individual training experiences were analysed over the course of five years. The first and third authors, using a combination of detailed field notes on the facilitator training experience, analytic memos and interviews with the founder and other trainees on their respective courses found that the theme of de-stigmatisation began to emerge and furthermore, "that conditioning trainees to recognize the basic humanity of incarcerated people was an essential mechanism in recruiting members into this grassroots social movement" (Conti *et al.,* 2013, p.169). To form a balanced view of the training, the second author attended during the write up of the study. Overall the study indicated that through structured encounters the think tank members, "trainees come to see, speak, and behave in ways that subvert conventional understandings of the stigma imposed on those in prison" (Conti *et al.*, 2013, p.163) thus highlighting the power and influence of the seven-day training and presenting the view that it is adequate and it does not need to be more in-depth due to what it achieves though the time is somewhat limited.

Harris (2013, p.57) considers, "[o]ne key to making Inside-Out classes successful is how the instructor carries herself into the space and how she sees her role, because this sets the tone for the whole experience". This is a skill the Inside-Out Center

aims to teach through its Instructor Training but as Harkins (2013, p.193-194) notes, "like all models, it will only be as successful as its implementation"…[a]t its worst, poorly instituted Inside-Out programs can run the risk of creating "contact zones" between inside and outside students that do not transform the meaning of education or incarceration".

The contingent of academics, students, practitioners and scholars peddling the narrative that Inside-Out provides a transformative experience is undeniable and this is presented in the following section. However, in light of what has been presented above in relation to following-up with trained instructors, it is appropriate to precede this section with the caveat that there is no clear or consistent way of measuring the term and no evidence to suggest it is being delivered the same way in each iteration.

2.5. Inside-Out: a transformative learning experience

Inside-Out has been described as a "[t]ransformational model" (Butin, D., 2013, p.ix), a "powerful model… of transformative education" (p. x). This is highlighted throughout Inside-Out literature which presents a significant number of testimonies indicating the effect of the programme on both students, facilitators and TAs. The transformative impact has been recognised across different disciplines (Smoyer, 2020; Shankman, 2013; Butin, G.W., 2013) and countries (King, Measham and O'Brien, 2019; Martinovic *et al.,* 2018) indicating that the transformative by-product of Inside-Out is not adversely affected by the culture or climate in which it is delivered.

Inside-Out was piloted as a criminology module, however Shay (2013, p.243) reflects on her experience of delivering Inside-Out in the context of a law school in Western New England University School of Law. She considered that although she recognised the value of the traditional law school approach to learning (i.e. caselaw analysis) her "students' views were heavily shaped by their life experiences and intuition" (Shay, 2013, p.243). While Shay (2013, p.248) documented some of the challenges to delivering an Inside-Out class in law, for example, assigning readings, and teaching legal doctrine, she also commented on the benefits to her students:

"Inside students' contributions to the discussions enriched the course…Our discussion of cases about substance abusing pregnant women, for example, was much more nuanced because of the presence of inside students… Through our class discussion, the law students realized how their life experiences (and the limits of those experiences) could affect their lawyering."

This indicates that Inside-Out may have an added benefit of maximising learning outcomes, transforming approaches to learning because it is not operating using a traditional pedagogical model.

Accounts detailing first-hand experience of the programme suggest that the effects of Inside-Out even surpass transformation on a personal level, noting collective transformation and significant societal changes following the course. Perry (2013, p.43) provides an example of this and comments on the impact Inside-Out can have on society:

"my Inside-Out experience empowered me with an unshakable belief in the human capacity to evolve to a higher state of social consciousness. It provided me with concrete evidence that through individual and collective effort, we can transform society into a more safe and egalitarian place to live."

Similarly, Werts (2013b, p.137) discusses the impact of Inside-Out in relation to pursuing higher educational pathways, implying that Inside-Out could have a role to play in reducing reoffending:

"those who take Inside-Out classes build confidence in their abilities. Once they go through this engaging experience, participants develop a new perspective of themselves and their ability to learn, as well as a desire to seek other educational opportunities. In many ways, Inside-Out serves as a gateway to higher education, which translates into lower recidivism, lower crime rates, and reduced prison populations."

However, there can be differences in one's understanding and use of the term 'transformative.' A transformation can be temporary, permanent, situational and dependent on circumstance. It can be long or short and it can vary in significance to the individual concerned. Although, in Crabbe's (2013, p.27) view, students are usually referring to transformation of individuals,

"they are usually referring to transformation for individuals, changes in how individuals think of themselves, their potential, and their place in the world."

Crabbe (2013, p.27) also considered that transformative education could also apply to the "larger-scale transformation of social networks, communities, and institutions". However, if one is to grasp the scale of the transformation Inside-Out purports to make, a greater understanding of definitional differences must be addressed. One may find the programme extremely informative and beneficial, but not transformational, for example, as Kish (2013, p.269) states,

> *"We are tearing free from out preconceived notions. Breaking down the walls. Building bridges, building communities, Linking education to rehabilitation. And growing internally all the while. This is the lesson I have taken from the Inside-Out program."*

Kish (2013, p.269) further commented that the "whole class – from its structure, to every person in it – has given me hope". While this testimony is extremely powerful and demonstrates the profound impact Inside-Out has had, Kish (2013) has not stated that Inside-Out has been a transformative learning experience.

Furthermore, when recounting his past experiences as both an incarcerated individual and as an 'inside' student on an Inside-Out course in SCI Graterford (since relocated and renamed SCI Phoenix), Perry (2013, p.40) provided a poignant statement endorsing the program, stating:

> *"Of all the educational experiences I have had since my incarceration…none has had a more profound impact on my life than the Inside-Out class I took in the summer of 2002."*

Perry (2013), a former 'inside' student, definitively used the term "transformed" (p.40) but also recalled that "each class felt like a family reunion" (p.41) expressing the importance of belonging and the positive feelings he derived from the experience. In the prison context, this may have proved to be more significant and beneficial than expressing a transformation. In the context of U.K. prison education. For example, as Chapter Three will elucidate, recommendations contained in the fourth chapter of Coates' (2016) review of prison education highlight the benefits of creating a positive prison culture and building partnerships with external providers of prison education. The benefits relate to supporting rehabilitative efforts and creating a more positive environment to foster prison learning.

Similarly, while Larson (2013, p.63) also documented the changes which followed the Inside-Out experience, she considered how Inside-Out made her think

differently noting that the "experience informed my social work practice in every sphere and continues to do so. I have been changed". In addition, Howley (2013, p.114) noted, "time and again we have experienced interactions and dialogue that are deeply transformational and life-affirming". Shankman (2013, p.146) also stated,

> *"You are turned Inside-Out, emptied of your ego as you transcend labels and categories… it is a transformative experience for those involved."*

However, note Sayre's (2018, p.595) less hyperbolic comments on the limitations of Inside-Out,

> *"Like all individual-level actions, the potential to affect social change (in the prison system and in social workers' reification of others) requires a large-scale repetition that is unlikely to be accomplished by Inside-Out courses alone. Still, Inside-Out education offers students a chance to see beyond reified categories with the hope of an enduring impact on students' future work and perspectives."*

The level of endorsement of Inside-Out from Perry (2013), Larson (2013) Howley (2013) and Shankman (2013) align with Pompa's (2013a, p.24) claim that the programme has an impact beyond the "superficial" level and they do not stand as anomalous cases (see also: Belcher, 2018; Reitenauer *et.al*., 2018; Werts, 2013b; Bumiller, 2013; Harkins, 2013; Allred *et al.,* 2013).

This widespread proclamation that Inside-Out is a "transformative learning" (Hinck and Scheffels, 2015, p.202) experience also extends to a belief that this is true for Inside-Out facilitators. As Pompa (2013b, p.132) comments "[i]t is interesting that, when instructors contact us after holding their first course, the description is remarkably similar. It is, they say, a deeply transformative experience.". This is further evidenced by Belcher (2018, p.2) an Inside-Out instructor,

> *"It is not an overstatement to say that we all are transformed by the experience we share in our eleven short weeks together."*

However, as Boyd (2013, p.80) notes, "not every participant in an Inside-Out circle will undergo a profound learning experience". Boyd (2013, p.80) comments on those who may have a range of obstacles in the way of a transformative learning experience such as issues at home, peer pressure, bullying and racism noting that the challenges a student faces may extend beyond the perceived challenges in the 'classroom'. Perry (2013, p.43) also considers that there are "very likely students

who have taken an Inside-Out course who were fundamentally unchanged by the experience".

It is apparent from the literature that the transformations or various changes do not always pertain to the same thing and so any research concerning the transformative claims of the programme should acknowledge the scale and scope of the term 'transformative.' What has been evidenced above is that benefits often reflect personal change rather than educational learning outcomes, for example, Harris (2013, p.50) refers to Inside-Out as "a powerful tool for overcoming dehumanization". The following section considers how transformative outcomes might be sustained through continued involvement with Inside-Out in the form of Inside-Out think tanks.

2.6. Continued contact: the purpose of Inside-Out think tanks

The previous sections have explored the benefit of the "dialogic interaction" (Pompa, 2013a, p.24) between students and highlighted key claims in relation to the perceived impact of the programme. This section considers that a long-term effect of Inside-Out could be achieved through engagement with Inside-Out think tanks.

As discussed in Chapter One (see 1.2.2.), any further contact with an Inside-Out group must be programmatic in nature (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). While students may become friends during the course, any contact beyond Inside-Out cannot be for the purpose of cultivating or advancing friendships. Shankman (2013, p.148) explains the rationale for this rule,

> "Once the class is over, no further contact is permitted. This helps to [e]nsure that neither inside nor outside students misuse their friendships."

However, creating and attending think tanks after an Inside-Out class is an accepted way of maintaining contact between 'inside' and 'outside' students after the programme has concluded and this is due to the nature of the work they will undertake. As Butin (D., 2013, p.xiii) notes,

> "Working collectively, think tank members offer trainings, public education workshops, research projects, and other support to people in prison and beyond."

Butin (D., 2013, p.xiii) further explains that the "committed participants in these ongoing working groups form an ethical and intellectual backbone to the entire network". They are intended to allow for both 'inside' and 'outside' students to continue to meet regularly and discuss potential group projects and other Inside-Out related work in a voluntarily way which Pompa (2013a, p.21) considers to be a "major hallmark" of the programme. Both the regularity of meetings and goal-oriented framework can provide stability, consistency and a sense of purpose for think tank members. Think tanks have the opportunity to go beyond breaking the monotony of prison life, inspiring incarcerated students to keep striving to achieve, For example, Perry (2013, p.41) describes his perception of the impact of think tanks, noting the "miraculous transformation among both inside and outside members". Perry (2013, p.41) notes,

> *"I have never participated in any other program that imbues so many people in prison with a desire to pursue higher education while at the same time empowering them with a sense of agency that awakens a spirit of social activism."*

Perry (2013, p.42) further explained that for 'inside' members, the outcomes of think tank participation has been immense noting that "nearly every 'inside' member has acquired outstanding facilitation, leadership, and organizational skills that they employ in programs throughout the prison community and beyond". Perry (2013) provides a long list of benefits of think tank participation and accredits his personal development and educational advancement to Inside-Out. Similarly, Cairnes (2013, p.83) comments on her associated think tank, 'The Theory Group' and acknowledges that it operates in the same way as the Inside-Out class,

> *"The Theory Group follows the core structure of The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program: a circle in which each participant has an equal voice. This key structure nurtures respect, appreciation, and dignity among participants."*

Cairnes (2013, p.84) explains the progression of her think tank, explaining that it advanced from meeting "once a month for a continuation of the theoretical discussions begun in the Inside-Out class and in response to Steering Committee initiatives" to hosting Inside-Out Instructor training thus, demonstrating the goal-oriented approach. Discussing how the training was hosted, Carines (2013, p.87) states:

> *"During the actual training, the attending trainees would form small groups, and each group would create a 30-minute classroom activity which they would then conduct with the whole group. The purpose of this exercise would be for the instructors to familiarize themselves with the Inside-Out pedagogy and to get ideas for creating experiential learning activities for their future classes."*

Describing the outcomes and impact of the instructor training, Carines (2013, p.88) considered the "transformational potential Inside-Out and other prison educational programmes" can have on everyone involved and claimed trainees had "reported experiencing a radical change". This provides an indicator that when tasking members with a clear objective or mission and when using the same structure and format as the Inside-Out class, there is an opportunity to extend or prolong the transformative impact of the programme. This is also significant and currently relevant to the U.K. context as the Coates' (2016) review of prison education (discussed in detail in Chapter Three) highlighted the need to encourage a purposeful educational journey for prisoners.

As explained in Chapter One (1.2.2.) think tanks typically follow the same format as the Inside-Out class and have Mission and Vision Statements to guide them (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004b). These are intended to clearly outline the objectives of the think tank and what it hopes to accomplish. Pompa (2013a, p.21) considers,

> *"It provides a good example of where community-based learning can take those whose learning process evolves into a deeper and more long-term commitment to collaborative work on social justice issues."*

Howley's (2013, p.113) account below demonstrates how a Mission and Vision statement can guide the work of the think tank, she states:

> *"As a group, we are committed to the process and practice of education, and to honing our work at the crossroads of education and social change."*

Howley (2013, p.119) commented that a "motivating interest" of the think tank was to "explore how we can increase our capacity as individuals and as a group to create social change and positive impacts within our communities". In discussing a question posed by a member of the Graterford Think Tank (since renamed The Phoenix Think Tank), '[w]hat does it mean to be fully human?', Howley (2013) considered how crucial it was to the think tank's work. She further explained how the think tank created a workshop to address the question,

> *"Ghani and I set out to facilitate a workshop to explore what it means to be human, with an emphasis on the personal life experiences of members of the Think Tank"* (Howley, 2013, p.114).

Howley (2013, p.114) recalled how she was forced to confront her own preconceptions:

> *"I was struck by my own presumptions about what it means to talk about diversity in the context of 'being human'…The group talked about our limited ability as humans to perceive reality in its totality. We sense things spatially, but to be whole, we must also investigate the connection of inner reality to outer reality, of self to the environment, world and universe."*

In addition, she indicated gender and racial dynamics (Howley, 2014, p.118)

> *"The struggle to find common ground appeared to me personally through my entry point into this conversation as a white woman."*

The depth of the think tank's discussion and analysis recalled by Howley (2013) is an indicator of how effective think tanks can be when they have a purpose or objective and when they have a facilitating structure. What Howley (2013) has described is the use of a think tank for intellectual growth and for the facilitation of meaningful, challenging conversations which aim to expose and draw awareness to differing views beyond the Inside-Out class, thus furthering the view that sustained involvement has the potential to contribute to transformative outcomes.

2.7. Conclusions and chapter summary

This chapter presented a critical review of the Inside-Out literature. It began by exploring the Inside-Out pedagogy and how the conditions for transformation could be achieved. It then examined the problematic way in which Inside-Out has been assessed in terms of its impact and educational value and noted the dearth in evaluations of the programme, particularly in the U.K., thus highlighting the significant contribution of this research. The Inside-Out instructor training and how the programme is intended to be facilitated was then discussed and the body of literature supporting the view that the programme provides a transformative learning experience was acknowledged. The chapter then presented the literature relating to the purpose and value of Inside-Out think tanks and considered the possibility that sustained engagement with think tanks could contribute to transformative outcomes.

As a result of the discussion relating to the transformative claims of Inside-Out, the following questions were raised: how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?; to what extent do students feel transformed following their Inside-Out experience?; and, how does Inside-Out fit within the model of prison education in the U.K.? Daniel-Bey (2013, p.73) claims that "Inside-Out is not a replacement for the current educational system. It is an alternative, a supplement and a complement to the tools already available", discussing the potential added value of Inside-Out to prison education incentives and to students. Considering that there have been links made between effecting change in rates of recidivism with Inside-Out (see Durán and Strikland, 2017 in relation to Inside-Out in Mexico), Chapter Three will further these discussions and consider the position of prison-university partnerships as part of the wider model and aims of prison education in the U.K.

CHAPTER THREE: PRISON EDUCATION AND PRISON-UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS IN THE U.K.

3.1. Introduction to Chapter Three

Chapter Two provided a critical review of the Inside-Out literature discussing and examining: the claims of Inside-Out; the delivery of the programme; the nature and use of Inside-Out think tanks; and, the benefits of the programme to prison education. As a result of these discussions, questions were raised in relation to how the design of Inside-Out could facilitate transformative learning and the extent to which students may feel transformed following their Inside-Out experience. The aim of this chapter is to position Inside-Out within education in U.K. prisons and explore how prison-university partnerships, specifically Inside-Out, align with the rehabilitative purpose of prison education in the U.K., thus addressing this gap in the research.

This chapter begins by contextualising education in the context of the criminal justice system. It details the connections between prison education and rates of recidivism, improved employment opportunities post-release, and, reductions in welfare dependency. It elaborates on the evaluation of U.K. prison education using Dame Sally Coates' (2016) review of prison education (hereafter, the Review) as a foundation upon which a wider discussion is formed relating to the benefits and barriers to prison education. It is then argued that the current situation regarding the state of prison education in the U.K. is related to political change, specifically, that, as a result of administrative changes and changing political agendas, the Review has been, to some extent, forgotten. The chapter subsequently considers the value of prison-university partnerships in readdressing the aims of the Review, presenting examples of programmes operating in the U.K., the perceived benefits to prisoners and programme evaluation. The contribution of Inside-Out to prison education in the U.K. is then examined and the chapter concludes with emerging research questions and a chapter summary.

3.2. Education in the context of the criminal justice system

The multiple benefits of prison education have been distilled by Champion and Nobel (2017, p.2) into five broad themes: wellbeing; human capital; social capital; knowledge, skills and employability; and, prison culture. Champion and Nobel (2017, p.2) suggest these themes lead to the following long-term outcomes: development of the whole person; a prison culture that promotes rehabilitation; participation in society; making a contribution; and, sustained employment or self-employment. These themes are echoed in other prison research, for example: that education can potentially lead to improved employment opportunities for released prisoners (see Uggen, 2000); that it can be transformative (see Duguid and Pawson, 1998); and, that prison education can therefore have a positive effect on formerly incarcerated people, the criminal justice system and society (see Chavez and Dawe, 2007; and Anders and Noblit, 2011 in relation to varying degrees of educational achievement and recidivism).

In addition, Giles and Whale (2016) argue that prison education also has the potential to reduce welfare dependency. In their longitudinal study on welfare and recidivism outcomes of in-prison education and training, they identified the impact of education and duration of study on rates of recidivism post-release. They found that prisoners who engaged in education and upskilled were less likely to reoffend. While it could be argued that upskilling merely offers prisoners something with which to occupy their time, it could also be argued that interacting with classroom teachers provides the opportunity for disassociation from delinquent peers and this is increasingly associated with desistance (see Farrall 2002; Bushway and Paternoster 2013; Laub and Sampson 2001; Warr, 1998; and, Farrall and Bowling 1999).

The importance of prison education has also been stressed by Pike and Adams (2012, p.363) who state that it can "break the cycle of reoffending by providing qualifications and skills for employment on release". Upon release, there may also be an improvement in levels of self-efficacy as a result of sustained employment and positively contributing to society. In addition, research has indicated that diversity in prison programmes, in particular, those relating to arts can have positive impacts (see Tett *et al.,* 2012, in relation to the contribution of the arts to

improved literacy skills). These are factors which may lead to desisting behaviours and therefore it could be said that education in prisons is one part of a bigger process resulting in reducing reoffending and contributing to desistance.

Despite the body of research supporting the view that prison education positively impacts rates of recidivism and is associated with desistance (see Garner, 2017; Farley and Pike, 2016), and despite prior research highlighting fundamental flaws in prison education in the U.K. (O'Brien, 2010), addressing the annually reported failures of prisons and rehabilitation efforts in the U.K. has not consistently been a priority for the U.K. government. In 2010, The Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) published its report 'The Learning Prison'. Having developed The Prison Learning Network in 2008 "to explore and to champion the huge pool of experience of innovative and often effective work that takes place across the prison estate" (O'Brien, 2010, p.11), it is one of the longest-running contributors to diverse prison education programmes in the U.K. The RSA's report detailed barriers to prison education and called for significant changes, yet it was not until 2016 that this became part of the political agenda. In 2016, the then Prime Minster of the U.K., David Cameron, gave a speech solely on the reform of U.K. prisons in which he said, "we need a prison system that doesn't see prisoners as simply liabilities to be managed, but instead as potential assets to be harnessed." In response to his call for a "full on prison reform", the U.K. government essentially repurposed prisons, moving away from punitive measures and towards rehabilitation.

There are currently four educational providers following the Ministry of Justice procurement process, 'the Prison Education Framework (PEF)': the Weston College of Further and Higher Education; PeoplePlus Group Ltd; Novus (LTE Group (Trading as Novus); and, Milton Keynes College.[15] The Prison Education Trust reports that contracts are anticipated to run for a period of four years with potential for extension for two years thereafter. Furthermore, Prison Governors will have control over the contracts following the review of prison education in England and Wales commissioned by the former Justice Secretary of the U.K., Michael Gove. The

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[15] For further information in relation to the education contracts offered, see:
https://www.prisonerseducation.org.uk/2019/01/new-prison-education-contracts-create-challenges-and-opportunities/.

rationale for the Review is discussed in the following section along with recommendations made, whether they have been implemented, and whether there has been an improvement in prison education.

Educational providers are responsible for providing learning and skills opportunities to prisoners, and these are assessed by independent inspectorates. Following the ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT)[16], the U.K. formed the National Preventative Mechanism (NPM) in 2009 consisting of twenty-one statutory bodies that independently monitor places of detention. Improvements to prison education are therefore based on findings from various independent inspectorates (for example: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons; and, the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills), which have reviewed prison education and the impact of changes made following Coates' (2016) recommendations.

3.3. Background to Dame Sally Coates' review of prison education

The premise of the Review was to respond to the following questions: 'how do we measure the success of prison education?; what are the current levels of prisoners' educational attainment?; and, what happens when education is assessed as not good enough?' (Coates, 2016, p.i). Coates (2016, p.i) also sought to understand who controls the quality of prison education, as she noted prison leaders had difficulty providing a definitive, unanimous answer.

The Review contained thirty-one recommendations in relation to seven key areas. These included recommendations for: Prison Governors' control of prison education; the need for a new and more progressive 'people' culture; meaningful and individualised learning for every prisoner; raising the aspirations of prisoners and encouraging a purposeful educational journey; improved technology and access to computers for the purpose of improving prisoners' skills; enabling employment opportunities post-prison; and, a timeline for educational reform (Coates, 2016, p. 4). The following section discusses accountability and

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[16] United Nations Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 18 December 2002, A/RES/57/199 (OPCAT) entered into force on 22 June 2006.

responsibility for prison education and explores how recommendations made in the Review have been implemented.

3.3.1. Accountability and responsibility for prison education

Chapter 1 of the Review sought to understand accountability for prison education and establish who is responsible for funding educational opportunities and the delivery and evaluation of prison education more generally. Coates (2016, p.10) determined that while the Prison Rules govern prison education, there was variation across prisons in England and Wales regarding funding, delivery and evaluation. In relation to funding, Coates (2016, p.10) noted, where funding used to be handled by Prison Governors, responsibility was later moved to the Skills and Funding Agency (SFA) which created the Offender Learning and Skills Service (OLASS) for prisoners aged eighteen and over in England. Furthermore, regarding educational opportunities, Coates (2016, p.10) also explained that along with courses offered by OLASS, in some (but not all) prisons, the National Offender Management Service would offer supplementary workshops. The first eight recommendations of the Review related to improvement in the areas outlined above (Coates, 2016, p.19).

Firstly, the aims and objectives of OLASS providers were considered in the Review which noted that there was a responsibility to provide a core education consisting of: a mandatory assessment of maths and English attainment upon prison entry; basic skills; vocational qualification; and, employment skills (Coates, 2016, p.11). However, it was deemed unclear as to how OLASS was locally assessed beyond participation, i.e. prisoner attendance and engagement in the class (Coates, 2016, p.11). Furthermore, it was unclear how prisoners with learning difficulties or disabilities were treated and so it was recommended that all prisons "must use a consistent and rigorous assessment mechanism to set a baseline against which to measure individuals' academic performance and screen for learning difficulties and/or disabilities (LDD)" (Coates, 2016, p.62). A further recommendation was made to ensure "[e]very prisoner must have a Personal Learning Plan that specifies the educational activity that should be undertaken during their sentence" (Coates, 2016, p.19), thus moving towards tailoring prison education to individual needs and putting education at the forefront of the prison regime.

Coates (2016, p.11) reported in the 2014/15 academic year that 101,600 adult prisoners were participating in prison learning (up 7% on the previous year), yet participation in prison learning has since decreased by 12% from the previous year with 78,000 adult prisoners participating in education in the 2017–18 academic year (Department of Education, 2019). Furthermore, Coates (2016) reported at the point of the Review that 81,800 prisoners were participating on courses below Level 2, yet figures have since revealed this too has declined, with numbers falling in the 2017–18 academic year (Department for Education, 2019). This is demonstrated in the table below, taken from the 'OLASS English and maths assessments: participation 2017 to 2018.'

Participation in English and Maths Offender Learning Education Assessments by Level of Outcome (2017/18) – Learner Volumes

		2017/18 Full Year
Total Assessed Learners		19,400
of which...	Education assessment in Maths	18,440
	of which...	
	Entry Level 1	2,170
	Entry Level 2	4,260
	Entry Level 3	6,300
	Level 1	4,780
	Level 2	1,420
	Not Known	120
	Education assessment in English	18,720
	of which...	
	Entry Level 1	2,770
	Entry Level 2	3,680
	Entry Level 3	5,240
	Level 1	5,610
	Level 2	1,940
	Not Known	150
Learners with Learning Difficulties and/ or Disabilities	Learning Difficulty/Disability	6,690
	No Learning Difficulty/Disability	12,150
	Not Known	590

Notes

1) Total Assessed Learners shows all learners who were enrolled on Offender Learning (OLASS) education assessments in English and/or Maths.
2) We are working with Offender Learning providers to improve the quality of assessment outcomes data. If the outcome of an assessment is not clear it is reported as Not Known.
3) Please see the general footnotes section for further information on this table.

Figure 4: Participation in English and Maths - Offender Learning Education Assessments by Level of Outcome (2017/2018)

What can be inferred from this information is that despite recommendations to improve prison education programmes and engagement with prison education, prisoners at the point of assessment (i.e. 2017/2018), were not engaging in the way in which Coates (2016) had envisioned. Furthermore, the data is not substantiated by any lived experience and therefore, it could be argued that to form a more comprehensive understanding, qualitative research is needed in this area.

It could also be argued that the third recommendation of the Review to develop a "core set of performance measures" to be used by all prisons to "drive continuous improvement" (Coates, 2016, p.62) had not been realised by 2018 given that the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2018) Annual Report 2017–18 reported a decline in the quality of teaching and learning in prisons in England. Although it noted that the "role of education and training in reducing reoffending and rehabilitating offenders was recognised in the better performing prisons" (p.40), in relation to delivering learning skills and work, it also stated:

> *"This year, around 60% of English prisons inspected were found to be less than good in their overall effectiveness, which was considerably lower than in 2016–17, when it was around half. We judged none of the prisons to be outstanding, and five were inadequate."* (p. 40)

In addition, the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2018) Annual Report 2017–18 (p.41) noted:

> *"In prisons in England, the effectiveness of leadership and management of learning and skills was markedly lower than in 2016–17 and was assessed as inadequate in 17% of prisons inspected (compared with 9% in the previous year). In these prisons, quality improvement measures were poor and managers did not use data on education and training to monitor the quality or suitability of provision rigorously. Partnership working was weak, action to improve delivery was slow, and governors did not prioritise attendance or the importance of learning and skills."*

Furthermore, in its most recent report, The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education, Children's Services and Skills 2018/19 noted that as of 31 August 2019, there were 114 prisons and Young Offender's Institutions. The report documented the outcomes from the inspection of these institutions for their provision of education, skills and work. It found that upon entering the prison system, sentence-holders' educational levels were assessed, in line with recommendations made in the Coates' (2016) Review, but since the National Careers Service contract ended in April 2018, sixteen prisons were found to have inadequate arrangements to carry out these assessments. Noting the impact of this, the report stated:

> *"This has meant that, in many cases, prisoners are allocated to education, skills and work activities that do not best meet their employability and development needs"* (p.110).

The report further noted:

> *"[f]orty-one per cent of the prison population went on to participate in courses at level 2 in 2017/18. This is the second lowest proportion in the last eight years. The number participating in level 3 courses did increase in 2017/18 to 200 learners, but this is still 92% less than in 2012/13.1"* (p.110).

The findings of the previous 2017/2018 Annual Report revealed that, in a 17% decrease from the results of the previous year, 39% of prisons and young offenders' institutions were deemed to be 'good' for the overall effectiveness of education, skills and work although none were outstanding. Ofsted stressed that "[u]rgent action is needed to ensure that prisons – and more specifically, under-performing ones – are helped to improve" (Ofsted, 2017/2018 Annual Report, p.85). Listing factors which it considered to be present in underperforming prisons, Ofsted deemed that learners' access to learning activities was limited for a number of reasons including: staff shortages causing units to be locked down and education classes to be cancelled; a lack of full-time education, skills and work activity places to meet the needs of the prison population; a failure by senior administration to put in place effective measures to monitor and improve the quality of lessons and activities; a lack of a diverse range of education, work and vocational training to aid re-entry efforts; and, a lack of understanding among prisoners in relation to what they had achieved through their prison-based educational efforts.

The most recent Annual Report (2018/2019) indicated that the number of 'outstanding' providers decreased by one percentage point to 3% and there was a 2% increase in the proportion judged inadequate (p.110). The 2018/2019 report found that leadership and management were the worst performing aspects in the prisons and YOIs inspected in 2018/19 (p.110) noting that:

> "Often, leaders and managers had failed to prioritise improving the education, skills and work provision since the previous inspection and progress towards rectifying their weaknesses had been slow. They were ineffective in ensuring that offenders attended education, skills and work-related activities and attendance at these activities was too low overall." (p.110)

Furthermore, the 2018/2019 report found that in the six prisons and Young Offender's Institutions that declined to inadequate this year, "the curriculum did not meet the needs of offenders"; "the lack of activity spaces meant that not all

offenders could access curriculum activities"; and, there was "a lack of effective careers guidance"(p.111).

One of the most crucial findings of the 2018/2019 report was that despite the findings of the previous report, in a "significant number" of the inspections, "offenders received insufficient support towards gaining employment on release" and, where this was found, "offenders did not access a curriculum that enabled them to achieve a vocational accredited qualification or to even have their newly acquired knowledge and skills recognised" (p.111). It was also found that "they had generally poor access to the designated e-learning platform (virtual campus) to search for job vacancies or to undertake learning" (p.111). This indicates that not enough has been done to effect change over the last year despite the call for "urgent action" in the 2017/2018 Annual Report.

3.3.1.1. Changes to prison education contracts in 2019

Chapter 1 of the Review, as explained in the Review's Executive Summary, contends that, "Prison Governors, as leaders of a complex environment, should have autonomy in the provision of education, and be held to account for the educational progress of all prisoners" (Coates, 2016, p.4) and in response to this, prison education contracts changed in 2019. Since this time, it has been reported that there has been a marked improvement in prison education and delivery. Prison education responsibilities which once lay with the Department for Education (DfE) and the Skills Funding Agency (SFA) in England have since been ceased and, in line with recommendations contained within the Review, responsibility for all prison education now lies with prison Governors. As the Prison Education Trust (PET) explain [17] (Cooney, 2019), the Prison Education Framework (PEF) procurement process is aimed at ensuring prison education is dramatically improved in U.K. prisons,

> "The idea is that if a governor finds that a service is not being delivered through the PEF, they will be able to take action easily, holding the provider to account and asking for an improvement plan. Ultimately, if the provider fails to take action to improve the service, they could lose 5 per cent of their budget for the next quarter."

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[17] For full blog, see: http://criminaljusticealliance.org/blog/new-prison-education-contracts-create-challenges-opportunities/

Following Coates (2016) recommendations, the Ministry of Justice reported "significant progress" under section 24 of its Education and Employment Strategy (2019); it stated,

> *"Since then, we have made significant progress in taking forward her recommendations including implementing basic skills assessments of every prisoner at the beginning and end of their sentence to measure the progress they make, a common curriculum and awarding bodies for the most popular subjects across the whole prison estate and a commitment to devolve education budgets to local governors from April 2019, with the procurement process to deliver this now launched."*

Despite the findings of the Ministry of Justice (2019) it has been argued that since access to education and the types of programmes offered to prisoners changes according to political agendas with a current focus on education for employability, funding can be difficult to obtain (Cara and Creese, 2019, p.123). Political agendas in the U.K. are an important consideration and one must acknowledge the ever-changing face of the Minister of Justice. While the current Minister of Justice for the U.K. is The Rt Hon Robert Buckland QC MP, there have been six former Ministers of Justice since 2012: The Rt Hon David Gauke MP (2018-2019);The Rt Hon David Lidington CBE MP (2017 to 2018);The Rt Hon Elizabeth Truss MP 2016 To 2017); The Rt Hon Michael Gove MP (2015 to 2016); The Rt Hon Chris Grayling MP (2012 to 2015); and, The Rt Hon Kenneth Clarke QC (2010 to 2012). Each new Minister of Justice brings with them a new agenda and it is therefore accepted that prison education may not always be the priority for each holder of office.

Given the reported failings in prison education since the Review, it is apparent that were prison education at the forefront of the political agenda, more significant developments would have been made by this point, three years after its publication. As Cara and Creese (2019, p.123) explain, prisoners are still "expected to take out loans for higher level education (above English Level 2/international Level 3), and these are not available to support any degree-level education for a prisoner with more than six years left to serve." This would indicate that while Coates (2016) recommendations, outlined in Chapter 1 of the Review, were aimed at improving prison education across prisons in England and Wales, and while there have been some reported improvements in prison education and delivery, the full extent of the recommendations has not come into effect and, four years later, as a

result of changing political motives and agendas, there are still improvements to be made in relation to access, funding and the diversity of educational programmes.

3.3.2. Creating a positive prison culture

Chapter 2 of the Review concerned the improvement of prison culture. It sought to promote a new movement, placing educational practices that could be adopted by the whole prison at the "heart of the regime" (Coates, 2016, p.20) and creating more opportunities for learning beyond the 'classroom'. Recommendations included: providing "appropriate professional development to support (Governors, senior leaders, teachers, prison officers, instructors and peer mentors) to deliver high quality education" (Coates, 2016, p. 25); recruiting "high quality teachers from other sectors (e.g. Further Education, schools and Industry) to teach in prisons" (Coates, 2016, p.25); and, the introduction of a "new scheme to attract high calibre graduates to work in prisons for an initial period of two- years" (Coates, 2016, p.26).

Coates (2016) noted that learning opportunities may not always fall within the remit of classroom-based or accredited learning, and this is consistent with literature where it has been suggested that by creating "positive institutional cultures" and increasing prisoners; exposure to "positive civilian role models" (Farley and Pike 2016, p.67), learning opportunities can be created. Previous research has also noted the value of meaningful interactions with prison personnel, for example, Kenny and Webster (2015) note the benefits of the Five Minute Intervention (FMI) plan. This was developed as a way of utilising "everyday conversations with a prisoner as a chance to address a particular criminogenic need and/or encourage a new outlook" (Kenny and Webster, 2015, p.2). The outcomes of the project show FMI trained officers observed a positive impact on the prisoner noting, "improved relationships with prisoners", "improvements in prisoners' thinking skills" and "improvements in prisoners' self-efficacy and problem-solving abilities" (Kenny and Webster, 2015, p.5). This finding was echoed in Tate *et al.*'s (2017) further research of the project which considered ten prisoners' experiences of the FMI. The research found that prisoners also reported a number of positive changes and attributed these to FMI participation. This is significant given that research has shown prison morale to be directly linked with successful

rehabilitation and supports the view that educational experiences can be achieved beyond a classroom and promote a positive learning culture within prisons.

Another way in which non-classroom-based learning opportunities can be seized, is through peer support and peer learning, for example, two of the most well-known and successful peer support programmes in the U.K. are The Samaritans' Prison Listener Scheme (see Foster and Magee, 2011 in the context of peer support and prison health care) and the Shannon Trust Reading Plan.[18] Where learning spaces within prisons are often confined to designated areas, for example, while prisoners may choose to learn within their cells, most prison-based learning takes place within the education wing of a prison, the gym, the chaplaincy or within the prison library (see Warr, 2016), peer support and mentoring does not follow the same restrictions.

Learning spaces, in particular prison libraries, have the opportunity to contribute to educating prisoners and promote a positive and inclusive prison culture. While former research has demonstrated the potential for the prison library to support prisoners embarking on prison education programmes (see MacCormick, 1931) and noted the developments of prison libraries over time (see Bowe, 2011) more recent research has sought to establish the opinions of prisoners rather than practitioners with a view to understanding the role of prison libraries in desistance strategies (see Finlay and Bates, 2018). Warr (2016, p.19) considers the effects of learning spaces on prison learners,

> *"whilst still heavily permeated by discourses of discipline and power (security for instance) can also be thought of as nexuses of welfare-spaces in which the central concern is one of care not control, where interactions are predicated upon learning, mutual respect, creativity and personal development rather than surveillance and constraint."*

Warr (2016, p.19) suggests that prison education departments "can also operate as power-mitigating, and thus emotionally safe, spaces where these humane and normalised interactions can produce very different emotional contours to that possible elsewhere in the prison". Furthermore, Warr (2016, p.19) considers how this might "aid the production of outcomes for individuals that go beyond the purely penal-centric". Whereas Szifris *et. al.,* (2018, p.50) note, "[i]n the context of

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[18] For further information see: https://www.shannontrust.org.uk/about-us/why/

a prison, it is possible to consider education as a potential 'break' from overarching prison culture, a space in which the individual can interact with others as a learner as opposed to a prisoner", the objective of Coates' (2016) recommendations was to actively integrate education into prison culture.

Despite the findings of the Independent Inspectorates discussed above, prison-university partnerships have been found to significantly contribute to creating positive learning cultures (see for example Learning Together, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c), and to the benefits of a personalised and inclusive approach to prison learning outlined in Chapter 3 of the Review. Chapter 3 contained five recommendations relating to: prison funding and ensuring personalised learning plans; autonomy of Prison Governors to design a framework of incentives that encourage attendance and progression in education; the early release of certain categories of offenders when they have demonstrated exceptional progress in education; the adoption of a whole-prison approach to identifying, supporting and working with prisoners with Learning Difficulties and Disabilities (LDD); and, the extension of Education Health and Care Plans (EHCP) that apply in secure youth custody and require local authority action up to the age of 25 (Coates, 2016, p.37). The way in which prison-university partnerships have furthered some of these recommendations is discussed more fully later in the chapter at section 3.4.

3.3.3. Higher-level learning in prisons

Chapter 4 of the Review considered higher-level learning and the educational journey of prisoners. Coates (2016) made five recommendations in relation to changing performance measures for Governors (as commissioners) and providers to include: the progression of prisoners in their care beyond Level 2 where this is part of their Personal Learning Plans; the extent, quality and effectiveness of Level 3 provision in the prison; and, the assessment of their success in building partnerships with external providers of Further Education and Higher Education, based on best practice. Further recommendations related to: permitting Governors to use their education budgets to fund learning at Level 3 and above; amending The Education (Student Support) Regulations to extend student loan eligibility; allocating public funding used for or 'taster' modules at the Open University; and, offering Grant funding for part-time Open University degrees started before the

introduction of the requirement to take out a student loan to pay for such studies should there be difficulty in meeting the original timetable for completion.

Educational programmes vary between institutions and, diversity in prison programmes is based on a number of factors including: the service provider; funding; suitability of the institution for a particular programme; and, the sentence length. In higher category U.K. prisons (i.e. Category A) students are more likely to be serving long sentences than short sentences, for example, as Category A prisons house those deemed to be the most dangerous and highest risk to society (Grimwood, 2015), it is likely then, that these individuals are going to be serving longer terms. This correlates with a greater variety in educational programmes and prospects of distance learning in comparison to lower-level prisons where prisoners may only stay for a short time and thus essential skills training may be offered rather than a university degree qualification or some of the more diverse learning options.

However, higher educational opportunities for prisoners are limited. The principal funding body for prisoners interested in distance learning courses in England and Wales is The PET. The PET provides grants to prisoners in England and Wales for distance learning and to purchase material for arts and hobbies (Taylor, 2014, p.7). Distance learning courses are wide-ranging, students can take NVQ level subjects, vocational subjects or tertiary level education. As Clark (2016, p.3) notes, the Trust has given over 32,000 packages of support to prisoners who apply to distance learn while in prison.

While opportunities are in place for distance learners, not all learners can avail of them. Within the short-stay prison population, there are presently at least two groups of potential students not catered for, group one: those who do not have the required reading age to partake on essential skills training; and, group two: those who have already achieved essential skills training and who have surpassed the level educational programmes offered. While both categories of prisoners could fail to optimise their time in prison as their needs are not catered for, Pike and Adams (2012, p.374) comment on a much greater issue, the importance of the 'student identity.' They note that, "higher level distance learners reveal how they cling onto

the lifeline that is their student identity". Pike and Adams' (2012, p.374) study indicated that prisoners involved in prison education "value their student identity as a means of reshaping who they are and to provide them with hope for a better future". Therefore, failure to educate these two outlying groups not only results in their wasted time but in the prison's wasted opportunity to provide a duty of care to the prisoner and to the wider public to engage these groups in education. This is recognised and, in some parts of the U.K., vocational programmes which apply a targeted approach to those who may not otherwise have access to higher-level education are being operationalised in line with Coates' (2016) recommendations relating to an inclusive approach to prison learning; for example, Keys to the Future, a prison partnership in Northern Ireland.

3.3.3.1. Keys to the Future – Northern Ireland (Collaboration between Marianne Doherty and NIACRO/ HMP Hydebank

Northern Ireland's 'Keys to the Future' programme was developed in 2019 in partnership with a Northern Irish prison and a local criminal justice organisation. Keys to the Future is an unaccredited programme which adopted the Inside-Out format (in terms of circular learning, style of facilitation, use of icebreaker exercises and group-work), it was aimed at reimagining and repurposing prison education to shape peace-making behaviour. The programme operates outside of scheduled educational hours, occupying time where activities were not planned and thus engages prisoners in purposeful activity in line with the Prison Rules. The aim of the programme is to provide a diverse curricula and high-quality teaching to prisoners using an inclusive approach to education recommended in the Review. The first evaluation of Keys to the Future will be completed in June 2020 using the same evaluation method as Learning Together (see section 3.4.4) and this will form the basis of any changes and improvements to future iterations of the programme.

Whereas vocational programmes are an optional 'extra' for prisoner students and have no associated costs, distance learning and funding remain barriers to prison education. The PET's investigation into the employment and benefits outcomes of those who received grants for distance learning from the Prisoners' Education Trust (PET) compared to those who did not. The Ministry of Justice exposed the impact and influence of the PET in 2018. Findings indicated "a significant improvement in

reoffending rates for those supported by distance learning grants from PET (18%) compared with non-participants (25%)" (Ministry of Justice, 2018, p.1).[19] More specifically, findings indicated five particularly significant results, making a distinction between those who had received grants (the 'treatment group') and those who had not (the 'comparison group'):

- that 39% of the treatment group were employed during the twelve-months post-release compared to only 31% in the comparison group.

- That 18% of the treatment group were employed one-month post-release compared to 16% in the comparison group.

- That 27% of the treatment group were employed twelve months after release compared to 22% in the comparison group.

- That the treatment group spent an average of eighty-eight days in employment during twelve months post-release compared to an average of seventy-two days in the comparison group.

- That the treatment group spent an average of one-hundred-and-twenty-five-days receiving out-of-work benefits during the twelve-months post-release which is less time than in the comparison group which averaged one-hundred-and-thirty-four-days.

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However, the PET also offers academics and prison education practitioners support through its expansive and valuable online resource. It collates information relating to prison-university partnerships with a view to informing practitioners of the programmes already in action and future programmes. It also provides all prison education practitioners and learners with a platform to discuss their experiences in prison and of prison education through its online 'blog' facility, thus promoting inclusion and collegiality among practitioners. As Mehay (2017, p.8) notes, the PET "developed work to champion the case for prisoner learning and advocates the importance of prisoner learner voices and work to influence and change policy and practice in prison education for the better". Its networks include the Prisoner Learning Alliance; Prisoner Learning Academic Network (PLAN); and, Prison University Partnerships in Learning network (PUPiL) .

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[19] All findings reported are taken from the 'Key Findings' section at page one of the investigation and have been paraphrased.

One of the greatest contributions of the PET is its 'Toolkit' for practitioners; a part of the work of PUPiL which was "designed to support educators and prison staff in setting up and delivering a prison-university partnership" (Reynolds, 2018, p.2). The toolkit contained information on benefits to stakeholders, i.e. to those involved (prisons, universities, students and other bodies). In addition to potential learning models, it offered: tips for successful programme delivery; recommendations for programme evaluation; managing learner expectations for educational progression after the partnership has ended; and, information on recruitment strategies, accreditation and funding. It was essentially an open resource for anyone interested in developing a partnership. The concept and value of prison-university partnerships and how and why they have been developed globally is discussed later in this chapter at section 3.4.

3.3.4. Technological advances in prison education

Chapter 5 of the Review concerned the use of technology in prison. Noting that "[d]igital literacy is a key functional skill paving the way to further learning, employment and access to services in the modern world" (Coates, 2016, p.44) Coates (2016, p.49) made two core recommendations relating to a strategic review of the "Virtual Campus" to assess how it could be used within prisons, extending the rights of prison Governors and a further recommendation permitting suitably risk-assessed prison learners to have controlled access to the internet to support their studies and enable applications for jobs on release".

Given the extent to which wider society relies on technology to communicate, organise and document their lives, it is, as Johnson and Hail-Jares (2016, p.284) remark, "jarring to imagine situations where this technology does not exist". Yet this is the reality within prisons which can partially or entirely restrict access to technology. This highlights the significance of Coates' (2016) recommendations. Knight (2005) comments on the role of technology in prisons, noting in particular that access to a television not only serves as a coping method inside, but as a method to alleviate boredom and to remain connected to the outside world. Furthermore, Knight (2005, p.28) notes that it is a means "to remain informed and part of public debate, thus maintaining some sense of citizenship". With limited access to technology, for example, access to television and radio but not to mobile

phones or computers, it could be argued that prison has the potential to further disconnect individuals from a society which they have already been physically removed from and adversely affect one's mental health (Goomany and Dickinson, 2015).

As Pike and Adams (2012, 363) note, in the U.K., the majority of prison education programmes are provided through distance learning which can be challenging. Prisoners are supplied with books and other reading materials but contrasted with the standard university classroom where texts are up-to-date and technology is very often at a student's disposal (for example, access to computers, to make presentations, to use a phone) the student prisoner has a very different experience as access to technology is limited (Farley *et al.,* 2015). Where there are strict rules governing the use of technology, most notably, the U.K. law which makes it illegal to operate a mobile phone within prison, prisoners have limited access to external resources which is fundamentally limiting to developing student potential. Pike and Adams (2012) suggest that although access to technology is improving across the world, it still acts as a barrier to prison education.

Additionally, depriving students in prison of the opportunity to learn about new technologies restricts and hinders them upon release in terms of what skills they can demonstrate when they seek employment. Consider, for example, that an applicant with a criminal record is already at a disadvantage, but an applicant with a criminal record and no computer skills may be at a greater one. In the U.K., where access to television is granted in most institutions under the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme, it could be said that the television is the primary educator in the room for many prisoners whose access to alternative technology is disallowed.

Since the completion of the Review, there have been positive changes with regard to the use of technology in prisons (see McFarlane and Morris, 2018). There has also been evidence of technological advances in prison-university partnerships, for example, the use of Coracle, a digital learning platform, has enabled prisoners to

undertake in-cell learning[20] in HMPs Whitemoor, Warren Hill and Grendon (see Learning Together, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c).

3.3.5. Prison education and supporting employment

The sixth chapter of the Review considered how to ensure better support for employment, education and training upon release from prison and the final chapter of the Review pertained to a 'timetable for change' (Coates, 2016, p.58). While HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2018) Annual Report 2017–18 indicated little change since Coates (2016) Review, there have been significant steps taken to evaluate prison education in terms of prison-university partnerships. The value of prison-university partnerships is discussed in the following section.

3.4. The value of prison-university partnerships

Over the past two decades, there has been a move towards 'experiential group learning' and prison university partnerships. The Prison to College Pipeline (P2CP) is perhaps one of the most well-known prison education models (see, Dreisinger, 2015). P2CP was established in 2005 by Professor Baz Dreisinger in an attempt to help prisoners and ex-prisoners in New York City obtain access to university level courses and pursue degrees. In addition to P2CP and Inside-Out, there is now a number of other high-profile prison university partnerships in the U.S.A. and Canada operating similar models.

The Prison University Project at San Quentin State Prison, partnering with Patten University students enrolled on an associate's degree (an AA degree) in General Education, experience the same level of tuition as students who are on the University campus. Upon completing sixty-one semester units or twenty-one classes, students are eligible to attend a celebratory graduation ceremony within the prison. The Project is currently in the process of evaluating its output via a Multi-Year Study.[21] Additionally, The Prison Education Project (Garcia, 2013) 'PEP', California, is driven by a focus on rehabilitation and is evaluated constantly. Working with neighbouring colleges, the organisation's vision, as described on its website, is to provide students with educational support and equip them with "the

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[20] For further information see: https://www.coracleinside.com/article/in-cell-digital-platform

[21] For further information see: https://prisonuniversityproject.org/about-us/our-mission/

cognitive tools necessary to function as productive citizens." PEP produces evaluation reports throughout the year and there are currently three theses documenting the programmes development and evaluating its impact. [22] Two further successful and accredited prison-university partnerships are Ohio University's 'Correctional Education'[23] and the Cornell Prison Education Program.[24]

There is, however, variation in programme delivery. Some universities offer distance learning with individual learners, whereas others opt to teach entire classes within prison or bring external students into the prison to teach a combined class with student prisoners. Similarly, accreditation varies, with some universities offering an accredited course and others offering a vocational experience.

Across the U.K., prison university partnerships are growing, rapidly and the standard criminology student tour of the local prison is now no longer the only exposure university students have to the prison environment. In October 2014, Durham University academics in Criminology sought training from the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program's Headquarters in the U.S.A. with a view to bringing the programme to the U.K. The Criminology team at Durham subsequently introduced Inside-Out to HMP Durham (formerly a Category B men's prison) and HMP Frankland (a Category A men's prison). The team later brought Inside-Out to HMP Low Newton (a closed female and Young Offenders prison).

This European first marked the beginning of the expansion of Inside-Out beyond the U.S.A. and further growth of prison-university partnerships in the U.K. with Teesside University, the University of Kent, Greenwich University, Cardiff University and Birmingham University offering courses thereafter, using the programme's pedagogical approach.[25] Durham University's partnership arguably paved the way for similar models to emerge, notably the University of Cambridge created the 'Learning Together' programme which commenced in 2015 (see Armstrong and Ludlow, 2016) and this has been evaluated rigorously (Mehay, 2017; Young, 2017).

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[22] For further information see: http://www.prisoneducationproject.org/index.html
[23] For further information see: https://www.ohio.edu/ecampus/print/correctional/
[24] For further information see: https://cpep.cornell.edu/
[25] For the full list of Inside-Out partnerships, see: https://www.insideoutcenter.org/higher-education-partners.html.

On its website, the PET provides a full list of prison-university partnerships in the U.K. It considers that prison-university partnerships are multidisciplinary and "often involve university and prison learners working on a module together over a number of weeks" (Reynolds, 2018, p.4). In determining the benefits of prison-university partnerships to prisons, the PET considers that they are a means of improving student well-being and supporting on-going study. Furthermore, the PET reports that prison-university partnerships offer a wider range of subjects to study in prison which affords prisoners the opportunity "to experience education at a higher level" to "experience a far broader range of subjects than funding for education in the prison may allow" and to develop "transferable skills" (Reynolds, 2018, p.8-9).

Documenting the unique learning experience that prison-university partnerships can offer 'outside' students, the PET drew on evidence from those who have participated in the Learning Criminology Inside partnership between the University of Manchester and HMP Risley, and the Making Links partnership between the University of Westminster and HMP Pentonville (Reynolds, 2018). Both accounts reported benefits of participation. One of the most important sections of the 'Toolkit' relates to the accreditation of prison-university courses. The PET suggest that partnerships need not be accredited to have value to both institutions and notes that in some instances it may not be appropriate to award an accreditation (Reynolds, 2018).

This information is helpful when determining the usefulness of a prison-university partnership to 'inside' students who are serving longer sentences and who may not have access to Higher Education. Consider, for example, those who have more than six years left to serve and whom therefore would not be eligible to apply for student support for admittance onto a degree pathway (see The Education (Student Support) Regulations 2011 (as amended)). This serves to set appropriate expectations and should be made available to all potential 'inside' students before taking part in prison-university partnerships. The sections below elaborate on some current U.K. based prison-university partnerships and subsequent programme evaluations to explain the contribution of prison-university partnerships to prison education and subsequent benefits to prisoners and the criminal justice system. The prison-university partnerships discussed are: the University of Cambridge

partnership, 'Learning Together'; the University Manchester partnership, 'Learning Criminology Inside'; and, The University of East Anglia partnership, 'The Crito Project'.

3.4.1. Learning Together

Learning Together was created by Dr Ruth Armstrong and Dr Amy Ludlow of the University of Cambridge in 2015. It began with a criminology course in HMP Grendon and later progressed to HMP Warren Hill and HMP Whitemoor. The map below, taken from the Learning Together website, illustrates the extent to which Learning Together partnerships are developing across the U.K.

Figure 5: Map of Learning Together Partnerships

Importantly, the Learning Together partnerships established by the University of Cambridge do not oversell what it attempts to do. As the most recent Impact Report on Learning Together at HMP Whitemoor states, "[o]ur learning communities aim to be individually aspirational and socially transformative" (Learning Together, 2019c, p.2). The vision and mission of the partnerships is defined as follows:

> *"Our vision is for education to be the practice of freedom… Our mission is to provide evidence-led, robustly evaluated, intellectually ambitious and individually and socially transformative learning opportunities through partnership working between higher education and criminal justice organisations."* (Learning Together, 2019c, p.2)

The sections below consider the impact reports from 2018/2019 from the University of Cambridge in relation to its three partnering prisons: HMP Grendon, HMP Warren Hill and HMP Whitemoor.

3.4.1.1. Learning Together HMP Grendon

The longest running Learning Together partnership is between the University of Cambridge and HMP Grendon (Learning Together, 2019a, p.3). It is now in its fifth year of delivery and has expanded from one criminology course to three courses in different subject areas as detailed on the timeline below at *Figure 6* (Learning Together, 2019a, p.3).
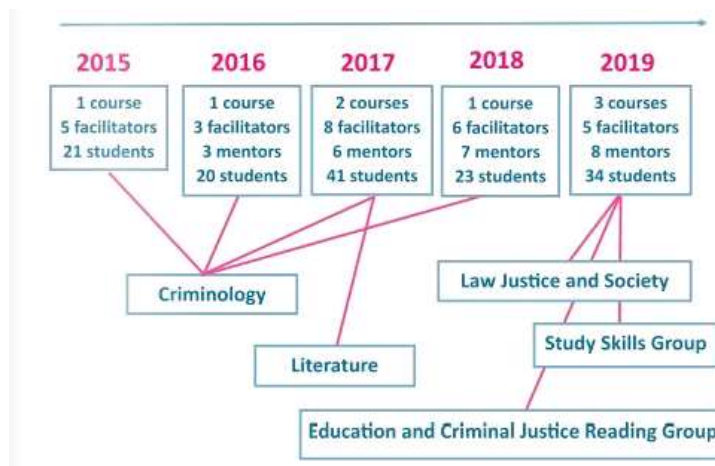
Figure 6: HMP Grendon expansion of Learning Together

The Impact Report for HMP Grendon (Learning Together, 2019a, p. 3) also notes significant technological advances, indicating that students on the most recent iteration of the course were able to locate legal resources online using 'Coracal Inside' [26] on unnetworked Chromebooks assigned to them for the course. In addition to the courses at HMP Grendon, the Impact Report (Learning Together, 2019a, p.3) notes that reading and study skills groups were also developed and attended by inside students to develop their Higher Education study skills. As part of the assessment of the programme, twenty-two students were interviewed. The findings are discussed below (see 3.4.1.4).

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[26] Coracle Inside is a digital platform for prisoners supported by the Ministry of Justice, further information is available from https://www.coracleinside.com/.

3.4.1.2. Learning Together HMP Warren Hill

The University of Cambridge implemented Learning Together in HMP Warren Hill in 2017. The Butler Law Course was its first course in this prison and explored legal issues and concepts with a view to developing legal research skills, original research and "advice and summary toolkits that others can use to understand the current legal and policy position in a given field" (Learning Together, 2019b, p.3). Some of the publications stemming from the Butler Law Course include: The Criminal Law Guide; HMP Tariff Review Guide; a Category A Guide; and, A Civil Law Guide (Learning Together, 2019b, p.10).

Recent developments at HMP Warren Hill include the Learning Together Study Centre and Law Library which created a learning space for students beyond the prison educational departments, prison library or their cells. The partnership also allowed students to avail of Coracle and Chromebooks to facilitate their study (p.3). Furthermore, in 2019, the partnership expanded to include: course design workshops; a seminar series entitled 'Big Ideas'; and, a debating course named 'Vocalise' in collaboration with Grey's Inn (Learning Together, 2019b, p.4). As part of the assessment of the programme, twenty-two students were interviewed. The findings are discussed below (see 3.4.1.4).

3.4.1.3. Learning Together HMP Whitemoor

> *"Our work in partnership with Whitemoor is leading the way in innovation and best practice across the Long-Term High Security Estate."* (Learning Together, 2019c, p.3)

The Learning Together partnership between the University of Cambridge and HMP Whitemoor has expanded over three years from one single course in philosophy to a broader range of eleven courses (Learning Together, 2019c, p.3) as *Figure 7* details.
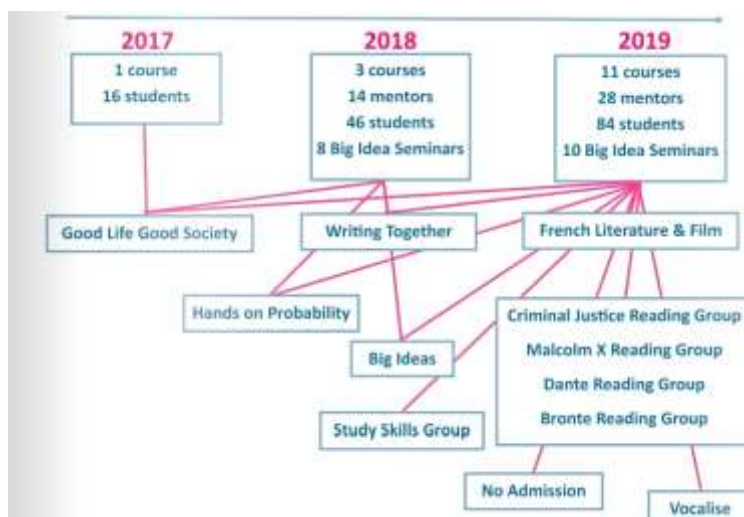
Figure 7: HMP Whitemoor expansion of Learning Together

Learning Together at HMP Whitemoor also offers reading and study skills groups to improve academic skills and offers a seminar series entitled, 'Big Ideas' which runs one evening per month. As its Impact Report 2018/2019 also notes, in 2019, the partnership developed a Learning Together Study Centre with education as its core focus (Learning Together, 2019c, p.5). Research assessing the impact of the partnership consisted of eighty-one interviews and sixty-six surveys. Findings are discussed below (see 3.4.1.4).

3.4.1.4. Assessing Learning Together

The Impact Reports from the University of Cambridge cite the continuous development of the partnerships which is grounded in research assessing impact. Four main themes emerged from the research: self-efficacy; interpersonal efficacy; perspective taking; and, self-esteem. Detailing the mode of assessment, the partnerships report that a questionnaire has been created and given to students before and after each course (Learning Together, 2019c, p.6). The information collected on these questionnaires is used to measure the impact of the course. Furthermore, in an innovative move, the partnership has made completion of this information part of an online platform which allows students to keep track of their own progress (Learning Together, 2019c, p.6).

Across the University of Cambridge's three Learning Together Partnerships, data from 136 students across the three prisons indicated significant improvements in all four areas identified above (Learning Together, 2019c, p.6). In addition to the

reported benefits of Learning Together, it is also reported that students, as a result of participating in the course, have gone on to become mentors on Learning Together courses and some students have had their security category reviewed and received a category downgrade i.e. moving from a higher category of prison to a lower category of prison (Learning Together, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c).

Furthermore, the focus of Learning Together, described in all three of its 2018/2019 Impact Reports, regarding socially transformative learning opportunities (Learning Together, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, p.2) and on "building community beyond courses" (Learning Together, 2019c, p.10) aligns with a number of recommendations in the Review in particular, recommendations relating to programme evaluation and assessment, supporting prisoner learning, the recruitment of high quality teachers, meeting student learning needs, and, academic progression for prisoners (Coates, 2016, p. 62). Thus, demonstrating the value of prison-university partnerships and the significant contribution they can make to prison education and prison culture more generally.

3.4.2. Learning Criminology Inside, prison-university partnership - Manchester University and HMP Risley

Learning Criminology Inside was established by Manchester University in HMP Risley in 2017. It drew its inspiration from Inside-Out and Learning Together, combining final year undergraduate university students and prison-based students for a weekly class in HMP Risley (Maruna *et al.* 2018, p.1). Describing the aims of the programme funded by CHERIL, Maruna *et al.* (2018, p.1) stated that it intended to "[o]ffer prisoners the opportunity to access university-level education in a seminar style environment where they can interact with university students and academic staff" and "provide more structured higher educational opportunities to those who do not usually have easy access to it". The project also intended to benefit 'outside's students, providing practical experience of the prison environment, interaction with prison staff and prisoners and it endeavoured to establish a stronger rapport between the University and local prisons furthering its "commitment to the public good, social responsibility and transformational scholarship" (Maruna *et al.,* 2018, p.2).

Following an evaluation of the impact of the programme which used a mixed methods approach consisting of data collected from focus groups, pre and post evaluation forms, staff and student reflective diaries and participant observations (Maruna *et al.*, 2018, p.4), findings indicated positive impacts for all involved. These included: enhanced learning; increased engagement; and, breaking down barriers and stereotypes (Maruna *et al.*, 2018, p.4).

Furthermore, Maruna *et al.,* (2018, p.5) commented on positive impacts of the programme specific to each group of students noting that 'outside' students' participation impacted their career decisions, their views of working with prisoners, and enhanced employability as they had worked with prisoners. Benefits specific to prison-based students included: desistance-based support; transformational benefits, "such as beginning to think seriously about pursuing Higher Education and seeing themselves as more capable of achieving something outside of crime"; and, normality and humanity (Maruna *et al.* 2018, p.6). The impact on teaching staff included personal development and impacts on prison staff related to the provision of Higher Education and a broader impact on rehabilitative culture (Maruna *et al.,* 2018, p.7).

3.4.3. The Crito Project – The University of East Anglia and multiple U.K. prisons
The Crito Project was established in 2013 and aimed at delivering education in the fields of Philosophy, Logic and Ethics, to prisoners in five prisons in the East of England (Walker and Lock, 2017, p.3). It reports on its website that it has delivered over 600 hours of face-to-face university-level philosophy classes and notes that although accreditation for its work had not been possible until recently, the University of East Anglia is now piloting a fully accredited series of modules, taken directly from its Philosophy Department's first-year curriculum.

The Crito Project website notes that education is "the most cost-effective and successful mode of reform available" to society yet it goes unappreciated. It further asserts that universities have a duty of care to actively "seek out students in unconventional settings…who can benefit the most from access to the rigour, reflection and qualifications that higher learning brings about." In addition, The Crito Project, acknowledging prison education should not always be targeted at

influencing recidivism, describes its drive to effect long-lasting and meaningful change within individuals, a personal reform:

> *"The Crito Project's mission is to bring lasting and positive reform to the opportunities to be found in our prisons. We want to provide a first-class education to incarcerated students, as a means to achieving the only type of reform that is real and lasting, and common to everyone: reform on the level of an individual's concepts, self-esteem and life opportunities."*

In its Annual Audit 2016/2017, The Crito Project reported that its institutional aim was to "forge positive and mutually beneficial relationships" between stakeholders and its research aim to evaluate the "efficacy of the programme, to both safeguard & inform the project's future learning outcomes, and to benefit the wider audience of academics & policy makers" (p.4). The evaluation of the project concerned data from semi-structured interviews with prisoners in a Category D prison who had completed the course 'Introducing Philosophy' (p.5) and the overarching themes in the research related to insight and reflection. Findings related to the impact the project had on participants' impulsivity, personal growth, purpose in life, identity and quality of life (p.5) and indicated that the "development of the cognitive abilities of insight and reflection appears to have resulted in participants being able to more accurately view and accept their past and present situations and to make better plans for the future" (p.10).

Although there were no negative impacts reported, The Annual Audit 2016/2017 revealed that when asking whether the course had caused prisoners to think about who they are or what they could be, it was found,

> *"A potential negative impact of the course was that as participants became aware of the cognitive skills they developed, such as improved cognitive reasoning and an awareness of fallacies, they may grow to perceive themselves as being immune to making [these] mistakes in the future"* (Walker and Lock, 2017, p.9).

In response to this finding, the authors reported:

> *"This risk was identified by Walker both as being a natural artefact of going through this learning process but also in some of the conversations he had with participants in the teaching sessions. To reduce this risk, Walker dedicated a part of final session to explain to the course participants about how this incorrect thinking could occur and how it was important to be aware of this so that their vulnerability to this cognitive error was reduced"* (Walker and Lock, 2017, p.10).

This is a significant research finding as it highlights the potential negative impact of prison-university partnerships and the necessity to evaluate and address any failings. This is an important and valuable contribution to the field of prison education and to criminal justice practitioners as it highlights a learning need that may be unmet in other prison-university partnerships.

As identified above, access to education can be dependent on a number of factors. However, in the context of prison university partnerships, in addition to physically accessing prisons, university-lead initiatives are also dependant on building good relations with prison staff and building trust between institutions (see Behan, 2007). The following section explores how the design of Inside-Out circumvents some of the barriers identified above and discusses how the aims of Inside-Out align with the rehabilitative purpose of prison education in the U.K.

3.5. Inside-Out: countering barriers to prison education in the U.K.

The pedagogical approach of Inside-Out plays a crucial role in supporting the rehabilitative aims of sentencing (The Criminal Justice Act (2003) Part 12, s.142(1) (a-e)). As Turenne (2013, p.122) explains, the class is effective in bringing both groups of 'students' together despite their disparate backgrounds, generating a 'safe space' where counternarratives can be "cultivated and explored" and this is due to the programme's pedagogical approach outlined in Chapter One and critiqued in Chapter Two.

Harris (2013, p.54) explains why Inside-Out 'fits' and how it differs from other approaches to education,

> *"It is also important for people who are incarcerated to have opportunities beyond those typically available inside prisons to participate in critical analysis and structured discussion of materials that bear importantly on their lives and experiences."*

Davis and Roswell (2013, p.2) note, "Inside-Out offers a pathway to academic success not only for students who are incarcerated but potentially for students from other communities that have historically been underserved by higher education as well". For prison-based students, access to most Higher Education programmes in the U.K. depends on the length of one's sentence.

As Coates (2016, p.41) notes:

> *"Currently prisoners are prevented from taking out a student loan until the last six years of their sentence due to a requirement in the Education (Student Support) Regulations. This means that prisoners on longer sentences potentially face years of wasted time…"*

Crucially, there is no requirement for students to be educated to a certain standard prior to embarking on Inside-Out and this carries great importance in the context of prisons where those serving sentences may not have access to the same educational opportunities as their outside peers. Werts (2013a) comments on the significance of the appeal of Inside-Out to those without an academic background. Drawing on his own experience, Werts (2013a, p.160) stated, "what piqued my interest in the Inside-Out program was finding out that… you didn't necessarily need a high-school diploma or GED", all that was needed "was the willingness to do the work and fully participate in the sessions".

However, in instances of over-subscription, a selection process may have to be implemented, see for example Sayre's (2018, p.593) discussion on student eligibility and acceptance:

> *"Inside students also applied through written applications and in-person interviews with the course instructor. Because more inside students applied than the course had spaces for, the inside students were selected based on having a high school diploma or a high school equivalency diploma, experience in college-level courses, and their educational motivation. Inside students who were nearing their release dates were given preference so that they could complete the course before leaving the institution."*

Creating a programme without educational prerequisites allows participants who may have been ineligible for other prison education programmes to experience academic success and this is pertinent to addressing barriers to prison education in the U.K. for those with a tariff of more than six years. Inside-Out can therefore be said to be a valuable addition to Higher Education in prisons in the U.K. supporting the rehabilitative aims of prison education.

Access to Higher Education programmes can also be restricted or limited for those requiring the use of technology to advance their studies. As explained in Chapter One and Chapter Two, Inside-Out does not require the use of technology. Instead, Inside-Out supplies students with relevant resources and uses a number of

alternative exercises and assessment techniques which do not require the use of computers and thus, the model circumvents related problems other Higher Education programmes may encounter.

Furthermore, as Chapter Two demonstrated, the multiple benefits to prison education outlined by Champion and Nobel (2017, p.2) (these were: wellbeing; human capital; social capital; knowledge, skills and employability; and, prison culture) and subsequent long-term outcomes (for example, the development of the whole-person; a prison culture that promotes rehabilitation; participation in society; making a contribution; sustained employment or self-employment) are reported outcomes achieved by Inside-Out. However, to deduce whether U.K. based Inside-Out students have experienced such outcomes, one must evaluate the programme.

3.6. Evaluating prison-university partnerships

As the Coates (2016) Review highlighted, in instances where educational opportunities are available, they do not always meet the needs of each person. Consequently, there are prisoners who are not being treated fairly as they are not being assessed effectively or educated to the standard needed to partake in the programmes that may encourage rehabilitation. It could be said that engaging prisoners in education alone is not enough to significantly lower rates of recidivism. It could also be said that it is unclear which elements of prison education are the most beneficial due to the degree of variables and lack of methodological commonalities between studies. This is particularly relevant given the inconsistencies in the literature with regard to former information on students and post-programme evaluation, for example, Giles and Whale (2016, p. xii) discuss the problems of measuring the impact of education in prison noting that how it is measured is "critical to estimating its influence on post-release outcomes such as recidivism and welfare dependence". Similarly, while it has been said that the length of time a prisoner is engaged in a programme can influence the post-programme behaviours, (See Cho and Tyler, 2008), there is little information on the former educational experiences of student prisoners.

There is an added concern in relation to assessing the extent of student 'change'. While the theory that participation in regime activities, such as education can lead

to desistance is a theme that has been explored (Wilson and Reuss, 2000), arguably, the assessment of activities and impact has not been rigorous or consistent. In an attempt to collate the data on prison education programmes and post-release outcomes, Ellison *et al.* (2017) conducted a Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA). However, while REAs provide useful indicators for understanding the state of prison education within a particularly short timeframe, they have significant limitations. Firstly, Ellison *et al.*'s (2017) study referred to the link between prison education programmes and post-release outcomes in a sample which consisted of almost entirely U.S.A. based studies. Secondly, the study considered education in the broadest sense and included "evaluations of vocational, academic, basic skills, accredited and unaccredited educational provision in prison where recidivism and/or employment were measured as outcomes" (Ellison *et al.,* 2017, p.1).

With the net cast so wide, it would be difficult to assess whether particular programmes were more effective than others and whether there was a difference in outcomes of a particular programme when delivered in the U.K. versus the U.S.A. (such as Inside-Out). Thus, although there is extensive coverage of the *potential* impact of prison education on prisoners in relation to: desistance; reduced security risks; post-prison employment rates (see Giles and Whale, 2016); and, a range of other factors, the literature lacks consistency. There is therefore a strong case to be made for a new model of evaluation to measure specific variables rather than continuing with the assumption that generally, education is connected to a reduction in reoffending and speculating on the reasons why.

However, Austin's (2017) alternative view considers that evaluating best practices is a waste of time and resources. Austin (2017, p.568) contends that it is common knowledge that engagement in any prison education efforts "have a better chance to have lower prison misconduct rates and recidivism rates" but comments that the difference in metrics between those who participate and those who do not is "either not great or non-existent". Austin's (2017) view may seem controversial but it raises very valid points including the issue of measuring rates of attrition and including 'drop-outs' in evaluations which overwhelmingly rely on class attendance as a measurement of programme success. In addition, interviewing programme 'drop-outs' is inherently problematic and so valuable data relating to why a student

chose not to continue a programme is lost and thus, so is the opportunity to improve the programme and produce a better practise to retain future students. Austin (2017, p.568) suggests time and research should instead be dedicated to reducing "unnecessary levels of imprisonment", arguing that education is far more meaningful when it is delivered beyond the prison environment.

While introducing experiential learning is a positive step in meeting student learning needs, it should be noted that there is a lack of consistency in programme evaluation which is problematic. Evaluation of all of the U.K. prison university efforts is crucial to the continued success and future development of diversity in prison education. Without constant evaluation and the opportunity to critique practises, a 'best practice' cannot be established and efforts may be so varied that some could be damaging to participants. Without a robust method of evaluation, it is difficult to assess whether Inside-Out has been influential or transformative for course participants. However, there are questions which could be asked to evaluate the programme, for example, as explained in Chapter One and Chapter Two, Inside-Out claims that it offers a transformative learning experience- this may align with a change in identity and so, 'what does identity mean to 'inside' participants?' is a reasonable starting point to assess this claim. Furthermore, to determine whether Inside-Out can engage with the desistance process, it may be useful to understand what influences one's self-narrative and how participation in Inside-Out has influenced 'Inside' participants' self-narratives.

3.7. Chapter summary

Rather than present the theoretical or evidential backstory of prison education, this chapter sought to state the current climate for prison-based learning. It situated Inside-Out within education in U.K. prisons and explored how the aims of Inside-Out align with the rehabilitative purpose of prison education in the U.K. It discussed prison education in the context of the Criminal Justice System in the U.K., and elucidated the benefits and some of the barriers to prison education as referred in Dame Sally Coates' Review (2016) which reviewed prison education and sought to improve prison standards in the U.K. The developments and improvements which have since emerged to support rehabilitative processes were then discussed. In situating Inside-Out within prison education, consideration was given to

programme delivery, limitations, and the evaluation of prison education. It was noted that, while it has been argued that prisons can rehabilitate offenders (Dhami, Mandel, Lowenstein and Ayton, 2006), the rehabilitation process is varied (Goodman, 2012) for individuals and so too is the impact of education.

The trade of information provided through engagement with the wider community and association with high-profile third level valued education providers was elaborated upon, noting that it is of undeniable benefit to those in prison. It was also acknowledged that there is great value to the community in harnessing social capital through prison university partnerships (Coates, 2016). It was noted that the recommendations of the Review relating to: Prison Governors' control of prison education; the need for a new and more progressive 'people' culture; meaningful and individualised learning for every prisoner; raising the aspirations of prisoners and encouraging a purposeful educational journey; improved technology and access to computers for the purpose of improving prisoner's skills; enabling employment opportunities post-prison; and, a timeline for educational reform (Coates, 2016, p. 4) are still crucial issues in terms of the framing and experiences of prison education. The research will explore some of these issues further alongside the core research questions of the thesis.

The chapter supported the need for continued evaluation of all educational programs despite controversial research in the field indicating that research in the area is unnecessary. It contended that the following questions would be beneficial to forming a more grounded understanding of the claims of Inside-Out relating to transformation: what does identity mean to 'inside' participants? and what influences one's self-narrative?; how has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'Inside' participants' self-narratives?; and, to what extent can it be said that Inside-Out effects a change in one's 'self-narrative' and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process? Chapter Four will consider how best to answer these questions through a discussion of prison research methods and methodologies.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction to Chapter Four

The previous chapters have explored the structure and design of Inside-Out, the literature in the field and the position of the programme within the context of prison education in the U.K. Background information on the development of Inside-Out presented in Chapter One revealed that the programme draws from a number of pre-existing learning pedagogies designed to provide a transformative learning experience. A subsequent discussion of the extent of the transformation was introduced (see 1.7.1) and likened to 'role transition' (see Maruna, 2001), creating a possible nexus with desistance theory. As previously discussed, role-transition can be explained as a change in self-perception, i.e. thinking or acting differently than before.

A review of the Inside-Out literature, provided in Chapter Two, revealed an overwhelmingly positive view of Inside-Out presented by practitioners and former students, supporting the transformative claims of the programme. However, the majority of the literature pertained to programme delivery in contexts radically different to the U.K. Furthermore, the way in which claims of transformation have been assessed and evaluated was neither clear nor consistent and so, determining the extent of transformation or any connection with desistance theory proved to be difficult. It was also acknowledged in Chapter Three that Higher Education evaluation in U.K. prisons is often limited to reported educational success and class attendance. This information does not, and cannot, take into consideration the personal impact of Higher Education on prisoners and so, to form a more comprehensive understanding of impact, a robust qualitative approach to evaluation is needed.

The objective of this research is to assess whether 'inside' students who have taken Inside-Out in the U.K. have experienced a transformation and if so, whether this could connect the programme with role-transition and thus, desistance theory. A number of questions in relation to the boldness of Inside-Out's claims of

transformative learning arose from the previous chapters. The following questions provide a framework for assessing this claim:

- What does identity mean to 'inside' participants? And, what influences one's self-narrative?
- How has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'Inside' participants' self-narratives?
- How does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?
- To what extent can it be said that Inside-Out effects a change in one's 'self-narrative' and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process?

This chapter maps the methodological, ethical and practical approach to the research. It describes the intended research approach and later contrasts it with what actually happened during the fieldwork and writing-up stages. All of the obstacles encountered and how they were navigated inform this chapter and provide an authentic reflection on prison research. It begins by establishing the ontological position of the research, discussing the rationale for the decision to use a qualitative approach. It acknowledges the prevalence of qualitative rather than quantitative research methods in prison research before elaborating on the research design and application for ethical approval. The chapter then documents the piloting stage of the research, explaining how and why the interview schedule was substantially changed rather than refined. It presents an honest reflection of the pilot process essentially detailing what not to say, imploring future prison researchers to be mindful of the same pitfalls.

The chapter discusses the sampling strategy and the recruitment timeline and presents the sample of former 'inside' student participants in three case studies. Each case study is broken down into gender, year of study and participant-reported levels of former experience in education. The sampling strategy, recruitment timeline and sample of facilitators and TAs is then presented. This sample is broken down into geographical location, gender, number of Inside-Out courses delivered and former experience in prisons and prison education. The process of transcribing and analysing the data is then discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary and assessment of the validity of the research.

4.2. Methods, methodology and ethical compliance

It was decided that the most appropriate approach for the research would be inductive.[27] The inductive approach allowed questions such as, 'what does identity mean to 'inside' participants? and, what influences one's self-narrative?' to be asked. These questions were central to the research. In order to construct an appropriate research design and methodology, prison research was explored along with recommendations from Inside-Out in relation to conducting research on or related to the programme.

4.2.1. Designing prison research

Prisons are "structurally and bureaucratically closed off" (Reiter, 2014, p.417) institutions which can make it increasingly difficult for researchers to design and conduct their research freely. The application for ethical approval can be time consuming (see Brookman, 2013) and, even when ethical approval has been granted by the institutions concerned, in the U.K., decisions to allow prison research ultimately fall squarely within the remit of the Security Governor as per the guidance from the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and HMPPS National Research Committee (NRC).

Difficulties in conducting prison research both internationally and in the U.K. are well documented, for example, gaining access to prisons is a major obstacle to obtaining data (see Morselli and Tremblay, 2013) and 'cultivating contacts' (see King and Liebling, 2007, p.434) can be problematic. In their discussion relating to prison research, King and Liebling (2007, p.435) note the necessity to cultivate contacts but stress the view that this need not result in the researchers loss of "independence, scholarly judgement, or personal integrity". In prison, one often

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[27] 'Transformation' could also have come under the 'abductive research strategy' in that it considers constructions of reality and how people understand, construct or interpret their activities together (Blaikie, 2007, p.10) or the 'deductive research strategy'. Initial consideration was given to deductive research which begins with a pattern already discovered (e.g. such as the prevalence of a change in identity in so-called 'desisting' individuals) and in essence, attempts to find alternative reasoning (Blaikie, 2007, p.9). Accepting that one could not assume Inside-Out was transformative for everyone, consideration turned to the perceived influence of the programme. A deductive approach may deduce that any improvement or decline in student behaviour would have to consider the whole picture (i.e. the entire prison experience) rather than inferring too much from one activity. While it would be useful to determine if the programme had been proven to influence positive or negative change this was not the objective of the research and so, the inductive approach was chosen.

relies on good relations with prison personnel to arrange access and, collect data and when rapport is established, it can lead to the successful, unobstructed acquisition of data (see: Copes and Hochstetler, 2010; Patenaude, 2004; Duke, 2002; and, Hirsch, 1995). Without good relations and contacts within prisons, access can be difficult to negotiate. However, King and Liebling (2007, p.432) note that the U.K. has the "strongest tradition of prisons research by academics", and further comment,

> "Prison officials will probably see Ph.D research as potentially the least threatening - if only because work conducted as an apprentice is bound to be limited in scope, take a long time to complete, and unwelcome findings may be easier to dismiss" (p.436).

With an awareness of some of the possible obstructions, a starting point in the research design was to review the methods used in other prison research. The purpose of this was twofold: firstly, to establish the difficulties faced by other prison researchers so that pitfalls could be avoided, and risk could be mitigated; and secondly, if there was a 'best-practice' known in prison research, to implement it in this study. The approaches taken by others in the field are discussed below.

For an external prison researcher (that is, one who is not affiliated with a prison) implementing a quantitative study can be problematic as there are too many variables in the prison setting. It follows then that the vast majority of prison research falls under qualitative research design. One of the most used methods of prison research is prison ethnography (see Scott, 2013, 2014; and, Liebling *et al.* 2015). This method has been said to provide "superior understanding" of the data (see Hammersley, 2015, p.22, in the context of ethnography in the form of participant observation) and a unique opportunity for "total immersion" (Piacentini, 2015, p.83) which can generate new meaning and understanding of social interactions, people and spaces. It is not uncommon to employ the prison ethnography method in PhD research (see Rowe, 2009) however, it was important to consider multiple approaches in order to make an informed decision as to the direction of this research.

Adapting Hubberman and Miles (2002, p.10) template entitled, "Recent Examples of Inductive Case Study Research", the table below presents examples of research in prisons in the U.K. The reason for the specificity of the location is due to the

location of this section of the research which was based in U.K. prisons. The table is not a systematic review of all U.K. based prison studies but serves to inform the approach of this research by considering the value and output in each instance.

Table 1: Examples of methods used in prison research

Data Sources	Title of Study	Description of the Research	Research Questions	Intended use of Research Findings
Interviews, observations and questionnaires.	'Family literacy in prisons: fathers' engagement with their young children' (Nutbrown *et al.* 2019).	The research involved seventy-four incarcerated individuals and literacy-oriented family visits in two U.K. prisons.	"The two research questions for this project were: i) 'In the event of their imprisonment, how can (absent) fathers be supported in their vital contribution to young children's literacy development?' and, (ii) 'Can an established programme, known to be effective elsewhere, be adapted and run successfully with fathers in prison?'" (Nutbrown *et al*. 2019, p.174).	To add to the pre-existing literature in the field relating to incarcerated fathers' contribution to their child's literacy development and in addition, contribution to the literature on desistance. To inform future approaches to adapting pre-existing methods to support learning in relation to children's literacy development.
Focus groups, semi structured interviews, documentary analysis and	'Prisoner experiences of learning and growth within a high security	An exploration of prisoners' learning experiences and growth at HMP Frankland. The research involved fifteen	"What is it about these men and their prison environments that encourages and supports this learning and growth and why is	To inform policy makers involved in funding and planning related to learning and growth with prisons.

fieldwork notes.	prison' (O'Sullivan, 2017).	interviews and focus groups with incarcerated individuals.	this important?" (O'Sullivan, 2017, p.2).	
Meta-analysis.	'A Rapid Evidence Assessment of the effectiveness of prison education in reducing recidivism and increasing employment' (Ellison *et al.* 2017).	The research involved "evaluations of vocational, academic, basic skills, accredited and unaccredited educational provision in prison where recidivism and/or employment were measured as outcomes" (Ellison *et al.* 2017, p.108).	"The primary research question was: What impact does education in prison have on rates of recidivism and employment?" (Ellison *et al.,* 2017, p.117).	The "Meta-analysis on 18 reoffending studies identified that delivering education in prison settings has a positive impact on recidivism." (Ellison *et al.* 2017, p.108).
Focus groups.	'Exploration of delivering brief interventions in a prison setting: A qualitative study in one English region' (Sondhi *et al.* 2016).	The research involved "Five focus groups with 25 prisoners" and "focus group discussions with 30 professionals" (Sondhi *et al.* 2016, p.382). Research was conducted across nine U.K. prisons ranging from categories A-D.	The study sought to explore "the views of staff on the efficacy of alcohol brief interventions within a prison setting" and "the perceptions of prisoners in relation to non-dependent drinking" (Sondhi *et al.* 2016, p.382).	The research contributed to pre-existing knowledge in the field and found that the delivery of screening and brief interventions in prison should "focus on developing three key areas around: (a) interventions for the point of release; (b) enhanced content around family impact and offending; and (c) forward-

			looking goal-setting as motivational tools to facilitate change" (Sondhi *et al.* 2016, p.382).
Focus groups.	'Offenders' perceptions of the UK prison smoking ban' (Dugdale *et al.* 2019).	Eight focus groups across four prisons in the U.K. were conducted.	The study sought to explore the perceptions of incarcerated individuals on the implementation of a smoking ban.	The study found that there was a lack of awareness among the sample and recommended support for and greater communication to prisoners in relation to the implementation smoking ban.
Semi-structured interviews.	'Measurement of psychopathy in a UK Prison population referred for long-term psychotherapy' (Hobson and Shines, 1998).	104 semi-structured interviews were carried out in HMP Grendon.	To investigate the prevalence of psychopathy and the psychometric properties of the PCL-among incarcerated individuals in HMP Grendon (Hobson and Shines, 1998, p.507).	To increase the reliability of a pre-existing test (the PCL-R) through evidence-based research.

Semi-structured interviews.	Evaluation of Leeds Becket University Prison: Learning Together Programme (Young, 2017).	Interviews with 12 HMP Full Sutton and 11 Leeds Beckett students.	The evaluation intended "to explore students' experiences of the 2017 Leeds Beckett Prison: Learning Together module" (Young, 2017, p.3).	Young (2017) reported that, "The evaluation makes recommendation for future Prison: Learning Together modules based on the feedback from the students" (Young, 2017, p.9).
Mixed methods: Semi-structured interviews, surveys and systematic observations.	An Evaluation of a Learning Together Partnership (Mehay, 2017).	Semi-structured interviews and surveys were administered to a group of 'inside' and 'outside' students learners. In addition, "systematic observations from tutors were also obtained to capture course administrative data (e.g. attendance, topics, learning methods used) as well as document their general reflections on each session" (Meyhay, 2017, p.4).	To evaluate the aims and "explore the strengths and challenges in developing, implementing, and achieving the goals of Learning Together" (Mehay, 2017, p.3).	The study uncovered a number of strengths in the Learning Together programme delivery in addition to benefits to student learners. It made recommendations for future course practitioners and drew awareness to a range of potential risks.

Mehay (2017) notes the benefits of qualitative research, in particular the opportunity to converse with prisoners and the oft missed added value to both the participant and the interviewer. Meyhay (2017, p.34) states,

> *"Since prisoners are routinely 'silenced', qualitative designs can be powerful forms of interaction where new insights can emerge through a shared process. In this sense, qualitative interviews seek to share control and counter some of the lack of autonomy prisoners suffer."*

Other modes of qualitative research were also explored, including group interviews and the use of focus groups. However, given that this was prison-based research, creating a situation where all participants were in the same room for research purposes would have been difficult to justify to the prison in terms of use of staff resources. In addition, there would have been an obvious increase in risk to both the researcher and other participants.

Furthermore, it did not make sense to have a group discussion on identity when the intention was to specifically investigate the nuances in participants' understanding. While surveys and questionnaires were also considered, for the purpose of investigating identity, data from a survey or questionnaire would not have been as informative as human interaction through questioning, where it would be possible to "probe" and "develop provisional answers, think outside the box and become acquainted with the data" (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p.69). Interviewing, and in particular, semi-structured interviewing could potentially provide a wider range of information from participants that could not be obtained from statistics alone. As Longhurst (2003, p.103) notes,

> *"A semi-structured interview is a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important."*

After considering a number of other options, semi-structured interviewing was chosen as the research method for this research based on the prevalence of the use of interviewing in prison research, the outputs recorded in Table 1, and the practical and methodological concerns discussed.

4.2.2. Consulting the literature relating to research on Inside-Out

As the focus of the research was on Inside-Out, it was also important to consult the literature relating to Inside-Out research (for example, Bryant and Payne, 2013). Bryant and Payne (2013) suggest that 'street' participatory action research (PAR) could be used as a framework to combat some of the ethical issues in assessing community-based learning experiences and used as a more thorough method of including and integrating the views and voices of those the research examines. Explaining this concept, they state:

> *"Street PAR explicitly organizes Black and Brown persons who are active in the streets, who embrace street life and/or crime as a central or core identity, and/or who have at some point been involved with the criminal justice system to empirically document the lived experiences of street-life-oriented people…The assumption is that individuals who are actively or formerly involved with the streets are best poised to ritually examine the intimate and structural experiences of a population that have usually been ignored or dismissed, even in the racial and ethnic neighbourhoods in which they reside"* (Bryant and Payne, 2013, p.231)

They further consider the value of "engaging participants as informed researchers" (Bryant and Payne, 2013, p.237), and therefore the benefits to all involved in the research. Thus, suggesting a more inclusive approach and the potential for more thorough research in the field of prison education. In considering the questions of the Inside-out research community, Allred *et al.* (2013, p.200) note:

> *"Who conducts the research? What or whom is being studied? What questions should be asked? What qualifies as success? What tools and methods should be used? How can we assess claims of transformation? What kinds of inquiry does Inside-Out make uniquely possible?"*

Acknowledging longitudinal studies are complicated in prison research, Allred *et al.* (2013, p.200) comment that "both ethical and methodological challenges arise when people are leaving prison". Adopting the best methodical approach can be problematic. Allred *et al.* (2013, p.201) consider, "'[w]hat theoretical frameworks can account for this interpenetration of high impact practices as the source of the transformational power of Inside-Out?'" and how might one research and quantify and explain a 'transformation'? In seeking to "test the claim" that Inside-Out "contributes to change in individuals' attitudes, beliefs, self-perception etc." (Allred *et al.*, 2013, p.203). Allred *et al.* (2013, p.201) present a range of texts one might draw upon when researching Inside-Out, for example: The Liberal Education and America's Promise initiative (p.201); Jack Mezirow's ten-stage description of

transformative learning (p.202); and, Robert Putnam's concept of "bonding capital" (p.202). Posing the question "What Sorts of Questions Do You Want to Ask?" (p.203) some of the questions which arose from a round-table discussion included:

"How has this transformation manifested in your interactions with a community, with your desire to stay involved, with how you act?" - Dan Stageman (p.203)

"Where will you take this from here? What will you do with this?" - Lori Pompa (p.203)

"How has participation in Inside-Out changed instructors' teaching, research, self-concept, or civic engagement?" - Angela Bryant (p.204)

"What happens when the work doesn't end?" - Angela Bryant (p.205)

While the research did not opt for the 'Street PAR' method, the value of inclusion and "engaging participants as informed researchers" (Bryant and Payne, 2013, p.237) was acknowledged and the research therefore drew on the lived experiences of participants.

4.2.3. Case studies and data triangulation

The data from 'inside' participants was triangulated across three sites to ensure the validity of the research and to comply with the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) recommendations for prison research. When determining how best to present the data, the chosen method was through three case studies (see Huberman and Miles, 2002, p.9). The intention was to both interrogate the claim that Inside-Out provided a transformative learning experience and to investigate whether there were any commonalities between each case study which would then generate theory.

When selecting each case study, the pool of potential participants was limited to universities which were willing to cooperate with the request to research. However, in addition to the value of the uniqueness of the research sites, two of the three sites were chosen due to good pre-existing relations with Inside-Out staff and one site was chosen due to the PhD supervisor's good relations with Inside-Out staff. This is discussed in detail later in the chapter with regard to access issues. The approach to the analysis of the case studies is discussed at section 4.2.9.

4.2.4. Designing interview questions

When designing interview questions for both groups, the intention was to engage participants in a natural discussion to elicit a more contemplative answer rather than a rehearsed answer that an 'inside' participant may be accustomed to giving to a parole or probation officer or that a lecturer may give to a student. In particular, the purpose behind asking open questions to 'inside' participants was to assess the way the answer was presented or framed and to inform the discussion on the 'self-narrative'. Additionally, a clear emphasis was placed on the insider's point of view in order to addresses the power dynamic between interviewer and 'inside' participant.

The research considers education as a pathway to desistance and the theory that Inside-Out could provide a dynamic way of engaging with desistance. Many of the 'inside' participants will remain in prison long after they have finished the course. Arguably, they will not have a true opportunity to desist based on the fact that they will not be re-released into the conditions of the world outside the prison walls, but instead, they will remain inside a controlled prison environment. By including questions in the interview schedule that relate to behavioural changes in the interviewee and their perception of behavioural changes in others, one could possibly argue that there has been a positive impact on the individual and on others associated with them in the prison.

Moreover, if interview questions could be designed to draw out information from 'inside' participants which would indicate what made up an identity, such as, what traits they felt defined themselves and others, it might be possible to break the term 'identity' into components and find commonalities and/or differences between each participant's understanding. It might also be possible to find one common component that changes and causes the so-called 'transformative' learning experience.

In terms of how interviews would be recorded, a request for Dictaphone use was submitted and approved by NOMS as discussed in the next section. The rationale for the request to use a Dictaphone was grounded in research stating significant and important advantages of using recording devices (Seidman, 2013; Punch, 2013;

and, Bryman, 2016). However, it was anticipated that not all prison establishments would permit the use of a recording device and, even where use of a Dictaphone had been approved, there would still be a chance that it may not be allowed into a prison on a particular day.

4.2.5. Ethical compliance

As Scott (2014, p.31) notes, "the prison research process remains an ethical minefield where the researcher is likely to be confronted with a number of situationally specific moral dilemmas". There are various research bodies which govern the quality and ethical viability within social research such as The Social Research Association, The American Sociological Association, British Psychological Society and, The Economic and Social Research Council. There is no common thread between these three bodies as to a uniform agreement on what is meant by 'ethics' within a social research context. However, when discussing ethics of social research, Bryman (2012, p. 130) suggests that the role of values in the research process is significant and important.

Bryman (2012) notes that ethical issues may revolve around issues in relation to the way in which one treats those involved in the research and whether certain activities within the process are justifiable, i.e. whether or not a researcher should refrain from doing certain things. Bryman (2012) further highlights that discussions in relation to ethical principles in social research and importantly, transgressions of them, tend to revolve around four core issues as cited by Diener and Crandall (1978): whether there is harm to participants; whether there is a lack of informed consent; whether there is an invasion of privacy; and whether deception is involved. Ethical concerns within prison research should be at the forefront of the interviewer's mind.

Initial ethical approval was obtained from the Department of Sociology and was written in accordance with the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (see Appendix 3). This was introduced in 2006 and amended in 2015 to highlight the importance for researchers to think ethically when conducting research and consider ethical issues throughout the research lifecycle, that is, the planning, funding and any activity that relates to the project. The ESRC essentially presents six principles

within its Framework for Research Ethics: Informed Consent; Participation and Consent; Avoiding Harm to Research Participants; Ensuring the Independence of Research Participants; Ensuring the Independence of Research and Declaring any Conflicts of Interest or Partiality. The research also required the approval of NOMS. NOMS clearance took one year to obtain (see Appendix 4). In the context of the average three to four-year PhD, obtaining prison clearance can consume a significant portion of a researcher's time. Having made the required corrections, NOMS allowed the research to proceed at the discretion of each prison establishment. The research complies with NOMS guidelines and the Department of Sociology's guidelines as explained below.

i)   Informed consent

To comply with this requirement, a participant information sheet and consent form for both sets of participants was created (see Appendix 5, 6, 7 and 8). This ensured that participants had the opportunity to refuse, to withdraw, or to agree to take part in some or all of the research. All participants were made aware that they were participating in research, they were informed of the purpose of the research and how their participation (for example their interview content) would be used. All participants were issued with a copy of the consent form and participant information sheet for their own perusal. Participants had the automatic right to withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason; they also had the right to change their mind. This information was contained on their consent form:

> *"If you wish to withdraw from this research project, please do so within four weeks after the interview has taken place by contacting your prison governor.*
>
> *Requests to withdraw after this timeframe has lapsed cannot be fully honoured where data has already been used in publications."*

i)   Participation and Consent.

Written consent forms with thorough guidelines were provided to the sample of participants. It was highlighted that there was no expectation on participants to agree to partake in this research (see Appendix 7 and Appendix 8).

ii)   Avoiding harm to research participants

Due to the nature of the research which asked particular questions to 'inside' participants in relation to offending and which may have prompted participants to

discuss their past, reliving potentially traumatic events provided an element of risk of emotional harm and risk of upset. In this sense, this research could not *guarantee* protection of its participants from emotional harm. There were a number of associated risks to the researcher and research participants which are considered in the sections below.

iii)   Ensuring the independence of research and declaring any conflicts of
         interest or partiality

The research design enabled independence throughout the process without any conflicts of interest. Any contribution from supervisors, colleagues or any other person of influence has been acknowledged within the research. Interviews were recorded on an encrypted Dictaphone approved by the Ministry of Justice and transcribed verbatim.

iv)   Anonymity and Confidentiality of participants and their responses

With regard to confidentiality, data was stored in a secure locked facility and on a computer with a password made available to supervisors. There were no anticipated circumstances in which there would be a limit or exclusion to the anonymity or confidentiality offered to participants. While this was an assurance for the purpose of ethical compliance, there was an added benefit to the quality of the data obtained in the prison. Research indicates that the quality of data increases where there is an assurance of anonymity (see Singer *et. al.,* 1995).

iv)   Additional issues: Coercion, awareness of situational differences and
         differing prison establishment regulations

While written consent forms with thorough guidelines were provided to each potential participant and it was highlighted that there was no expectation on participants to agree to partake in this research, coercion remained an issue. The impact of the presence or absence of a prison officer on the responses of 'inside' participants was considered. Advice from supervisors was sought to assure no coercion took place and no coercive language had been used in any of the research material provided.

'Inside' participants were informed before the interview that their answers would not be used by any probation board or other offender management review process. In addition to the points listed above in relation to preventing emotional harm, participants were provided with: the assurance of the purpose of this study; the storage of their information; the uses of the information they gave; and, any answers to any concerns they had before, during and after the interview. However, in compliance with NOMS, 'inside' student participants were advised that, if an illegal activity or breakage of prison rules was disclosed or if the researcher was made aware of anything which caused a threat to the wellbeing of the interviewee, the relevant authorities would have to be advised as a matter of compliance with the law and due to the obligation on the researcher to do no harm and exercise their duty of care.

Additionally, immediately before each interview, it was ensured verbally that all questions had been answered and that participants had a comprehensive understanding of what was expected and what was not expected as well as the aims and objectives of the research. At the end of the interview, the participants were debriefed with the objectives of the research, the information regarding the dissemination of the findings and the ability to withdraw at any stage was again emphasised.

4.2.6. Preparing for fieldwork and learning to be a competent researcher
In addition to obtaining CTC (Counter Terrorist Check) clearance, I attended a prison induction programme, prior to carrying out the research, at a Category A facility. The induction programme was designed for prison staff who would be working in the prison and lasted three days. A multitude of topics was addressed and the programme was designed to ensure safety within the prison. As the induction programme did not contain any information in relation to communication protocols or any documentation in relation to a communications policy, I ensured my supervisors were up to date with any issues relating to prison access. Conveniently, there were no issues relating to access or communication encountered during the research.

It was also important to develop relationships with prison personnel in the relevant prisons, this included meeting in person with the relevant prison Governor and those involved with the delivery of educational programming. This contact ensured any concerns were reported and managed in advance of the interview process in terms of the safety and emotional wellbeing of the interviewees. By engaging with prison personnel, PhD supervisors and pilot interview participants (see section 4.4), language and proposed interview questions were changed, reducing the use of provocative words which could evoke a negative reaction and thus help to reduce the risk of harm.

On a practical level, King and Liebling's (2008, p.422) "ten nostrums for doing research in prisons" were considered along with their recommendations for good conduct in the field:

" 1. You have to be there.
2. You have to do your time.
3. You should not work alone unless you have to.
4. You have to know why you are there.
5. You must always remember that research has costs for staff and prisoners.
6. You must know when to open your mouth and when to keep it closed.
7. You must do whatever you have to do to observe but do not go native.
8. You should triangulate your data collection wherever possible.
9. You must strike a balance between publicity and anonymity.
10. You should try to leave the site as clean as possible."

In case of post-interview risks, measures were also put in place. Being aware of the aftercare of interviewees was an added measure to reduce harm. In the event that emotional harm was neither reported nor noticed during the interview a report would be sent to supervisors upon my return from each interview session documenting my experience and initial thoughts on the interview process or any minor concerns. In documenting and discussing the experience with supervisors two protective measures were created: firstly, relying on true documentation of events, supervisors may have interpreted something which could have caused emotional harm in which case, prison personnel could be contacted and alerted; secondly, in the event that a participant was involved in an incident after the interview and cited the interview as a trigger for their behaviour, the interview documentation could potentially help to inform an investigation into events. In turn, it could also help to manage the extent of harm to the participant by serving to identify what caused the reaction in terms of language used, mannerisms or

interview conduct more generally. Potential risks were prepared for using a 'Managing Foreseeable Risk' table (see 4.2.7) documenting some of the potential major risks in the research and how they could be reduced and managed in the event that they happened.

4.2.7. Preventing and managing risk in the prison environment

There was a number of potential risks to consider when planning this research such as risks to participants, risks to the researcher and risks to the public during the research process. Risk management was viewed as an ongoing process beginning before the interviews. Actions taken before, during and after the interviews could significantly reduce the risk and in select cases, manage the risk in the event that it happened.

Any situation involving a researcher and a current or former prisoner carries associated risks for both parties. The use of language and the potential for provocation, however unintentional, is something which needed a lot of thought. Although it was unknown whether interviewees were active or inactive 'offenders', Jacques and Wright's (2010) 'Active Offender Research' was informative in the planning stages of this research. With regard to 'active offender research', Jacques and Wright (2010) discuss the importance of developing a theory of victimisation in research to create practical strategies and ultimately increase the amount of research undertaken in the field (p.504). Jacques and Wright (2010, p.505) define 'Active Offender Research' as:

> *"Active offender research is defined here as the process of obtaining information about criminals involved in crime. There are at least three distinct components of active offender research: recruitment, remuneration; and data collection."*

They further elaborate on violent victimisation commenting that the risk of victimisation increases among researchers when they put themselves in situations with persons known to have committed criminal behaviour such as robbery or murder (Jacques and Wright, 2010, p.506). They suggest that the risk heightens with every interview, i.e. there is a risk with one interview, but there is a higher risk

of victimization if a second, third or fourth interview occurs.[28] This is particularly important research from the point of view that it involves active offenders. The participants in this PhD research cannot be deemed to be active or inactive; there is no way of knowing the *true* level of involvement in crime within the prison or outside of the prison and that information is neither needed nor wanted to inform this study. All that is known is what is reported and so, for safety purposes the same measures were taken as if this research involved the most dangerous 'active offenders'. I was therefore mindful of Jacques and Wright's (2010, p.522) theoretical advice for minimising the risk of violent victimisation, the four-point framework is paraphrased and discussed below.

1. *Researchers should interact more with recruiters as this equates to lesser likelihood of threat or physical harm for reasons related to the research.*

The 'recruiters' in this study essentially included myself and the prison Learning and Skills team who decided based on risk profiles who was suitable from the selection of former Inside-Out, prison-based students to partake in an interview. It was important to communicate all of the information available to the 'recruiters', such as the interview questions, the nature of the study, and what the study could be used for in order to reduce any unforeseen risks.

2. *Researchers should spend more time with a criminal as they are less likely to be threatened or physically harmed in relation to the research.*

It must also be noted that not all prisoners are violent and in addition, even in instances where prisoners are deemed to be violent, one must not automatically assume that this violence will be directed at them. However, if one is to assume that there is a reasonable threat of violence, then, in theory, by becoming more familiar with an interviewee, the likelihood of violence may decrease. Although, this may relate to the behaviour of the researcher being the same in each meeting. However, it does not account for changes in language, differences in one's tone of voice, the impact of the research questions, or the volatility of the interviewee.

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[28] However, this could be deemed 'gambler's fallacy' and from personal experience of teaching on the Inside-Out course, the 'inside' students I worked with seemed to be relatively at ease in their surroundings.

Participation in think tanks may help an interviewer to build a rapport with a potential interviewee, but it cannot be said whether this will lower the risk of potential violence.

3. *Researchers should spend more time with the relational ties of a recruiter as they are less likely to be threatened or physically harmed in relation to the research.*

'Relational ties' were taken to mean the associates of the recruiter. In this research this could be taken to mean other prison staff such as prison officers. Spending more time with prison officers should not impact at all on their objectivity or their ability to do their job and protect those in their care. However, making prison officers aware of the research may have been helpful to add another layer of security. Consider for example, the benefit of showing a prison officer the intended format of the interview in the prison library; they may be able to advise whether interviewees could react badly to a particular layout or to other people present in the library and whether then the format should be rethought. Full disclosure to anyone in a position of authority in the vicinity of the research should theoretically reduce the risks involved and in turn, improve the quality of the research.

4. *Researchers should spend more time with the relational ties of a criminal as they are less likely to be threatened or physically harmed in relation to the research.*

The fourth point in relation to criminal ties, which is taken to mean familial ties or relationships, was not conducive to this research.

Potential Risk	Likelihood of the risk occurring	Mitigating the Risk
Risk of physical harm to 'inside' participants within prison.	In advance of the interview, I was granted CTC clearance and so the risk to the interviewee was already deemed by the Prison Service to be low. Any physical harm would be reactionary and proportionate to a legitimate and significant threat.	In addition to undertaking prison-based training in HMP Frankland in October 2016, the proximity of a prison officer was considered to be an added safety mechanism which would lower this risk. However, it was noted that, if prison officers could hear the interview, this could have an impact upon the research findings in terms of participant responses. Therefore, proximity would have to be negotiated at each site.
The risk of physical or emotional harm to the researcher during interviews with current prisoners in all prisons.	While the risk of physical harm to the participant was deemed to be low, the risk to the researcher remained high and, depending on the category of the prison entered, this increased and decreased accordingly. The risk of physical harm could also come from non-participants at the site. Aside from being an unknown female, in two of the case studies which were male prisons, I had the option of being a key-holder (a carrier of prison keys) which could immediately draw attention (see for example Jewkes' (2002) commentary on the identifiability of key holders).	As above, the interview questions were refined with supervisors and any feedback from prison personnel and the pilot sample (see 4.3. and 4.4) was considered with a view to reducing the risk. In addition, the prison is arguably a very safe place to conduct research based on the prison-officer or prison personnel presence and ramifications on restrictions on prisoners' future movements and potential parole if an incident did occur, it could be argued that the risk of harm was therefore reduced. Furthermore, risk assessment pre-admittance onto the Inside-Out course ensured that potential participants had already been carefully selected and had not caused any students or staff any known long or short-term emotional or physical harm. It

| | When considering this risk, it was acknowledged that a researcher within the prison could potentially be subjected to violence, unpredictable and generally dangerous behaviour. However, it was also noted that other research had already been conducted within similar settings (see 4.2.1.) and researchers had not been harmed. | should also be noted that there have been no reported security incidents on Inside-Out courses in the U.K. or in the U.S.

In advance of all interviews taking place, the relevant prison was contacted to ensure that the interviewee was content to progress with the interview and had not reported to any prison personnel that they had any additional concerns not communicated previously. Supervisors and the Department of Sociology's administrator were also informed of the interview time and date. |
|---|---|---|

Table 2: Managing risk in prison research

4.2.8. Process of transcribing

While researchers may choose to outsource help with transcribing, a decision was made to transcribe all interviews independently. There are nuances in participants' voices which can change the sentiment of their words; these can be heard when re-listening to a transcription. A researcher can make notes as they transcribe, italicise sections of importance and listen for any significant pauses in the recording. There is also an added benefit of closeness with the data, potentially making it easier to analyse. When this process is outsourced, these opportunities are missed and there is an added risk of misinterpreting someone else's transcription (for example, inferring significance from a mid-sentence pause which may have been explained by a simple interruption to the interview, a glitch in the recording, or a problem with the recording device).

Although researchers have a degree of discretion when transcribing interviews (Van Den Hoonaard, 2012), a decision was taken to transcribe every detail of the recording. Sutton and Austen (2015, p.227) suggest "[a]s a rough guide, it can take an experienced researcher/transcriber 8 hours to transcribe one 45-minute audio-recorded interview, a process that will generate 20–30 pages of written dialogue". The transcription process ranged between four to six hours per thirty-five-minute recording. During each transcription, notes were made, and this was beneficial for getting to know common or recurring themes within the data.

As discussed in section 4.2.9. the research included collecting data from three prisons, each referred to as a 'case study'. In two of the case studies, use of a Dictaphone was permitted however, in the remaining site, use of a Dictaphone was deemed to be a risk. As a result, interviews in this site took several days in contrast to day-long interviews in the other two sites. Interviews essentially took twice as long as everything was transcribed on paper during the interview. Participants' responses were read aloud ensuring the correct sentiment was recorded and conveyed in the way in which it was intended. In addition, participants signed (using initials) every paragraph on every page which ensured nothing additional could be added on to their answers after the interview.

4.2.9. Reading the data: organising, coding and analysing
Case Study Research

The data have been organised into two groups: data from former 'inside' students; and data from facilitators and TAs. The former is presented in three case studies representing three prison-university partnerships in the U.K which ensured triangulation of the data. The greater significance of sampling 'inside' participants from three sites was that it provided an opportunity to compare emerging themes; for example, a prevalent theme constructed from one case study may have been absent or less significant within another.

As Eisenhardt (2002, p.11) notes, "[a] prior specification of constructs can also help to shape the initial design of theory-building research", suggesting the value in opting for case studies lies in the researcher's ability to "measure constructs more accurately". Triangulation of the data therefore ensured a firmer empirical grounding for any emergent theories stemming from 'inside' participants' responses. The data was analysed manually which allowed commonalities in the language of the answers and the opinions given by participants to be critically examined.

There were several hurdles to overcome before scheduling interviews in the three prisons (see 4.5.1) and scheduling skype interviews with facilitators and TAs (see 4.6). As a result, data from both samples was collected at the same time due to the availability of interview participants. To shape the analysis and determine themes within the data (see Trahan and Stewart, 2013) each interview transcript was firstly annotated at the point of transcription and emerging themes were listed. This is in line with the reflexive and systematic process described by Berkovitz (1997).

Berkovitz (1997, p.1) suggests that throughout the process of analysis, researchers should be constantly aware of the following questions: "[w]hat patterns and common themes emerge in responses dealing with specific items? How do these patterns (or lack thereof) help to illuminate the broader study question(s)? ; [a]re there any deviations from these patterns? If yes, are there any factors that might explain these atypical responses?; [w]hat interesting stories emerge from the responses? How can these stories help to illuminate the broader study question(s)?; [d]o any of these patterns or findings suggest that additional data may need to be collected? Do any of the study questions need to be revised?; Do the patterns that emerge corroborate the

findings of any corresponding qualitative analyses that have been conducted? If not, what might explain these discrepancies?"

The process of transcription is the first step in organising and analysing the data (Widodo, 2014, p.102) because what is recorded is at the discretion of the researcher (see Lucas, 2010; Oliver, Serovich, and Mason, 2005; and, Green, et al., 1997). As Drisko (1997, p190) notes, "detailing recurrent patterns is crucial to the credibility of the analysis and conclusions of the study". Interview data from both datasets was transcribed immediately after each interview as detailed at 4.4.1. As McLellen *et al.* (2003, p.66) note, "[t]he process of transforming speech into specific words is not without challenges" and so, the rationale for this approach was, that in transcribing immediately afterwards, a *verbatim* account complete with any relevant non-verbal communication could be accurately noted and furthermore, questions posed by Berkoviz (1997) could be considered and addressed. Drawing initial themes from the data during the transcription process produced preliminary findings and this was helpful when thinking about these questions and how findings might be interpreted in the context of responding to the research questions.

The next stage of the analysis process was to form a table (Table 3) to organise the data, this was central to ensuring the quality and integrity of research (Widodo, 2014). This step in the analysis process also helped to manage the volume of interviewees and their data. Table 3 contains all relevant information pertaining to names, dates and locations of interviewees in addition to data storage.

Anon Code	Example A	Example B
Gender	F	M
Date of Interview	1 June 2019	17 January 2019
Location of interview	Skype	CS1
Audio stored	Yes	No (Dictaphone disallowed)
Transcription completed	Yes	Yes
Transcription checked	Yes	Yes
Consent form stored	Yes	Yes

Table 3: Datasets used to answer the research questions

Following the transcription process and organisation of the data, the research questions were addressed. Data from the three case studies were used to answer the first and second research questions. The third and fourth research questions were informed by data from both research samples.

When addressing each of the research questions, interviews were reread and relevant quotations from each interview were categorised into themes. Essentially, while the same data was used, it was analysed and synthesised based on which research question was being addressed (Berkovitz, 1997). The third research question 'how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?' was the first to be addressed. The rationale for this was that the facilitator and TA data collection was the first part of the fieldwork to conclude and research questions three and four could be informed by participant responses in this sample. Research questions one, two and four were answered upon completion of the prison-based fieldwork. Table 4 describes which datasets were used to answer which research questions.

Research question	Data set used
1) What does identity mean to 'inside' participants? And, what influences one's self-narrative?	Case study data
2) How has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'Inside' participants' self narratives?	Case study data
3) How does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?	Both data sets
4) To what extent can it be said that Inside-Out effects a change in one's 'self narrative' and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process?	Both data sets

Table 4: The process of organising data

Microsoft Excel (Excel) was used to organise the data from both research samples. Excel was beneficial as it could clearly present some of the data in tabular and graphical form. It therefore helped when reading the data and locating categories and common themes (Ritchie *et al.* 2003). Both tables below demonstrate how sections of the data collected were organised and analysed.

Table 5 presents data from facilitators and TAs and indicates: the number of Inside-Out courses taught; former experience in prisons; previous experience of teaching on other prison education programmes; whether they had attended the Inside-Out instructor training; and, gender.

Anon. Code	Number of Inside-Out sessions 'taught'	Former experience in prisons	Previous experience of teaching on other prison education programmes	Attended Inside-Out Instructor Training	Gender
Example A	5	Yes - Extensive	No	No	Male
Example B	9	Yes - Limited	Yes	Yes	Female

Table 5: Categorising data from Facilitators and TAs

Table 6 demonstrates how data from both samples relating to think tanks were organised.

	Example C	Example D
Is there a think tank at your facility?	Yes	Yes
Are you a Member?	no	yes
Do you attend regularly?	N/A	Yes
What is your role?	N/A	I facilitate the think tank.
What is its purpose?	N/A	To produce research papers together.
What are the benefits?	N/A	Continued contact with university academics.

Table 6: Categorising data from Facilitators and TAs in relation to think tanks

Creating the first column: 'is there a think tank at your associated facility?' ensured there was no confusion when analysing the data; if a participant had the opportunity to attend a think tank and chose not to, this could not be confused with a participant who did not have a think tank to attend. Similarly, if a participant stated benefits to attending a think tank but had never attended one, then this could be deduced from the table. It was anticipated that this could be of relevance in the analysis stages of the research and this later proved to be the case. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, there were several participants willing but who were unable to attend think tanks. While these participants demonstrated theoretical benefits of think tanks, their responses were not grounded in experience and so, this was able to be recorded in the analysis.

4.3. Sampling strategies

4.3.1. Sampling former 'inside' students in prison

In compliance with the Ministry of Justice recommendations for extending the scope of the research (see Appendix 4), students were sampled from three different locations representing three prison-university partnerships. A legitimate concern when sampling was the length of participants' sentences. The length of a sentence directly relates to one's access to the level of prison education available to them, this is a fact and was not in contention (see 3.3.3). However, the effectiveness of prison education programmes, with regard to desistance, is called into question when discussing short term sentence holders (e.g. those serving a sentence of 12 months or less). Lewis *et al*. (2003, p.iii) for example, investigated the resettlement of short-term prisoners commenting that even though this group has "the highest re-conviction rate among released adult prisoners", few are able to utilise offending behaviour programmes and pre-release services designed to improve their prospects of resettling successfully and leading law-abiding lives in the future as a direct consequence of their short-sentences. The study established six resettlement 'pathfinders' in 1999 with the aim of reducing re-offending through effective resettlement work provided on a voluntary basis in custody and for a maximum of three months after release.

The length of sentence was of particular interest to this study for several reasons: prisoners serving long sentences have arguably less opportunity to commit crimes

within the prison environment; it is an unreal setting in which to 'desist'. Unreal in the sense that while prisoners are in prison partly to be rehabilitated, this is not a true representation of the 'outside-world' and its systems. If, for example, a former prisoner commits a crime upon release they will be proportionately punished in line with the law, they may even return to prison. If, however a prisoner commits a crime within prison, as they are already there, it could be said that there is less incentive to desist as the ramifications of their actions will be comparatively less severe.

While there is a case to be made for omitting long-term sentence holders from this study such as the reasons outlined above, role transition can impact the experience of a wider network of people within the prison. Possible findings in the data could indicate that a change in the 'self-narrative' as a result of the programme impacts upon one's ability and willingness to participate in other prison programmes; better relations with other prisoners; improved relations with prison personnel; and, has a subsequent knock-on effect on the prison 'atmosphere' and morale.

4.3.2. Sampling Inside-Out facilitators and TAs

The facilitators and TAs in an Inside-Out class are responsible for: bringing two groups of students together (one group from the 'outside' and the other from the 'inside'); the delivery of the class which includes managing the learning environment; ensuring students have the necessary conditions needed in order to contribute and learn; and, for providing constructive feedback. Each of these areas is significant when considering a possible nexus with role-transition in 'Inside' students and so the decision to interview facilitators and TAs on Inside-Out was made to inform the research.

4.3.3. Pilot Sample: Piloting the interview questions

Before commencing interviews with U.K. based 'inside' participants, interview questions were piloted with two released former 'inside' students. The purpose of pilot interviewing was twofold: firstly, to refine the proposed questions in terms of content and language; and secondly, to practice and improve the interviewing technique. Two pilot interviews were administered, Pilot-A and Pilot-B. Both interviews were transcribed verbatim. Pilot-A and Pilot B identified as American

'men of colour' who had been incarcerated at the same facility for over thirty years. Both were members of the same Inside-Out think tank and so they had long-term involvement with the programme and experience beyond that of their initial Inside-Out class.[29] There were a number of changes made to the interview schedule as a result of the pilot interviews, these are discussed below.

4.4. Context and the pilot sample

As Braun and Clarke (2013) note, "if you're travelling to a completely foreign country, some basic knowledge - such as what language is spoken and what the key aspects of culture and etiquette are - is vital for a successful trip" (p. 19). Prisons, regardless of their geographical location, are akin to foreign countries. They too have their own systems, cultures and etiquette. In addition, as a white, Irish female researcher with no prior experience of interviewing or interviewing in prisons, I was certainly a foreigner in the British female prison and two British, male prisons I would be entering.

In U.K. prisons, 89% of the population is made up of British nationals (Sturge, 2018, p.10). Furthermore, those from a non-white background make up just over a quarter of the prison population (see Sturge, 2018 [30] although, note also the findings of the Lammy Review (2017) in relation to racial representation[31]). I was familiar with the literature relating to the experiences of women in prison, for example Martin and Jurik's (1996) research on the gendered interactions of female correctional officers in the U.S. and more specifically, the experiences of women researchers in prison.

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[29] Prior to conducting PhD fieldwork in the U.K. I trained as an Inside-Out Facilitator in the U.S. During the training, I met with several released 'inside' students. I used this opportunity to pilot my interview questions with two of the former 'inside' students; Pilot-A and Pilot-B.

[30] As Sturge (2018, p.11) notes, as of March 2018, "just over a quarter of the prison population was from a non-white ethnic group – this figure has stayed relatively constant since 2005".

[31] In relation to representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethic people in prison. The Review stated, "[d]espite making up just 14% of the population, BAME men and women make up 25% of prisoners,4 while over 40% of young people in custody are from BAME backgrounds…There is greater disproportionality in the number of Black people in prisons here than in the United States" (Lammy, 2017, p.3).

In terms of my identity, an obvious concern was causing offence due to potential naivety in my actions, choice of language and delivery of questions rather than concerns relating to my gender or appearance. However, the possible negative ramifications of having a distinct Irish accent were an initial concern. Despite a growing body of literature suggesting that the Irish accent can be viewed as advantageous (Willis, 2017), I was unsure how my Derry accent would be received. The Irish accent is "distinctive" (Walter, 2001, p.163) and in particular, the Derry accent is soft and melodic. Willis (2017, p.1688) suggests that "these markers are more likely to signal" Irishness. Additionally, as Walter (2001, p.164) comments, "class and rural/urban inflections are also at play in the approval of a particular subset of 'Irish accents', so that working-class urban Northern Irish accents are among the most strongly disliked". Therefore, whether my questioning would be effective, i.e. that I would be understood and taken seriously, was a legitimate concern.

Although extensive reading on piloting interviews had been done (see for example: Barribal and While, 1994; Chenail, 2011; and, Maxwell, 2013) along with reading relating to navigating cultural differences in interviews (see Marschan-Piekkari and Reis, 2004) it was anticipated that any practical experience of interviewing would improve my competency as a researcher and make the task slightly easier. The discussion below presents the lessons learned from the piloting stage and the revisions to the interview schedule.

4.4.1. Lessons learned and revisions

Pilot questions were arranged into the following categories: questions seeking definitions; questions in relation to education and education in prison; questions in relation to the Inside-Out methodology; and, questions in relation to the impact of Inside-Out. The interviews were scheduled several days apart to allow time for any modifications to questions to be made.

Pilot-A and Pilot-B were asked questions referring to change and transformation. The first three questions sought definitions, for example, 'what words come to mind when you think of the terms 'change', 'transition' and 'desist'? It was anticipated that interviewees would speak more generally about change and

transition rather than directly linking the terminology to Inside-Out. However, Pilot-A commented only on Inside-out. In addition, when asked about his understanding of the terms 'desist' and 'desistance from crime', Pilot-A provided a conceptualised response again linked to Inside-Out. The way in which questions in this category were framed proved confusing for Pilot-A. He conveyed that he was unsure why desistance was being linked with Inside-Out. On reflection, this was not an appropriate question to ask. Rather than providing definitions, Pilot-A began to discuss the impact of Inside-Out before being asked any impact-related questions.

Prior to the interview with Pilot-B, more context and introductory material was provided in advance of the definitional questions. As a result, when asked what words came to mind when Pilot-B thought of 'change' or 'transition', a dictionary-type definition not connected to Inside-Out was given. There was a significant difference in the way in which both Pilot-A and Pilot-B defined each term based on the information provided to them before the interview. It became clear from both pilot interviews that the questions presented to the U.K. sample would have to be simplified and contextualised in order to obtain the most relevant data to answer the research questions.

When posing questions in relation to education in prison, both participants indicated that it was inappropriate to ask questions connecting education to reducing criminal behaviour. Use of the word 'criminal' automatically created a negative atmosphere and an unintended difference in status between interviewer and interviewee. This language would have to be changed so as not to trigger individuals. Furthermore, the phrasing and linguistic complexity of the questions did not help to answer the research questions, for example, rather than asking a question with so many facets, context should have been provided along with more direct questions.

Regarding questions relating to the Inside-Out methodology, interviewees commented positively on the structure and dialogic nature of the Inside-Out class. They indicated that it created an effective and diverse learning space. It was noted that it may be useful to ask the interview sample about their experiences of creating an effective learning environment within the confines of the prison as this could

help to answer the research question. Furthermore, the added involvement in the think tank was of relevance when discussing the perceived 'long-term' impact of the programme. Pilot-A commented on the influence of his involvement in the think tank. Discussing the transition from student to facilitator, he noted that these differing experiences enabled him to develop new skills. Both interviewees commented that extended involvement with the Inside-Out programme and staff (i.e. facilitators and TAs) helped them to develop and strongly influenced their interaction with other individuals. It was noted that a section around think tank involvement may be useful to provide context to answers relating to impact given by the research sample.

Both interviewees commented positively on the impact of Inside-Out on the prison environment. Pilot-A acknowledged that the act of bringing in 'outside' students appealed to those on the 'inside' whereas Pilot-B explained that when other incarcerated individuals observed the routine of those in Inside-Out, they were intrigued and wanted to be a part of it. When asked about the biggest outcome of Inside-Out, Pilot-A commented that the skills learned in class, in terms of cultivating relationships, had influenced his life post-prison. Both interviewees commented on the significance of being allowed to continue the programme via the think tank. It was noted that both interviewees selected different highlights from their experience to discuss, with Pilot-A commenting more on the opportunity to build relationships and develop a voice and Pilot-B commenting more on the significance of cultural integration. It was therefore noted that it could be beneficial to create interview questions which allowed for more diverse and more open-ended questions.

4.4.2. Changes made to the interview schedule
Piloting questions in the U.S. and the opportunity to converse with men who had been incarcerated for so long, provided an additional context to the research which had not been gained from reading. From my perspective as an interviewer, the first pilot interview was uncomfortable. This was because the language used in the consent form, participant information sheet and conversation was at times inappropriate, for example, all three documents stated the term, 'prisoner'. Whereas the term 'prisoner' may be used in the U.K., the preferred alternative in

this region of the U.S was 'incarcerated individual'. Furthermore, the terms, 'jail' and 'prison' are not interchangeable in the U.S. (see Fuller, 2013) whereas they are in the U.K., similarly, in some States, using terms like, 'imprisoned', 'prisoner' and 'inmate' is highly offensive and so, 'incarcerated individual' is often the preferred term to use when speaking about one who is in prison, although there are exceptions.

Perhaps the biggest learning curve was linguistically approaching the subjects of race and ethnicity. It was advised that terminology other than 'man or woman *of colour'* in relation to anyone not of Caucasian descent could be viewed as highly offensive. Having the opportunity to reflect on and address the problems between interviews improved the quality of the second interview and information that was more relevant to answer the research questions was obtained. While the information gained from the pilot stage was informative, questions needed to be more direct, appropriate and focused on the individual.

Following both pilot interviews, interview questions were reworked to focus on the methodical approach of Inside-Out. Questions were reworded and restructured so as not to cause offense and for the purpose of eliciting responses which would be more useful for answering the research questions. The following pilot questions were omitted:

> *'When people talk about ceasing to do something, sometimes they use the word 'desist'. Are you familiar with the term 'desistance'? What words come to mind when you think of the word 'desistance' or the phrase 'desistance from crime'?'*

> *'When you think of criminal behaviour and people who choose to change and stop committing criminal behaviour, what do you think influences them?'*

These questions did not address the individual experience of participation on Inside-Out or the research question. While both questions were intended to generate conversation to help build rapport between interviewer and interviewee, they were not interpreted in the way in which they were intended. They were instead taken to mean 'have you desisted? What made you desist?' and this understandably caused offense.

The pilot interview schedule was entirely re-written. The reason for this was twofold: firstly, questions were changed to elicit more personal responses to the individual's experience; and, secondly, it was important to learn from the pilot stage and take greater care as a researcher interviewing potentially vulnerable interviewees. These sensitivities had to be navigated carefully so as not to cause any harm or upset to participants. Questions such as, 'what do you think the role of education is when trying to help people change and improve their behaviours/ cease criminal behaviour?' and 'how do you think Inside-Out encourages positive change?' were replaced with more participant-focused questions. More individualised questions to build rapport and establish a conversation included:

> *'What were your experiences in education before you took Inside-Out?'*
> *'What other courses have you taken while being in prison?'*
> *'Have you ever been involved in any other prison-university partnerships?'*
> *'Why did you sign up for Inside-Out?'*

Further changes to the interview schedule included a more specific discussion of the components of Inside-Out, rather than a the original pilot question, *'how do you think Inside-Out encourages positive change?'*, the following questions were asked and it was anticipated that from this data, whether participation on Inside-Out encouraged a positive change could be inferred:

> *'Did you have any concerns about the content of the course and what you might be learning and writing about?'*
> *'What was the best part of the class for you?*
> *'What was the greatest challenge for you in Inside-Out?'*
> *'How did the Inside-Out experience differ from your previous educational experiences?'*

The complete interview schedule is attached at Appendix 9.

Following the piloting stage and redrafting of the interview schedule, the recruitment process commenced.

4.5. Contextualising the sample of 'inside' participants

4.5.1. Recruitment and access

The first step in the recruitment process was to speak directly to Inside-Out practitioners in each partnering university to inform them of the research, ask their views on contacting personnel within their partnering prison and ask for their permission to collect data. This was a necessary step for two reasons: firstly, to

maintain good professional working bonds with the other U.K.-based Inside-Out instructors and to ensure that no Inside-Out partnership would be jeopardised or damaged as a result of the research. As explained in the introductory chapter, prison partnerships and in particular, Inside-Out prison partnerships can be fragile. Any conduct which upsets the prison could have an impact on the relationship between the prison and its associated university and therefore the routine delivery of Inside-Out. Secondly, in contacting Inside-Out practitioners, another layer of protection to the 'inside' participants was added in relation to the themes within the interview questions, as issues could be resolved in advance. Full transparency was given to Inside-Out practitioners so as they were content with what would be asked of the former students and why.

In two of the three sites, Inside-Out practitioners in partnering universities helped the research by sending introductory emails to the appropriate prison-personnel. Following their introduction, I arranged access and Dictaphone usage, I also discussed the proposed sample and the selection process. A participant information sheet was given to prison contacts along with the proposed interview schedule and a call for participants was initiated. Participants were not privy to the interview schedule prior to the interview. While the research presents findings in three case studies, a fourth university was contacted twice but requested no research was conducted at their partnering prison relating to their Inside-Out course.

Scheduling interviews was a time-consuming process for all sites. Consideration was given to: finding suitable dates to attend for interview; determining an appropriate time of day and the appropriate environment to conduct interviews; and, locating staff to offer any necessary protection. In one of the three sites although interviews were scheduled, they had to be cancelled three times by the prison due to unscheduled lockdowns before they were able to be conducted. This resulted in several months of a delay and this was not accounted for or predicted at the beginning of the research.

4.5.2. The 'inside' participant sample in context

The research sample of 'inside' participants is presented in the form of three case studies (CS1, CS2 and CS3) reflecting Inside-Out delivery by three different universities.

CS1 was a men's Category A facility with a capacity in the region of 800 prisoners at the point of interview. CS2 was a women's prison. At the point of interview, there were two known women's prisons conducting Inside-Out courses. The capacity of both prisons is in the region of 350 adult and young women. To protect the anonymity of both prisons in addition to the identity of the women sampled, no further information can be provided in this thesis. Finally, CS3 was a men's Category B facility with a capacity in the region of 1000 prisoners at the point of interview.

The prisons sampled are all English prisons in different regions of England, and so, the findings relate to the English prison system *only*. As there is a small number of prisons engaging with Inside-Out, providing more detail about the location of each case study could potentially compromise anonymity of the prison and of research participants. The data collected in this research is sensitive and assurances were given to all participants that every measure would be taken to protect their anonymity (see Appendix 7); this measure also served to improve the quality of the data (Singer *et. al.,* 1995). In order to protect the anonymity of participants and of the prisons and universities involved, no specific information can be provided in relation to the location of each prison or the capacity for residents.

It has been noted as a limitation of this chapter that the teaching staff per-iteration of the programme may have varied in Case Study One and Case Study Three where participants have been sampled across a period of years. As Case Study Two only concerned participants from one Inside-Out class, there were no reported changes to the teaching team. All participants were interviewed between 2018 and 2019. Table 7 documents the year in which participants took Inside-Out. In CS2, at the point of interview, only one iteration of Inside-Out had occurred. It was therefore not possible to sample from additional years. In addition, the decision to participate in the research was at the discretion of each prison. All participants whose names were put forward were interviewed.

Year IO Course was Taken	CS1	CS2	CS3
2018	0	5	3
2017	4	n/a	0
2016	4	n/a	3
2015	2	n/a	n/a
2014	1	n/a	n/a

Table 7: 'Inside' participant reported year of Inside-Out study

Participants' answers were recorded verbatim and all participants were given pseudonyms as per Table 8. Pseudonyms were chosen at random from an online name generator, two names were selected per letter of the alphabet (e.g., AA, BB, CC etc).

Case Study	Pseudonym	Gender	Year of Study
CS1	Alex	Male	2015
CS1	Andrew	Male	2016
CS1	Ben	Male	2016
CS1	Barry	Male	2016
CS1	Cathal	Male	2016
CS1	Connor	Male	2017
CS1	Dominic	Male	2014
CS1	David	Male	2017
CS1	Edward	Male	2017
CS1	Ethan	Male	2015
CS1	Finn	Male	2017
CS2	Finnula	Female	2018
CS2	Georgia	Female	2018
CS2	Grace	Female	2018
CS2	Harriett	Female	2018
CS2	Hannah	Female	2018
CS3	Ivor	Male	2016
CS3	Ian	Male	2018
CS3	Jack	Male	2018
CS3	Joseph	Male	2018
CS3	Kyle	Male	2016
CS3	Kenny	Male	2016

Table 8: 'Inside' participant pseudonyms

In CS1, a men's Category A prison, participants sampled across four years of Inside-Out delivery (2014-2018) reported former academic experience and eight participants had at least an NVQ qualification or above. In addition, two participants reported that they had participated in a study with a different university and one had been involved in a reading group with the Open University. All but one participant had previous experience of involvement in other courses while in

prison. Furthermore, participants in 2015, 2016 and 2017 reported that their decision to sign-up was influenced by what they had heard about the programme and the views of those who had already completed. However, the only participant from the first iteration of the programme in 2014 reported that he was hand-picked because of his former educational background commenting,

> "… I was actually approached by [redacted] prison because of my educational background, I think maybe because they wanted people who wouldn't show them up" Dominic (CS1).

Participants in CS1 reported that they were recruited with the use of a poster. Following an expression of interest, participants were invited to write a short statement detailing why they wanted to join the course, they were also interviewed to assess their suitability.

In CS2, a women's prison, all five participants were sampled from the only iteration of Inside-Out in the prison at the point of interview in 2018. Participants reported varying experiences of education in prison. Additionally, two participants had both previously taken part in a prison-university partnership with a different university. All participants in CS2 commented on their desire to be involved in Inside-Out to deepen their understanding of criminology and to work with a group of students from the 'outside'. Participants were informed of Inside-Out through a pamphlet and an information session which allowed for the opportunity to ask questions prior to the application process. It was reported by the sample that there were no voluntary dropouts on their course. However, some 'inside' students did have to move to a different prison and were therefore unable to achieve the course credits. Course credits are awarded upon completion of Inside-Out, therefore, these students would not obtain the 'qualification' upon finishing the course. An information session is not a recruiting step all universities take, however, if student concerns could be addressed at this early stage, in advance of their admittance onto the Inside-Out course, this could have a direct impact on the rate of attrition. Indeed, this may have been the case in the second research site.

In CS3, a men's Category B prison, participants were sampled from Inside-Out classes in 2016 and 2018. All six participants had at least a Level One or a Level Two in Maths and English. Three of the six participants had GCSE or A-level qualifications

and one participant, at the point of his involvement in Inside-Out, had embarked on an undergraduate degree with the Open University. None of the participants had been involved in other prison university partnerships however, one participant reported his contribution to a high-profile prison education incentive which had extensive coverage in the media prior to taking Inside-Out. All participants in CS3 reported that they had heard about Inside-Out from former 'inside' students and read about the programme on posters. They reported that this encouraged them to apply. However, one participant noted that, in addition to the poster an information session would be beneficial to prospective students. He commented,

> *"it seems like the advertisement is not really pushing it forward so I think an information session would be brilliant so people could actually know what it's about, what's going on, who is involved and also, where you can go with it."*
> - Kenny (CS3)

Furthermore, four participants indicated they chose to partake in Inside-Out because it was an opportunity to interact with people from the outside. The remaining participants commented that they engaged with the programme because it, "broke up the day" (Ivor, CS3), and that it was an opportunity to "see if (they could) do it" (Jack, CS3).

4.5.3. Experiences of education and the recruitment process

As discussed in Chapter One, Inside-Out is built on the premise that there is no obligation for students to have achieved a specific level of academic standing as a pre-requisite to enter the course, that anyone can take part. As indicated by Werts (2013a, p.160), this is what "piqued" his interest in Inside-Out.

Werts (2013a, p.160) explained the significance of the absence of an educational pre-requisite:

> *"Why this resonated with me so powerfully was because I knew intimately that there were literally thousands of men and women incarcerated, not just in Graterford, but also across the country, who were essentially like me when I first came to prison: people who were smart, but didn't know it; who suffered from low self-esteem; who lacked confidence in their abilities; who saw no value in education; who needed a chance and opportunity to find out about their capabilities. I realized that this program would provide them with that opportunity."*

However, the extent to which each partnering university adheres to this suggestion is unknown. It is therefore not possible to establish the criteria for admission onto each iteration of Inside-Out; whether partnering prisons influence 'Inside' student selection and, the extent of any influence beyond that of the partnering university. Table 9 presents self-reported levels of academic certification obtained by each participant in each case study.

Self-reported level of educational achievement	CS1	CS2	CS3
None	1	N/A	N/A
Essential Skills (Level 1 and 2 Maths and English)	2	1	3
BTEC/NVQ	1	1	N/A
GCSEs/ A-Levels or equivalent	2	2	3
Bachelor's degree	4	N/A	N/A
Master's Degree or Equivalent	1	1	N/A
Sample Total	11	5	6

Table 9: Self-reported level of educational achievement

The significance of this data is addressed in Chapter Five. As indicated in Chapter Three (see, 3.6), there is little available information regarding the effectiveness of prison education programmes in relation to former educational experiences of incarcerated individuals and so, the data presented in Table 9, although notably self-reported and not from an official prison source, also serves to address this in the research. This information is also presented in the following graph (*Figure 8*).
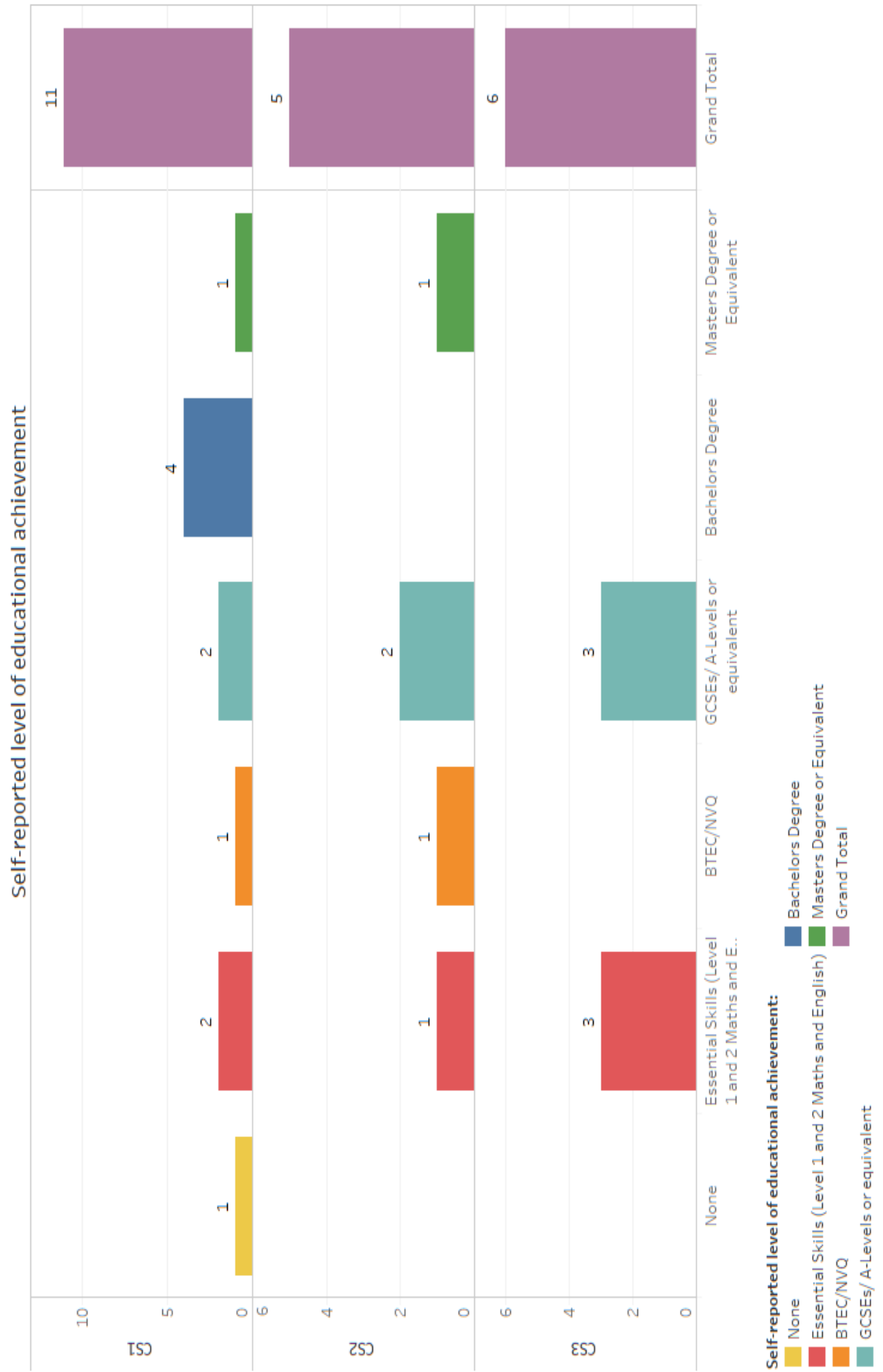
Figure 8: 'Inside' participants' self-reported level of educational achievement.

In advance of the data collection, I was awarded a scholarship to attend the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program™ Instructor training. This opportunity gave me the chance to make contact with the wider Inside-Out network and request interviews from those teaching across America, Australia, Canada and the U.K. who I could later interview via Skype (see Appendix 10 for the complete Interview Schedule). Through positive recommendations, the pool of participants 'snowballed' (see Etikan *et al.,* 2016; Dantzker and Hunter, 2012; Heckathorn, 2011 Desai and Potter, 2006). The research sampled twenty-nine participants, four TAs and twenty-five facilitators. Facilitators and TAs from twenty-one Inside-Out sites were sampled. Participants were based across four countries, the U.S., Canada, Australia and the U.K. The graph below (*Figure 9*) illustrates the proportion sampled from each country.
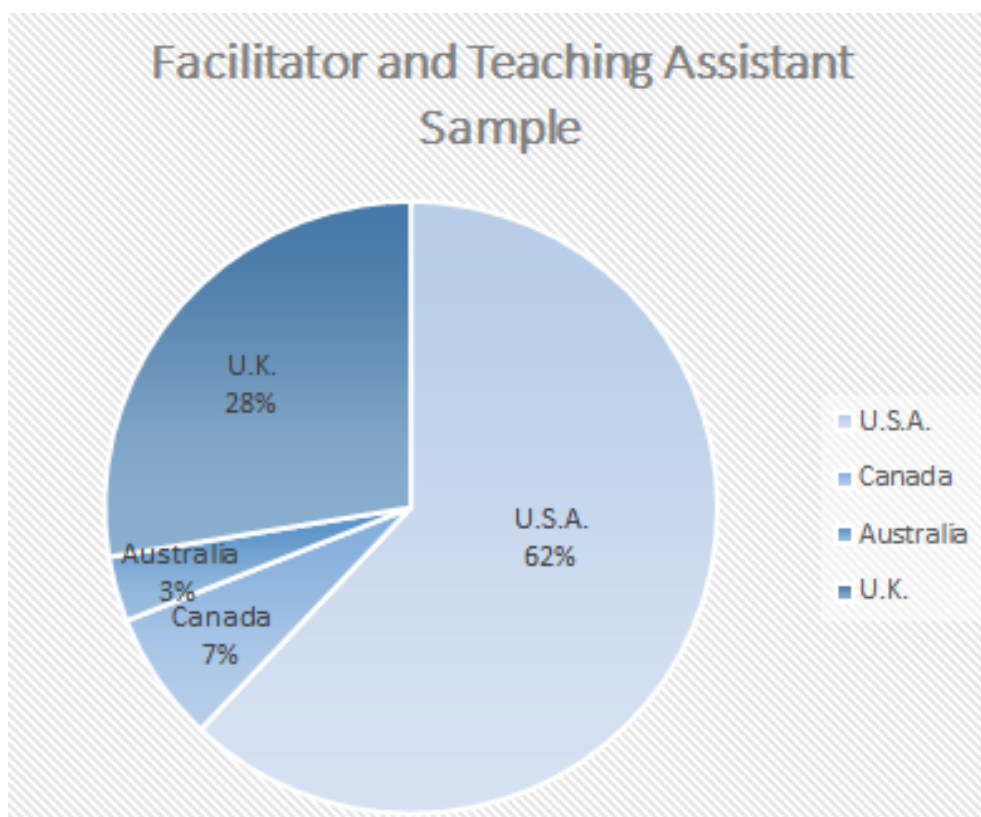
Figure 9: The Facilitator and Teaching Assistant sample

The following maps (see *Figure 10, Figure 11* and *Figure 12*) illustrate the distribution of participants in terms of their geographical location. Eight participants were sampled from the U.K. and one participant was sampled from

Australia. Eighteen participants were sampled from the U.S. and two participants were sampled from Canada. All participants in the sample were interviewed between 2017 and 2019. While there was a predetermined cut-off point for ceasing the data collection stage of the research, on occasion, participants postponed or rearranged their interview date. In addition, while the majority of the interviews were conducted between 2017 and 2018, a small number of U.K. based participants associated with the three case studies fell outside of this time-fame. Given the opportunity to compare this data to the data collected from the case studies, the timeline for data collection was extended.

Figure 10: Geographical location of participants in America and Canada

Figure 11: Geographical location of participants in Australia

Figure 12: Geographical location of participants in the U.K.

4.6.1. The sample of facilitators and TAs in context

Table 10 demonstrates the ratio of male to female participants in the total sample. Of the total sample of twenty-nine participants, twenty-one were female and eight were male. Table 11 indicates that the sample contained twenty-five facilitators and four TAs. Of the twenty-five facilitators sampled, seventeen were female and eight were male. All of the four TAs sampled were female.

Gender	Portion of total Sample
Female	21
Male	8

Table 10: Gender ratio of the total sample

Position	Portion of Sample	Female	Male	U.K.-Based Participants	Non-U.K.-Based Participants
TA	4	4	0	2	2
Facilitator	25	17	8	6	19

Table 11: Gender ratio within roles

4.6.2. How many courses of Inside-Out have facilitators and TAs delivered?

When describing how many sessions of Inside-Out participants had delivered, there was a discrepancy in the language used between U.K. and non-U.K. participants. Participants used the words, 'classes', 'sessions', 'courses', 'offerings', 'semesters' and 'quarters' to quantify their experiences. Where answers were unclear, follow-up emails were sent to participants to clarify and the following is therefore an accurate representation of participant involvement in the number of *courses*, not individual classes.

Table 12 refers to 'courses'; a course is taken to mean a series of individual classes over a finite period of time (e.g., one Inside-Out course containing 10-18 individual classes over a period of three months).

Number of courses delivered	Total Participants in the Research Sample
Between 1-5	20
Between 6-10	8
Over 10	1

Table 12: Number of Inside-Out courses delivered by participants

4.6.3. Additional involvement in prison education

Of the twenty-nine participants, two indicated they had taught on prison education programmes other than Inside-Out. This may have some influence on their responses to interview questions relating to concerns prior to Inside-Out delivery.

The majority of the facilitator interviews took place via Skype however, there were a number of interviews which took place in person while in Philadelphia for the Inside-Out training. All interview answers were recorded verbatim and participants were given pseudonyms as per Table 13 below. Pseudonyms were taken from a character list of a U.K. soap opera and assigned at random.

	Participant	Facilitator/ TA	Country
1	Gail	Facilitator	U.S.
2	Nick	Facilitator	U.S.
3	Rita	Facilitator	U.S.
4	Kylie	Facilitator	U.S.
5	Rhana	TA	U.S.
6	Daniel	Facilitator	U.S.
7	Dev	Facilitator	U.S.
8	Ken	Facilitator	U.S.
9	Zarah	Facilitator	U.S.
10	Bethany	Facilitator	U.S.
11	Maria	Facilitator	Australia (AUS)
12	Audrey	Facilitator	U.S.
13	Adam	Facilitator	Canada (CAN)
14	Rosie	Facilitator	Canada (CAN)
15	Simon	Facilitator	U.S.
16	Sophie	Facilitator	U.S.
17	Sally	TA	U.S.
18	Tina	Facilitator	U.S.
19	Peter	Facilitator	U.S.
20	Carla	Facilitator	U.K.
21	Leanne	Facilitator	U.S.
22	Jenny	Facilitator	U.S.
23	Eileen	TA	U.K.
24	Tracy	Facilitator	U.K.
25	Michelle	TA	U.K.
26	Evelyn	Facilitator	U.K.
27	Vera	Facilitator	U.K.
28	Liz	Facilitator	U.K.
29	Roy	Facilitator	U.K.

Table 13: Table of pseudonyms for Facilitators and TAs

4.6.4. Former experience in prisons

As demonstrated in Table 14 and Table 15, interviewees described variable levels of experience. The sample has been split into two groups: those with extensive former experience and those with limited former experience. These groups are referred to in Chapter Eight's discussion of the data in order to establish whether similar themes emerged among the participants in each group. However, it should be noted that the intention is not to present them as comparison groups in the data.

Experience	Extensive Experience	Total
Formerly Incarcerated	Gail (F, U.S.)	1
Visited Prison	Nick (F, U.S.), Tina (F, U.S.), Audrey (F, U.S.)	3
Worked in/with Prison	Maria (F, AUS), Sophie (F, U.S.), Michelle (TA, U.K.), Leanne (F, U.S.), Ken (F, U.S.)	5
Researched in Prison	Simon (F, U.S.), Adam (F, CAN), Vera (F, U.K.),	3
Volunteered in Prison	Zarah (F, U.S.), Peter (F, U.S.)	2
Total		14

Table 14: Extensive prison-related experience

Experience	Limited Experience	Total
Worked with formerly incarcerated	Sally (TA, U.S.)	1
Visited Prison	Daniel (F, U.S.), Eileen (TA, U.K.), Tracy (F, U.K.), Rosie (F, CAN), Roy (F, U.K.), Carla (F, U.K.)	6
Taught on subject of prisons	Liz (F, U.K.), Jenny (F, U.S.)	2
Volunteered in Prison	Kylie (F, US)	1
None	Rhana (TA, U.S.), Dev (F, U.S.), Bethany (F, U.S.), Evelyn (F, U.K.), Rita (F, U.S.)	5
Total		15

Table 15: Limited prison-related experience

4.6.4.1. Isolating the U.K sample of facilitators and TAs

Within this sample, there were eight facilitators and TAs sampled from the U.K. Seven U.K. participants were associated with the three case studies. As data from these seven participants is presented in forthcoming chapters alongside data from

the three case studies, it has been isolated and presented in the table below for clarity. The data indicated various levels of teaching experience. Participants also commented on their experiences within prisons and how many courses of Inside-Out they had delivered. Within the sample, five of the seven participants were trained Inside-Out instructors.

Participant	Role	Former prison experience	Former teaching experience	Inside-Out courses delivered	Trained instructor
Roy	Facilitator	In a visiting capacity	Extensive	3	Yes
Eileen	TA	In a visiting capacity	Limited	1	No
Tracy	Facilitator	In a visiting capacity	Limited	3	Yes
Michelle	TA	Extensive experience in former employment	Extensive	3	No
Evelyn	Facilitator	None	Extensive	3	Yes
Vera	Facilitator	In a visiting capacity	Extensive	2	Yes
Liz	Facilitator	None	Extensive	2	Yes

Table 16: Experience of Facilitators and TAs associated with the case studies

Five of the sample of seven indicated former prison experience with only one participant indicating extensive former experience in prisons. Two participants indicated minimal teaching experience whereas the remainder of the sample demonstrated multiple years of teaching at university level. Five of seven indicated they had been trained as Inside-Out instructors.

The majority of the overall sample of facilitators and TAs had delivered between one and five courses of Inside-Out; eight participants had delivered between six and ten courses of Inside-Out; one participant had delivered over ten courses of Inside-Out; and, the typical number of courses delivered by the sample was four courses. Two participants in the sample had additional experience of teaching on other prison-based programmes other than Inside-Out and fourteen participants had significantly more prison-based experience than the remainder of the sample.
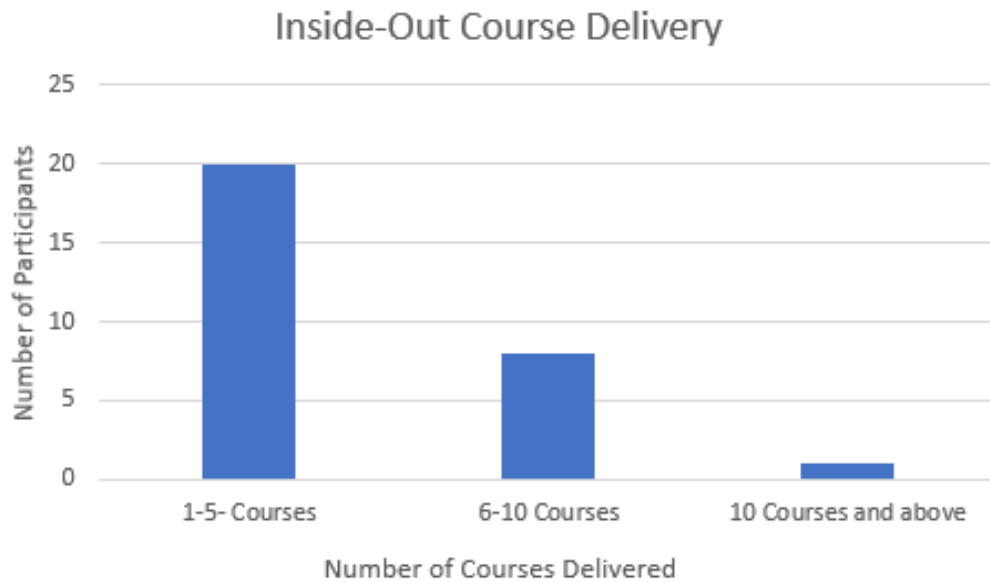
Figure 13: Graph demonstrating experience of Inside-Out course delivery
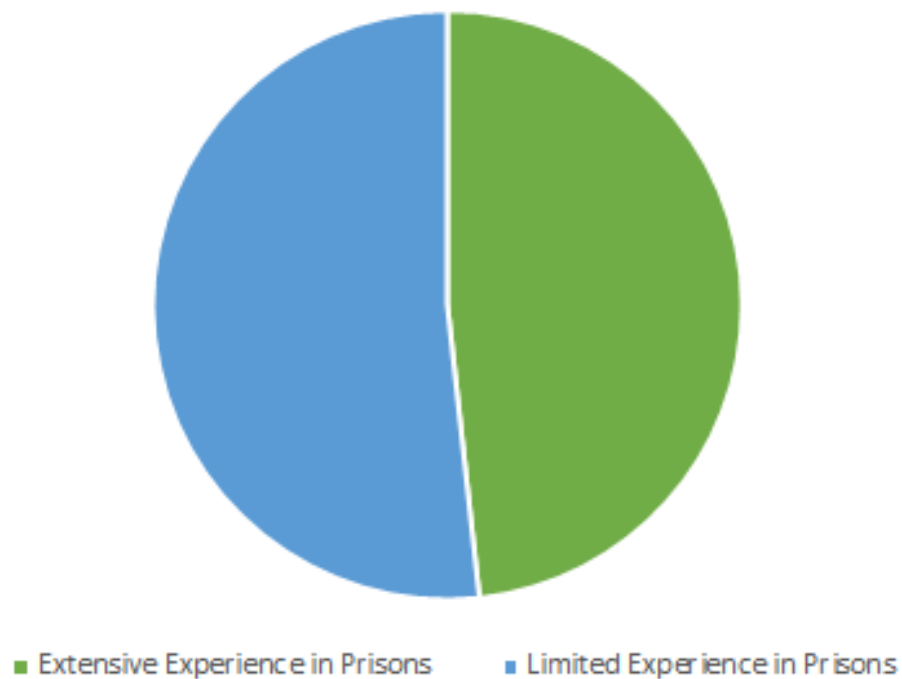
Figure 14: A pie-chart demonstrating participants' extensive and limited experience in prisons

There was a diverse response to prior exposure to prisons with individuals falling into two distinct categories based on their level of experience of: prison culture; prison work; working with formerly incarcerated individuals; organisations volunteering within prison; prison-based research and research based on prison theory; volunteering; and, visiting prisons. The data demonstrate that over half of

those involved in Inside-Out delivery within the research sample had limited experience in prisons. Furthermore, when presented alongside a graph illustrating the number of classes delivered by the sample, one can infer that the majority of the sample had both limited experience in prisons and limited experience of Inside-Out delivery.

4.7. Identities, standpoints and positionality

As discussed at 4.4., there were known challenges to conducting interviews in relation to how I would be received by participants. I had anticipated that my Irish identity and my gender could have an impact on whether I could establish a relationship of trust with interviewees (see Willis, 2017; Walter, 2001; Condry 2007; and Maeve, 1998) and there were further concerns regarding interviewing in prison for the first time (Sloan and Wright, 2015).

Schlosser (2008, p.1501) notes, there are different "standards and requirements" to be met when conducting prison research. Therefore, it was necessary to ensure a high standard of preparation prior to entering the prisons. At the point of data collection, I had acquired experience of teaching on several iterations of Durham University's Inside-Out course, specifically in HMP Durham, HMP Frankland and HMP Low Newtown. I had also gained a comprehensive understanding of how the course had been run within all three prison estates and I had attended the Inside-Out Instructor Training. I had therefore familiarised myself with the prison environment and with the theory and practice of the Inside-Out programme and I felt as though I had prepared to the best of my ability before conducting the research.

However, as a result of my preparation and prison-based experiences, I had become more than an Irish, female, prison researcher. I had gained another identity as a trained Inside-Out instructor and I had developed my own opinions on the English prison system and of Inside-Out. I had become aware of the hierarchical nature of prisons and what Rowe (2014, p.5) refers to as the "pervasive identity politics" within. The perception of power between interviewer and interviewee became a concern. As Williams (1968, p.287) notes, "[s]tatus distance and threatening questions may create a situation in which the respondent feels pressure to answer in the direction he believes will conform to the opinions or expectations of the interviewer". It was therefore

important to recognise how my identities and standpoints could be communicated to the interviewees and potentially affect their responses during the interview process.

The following table (Table 17) provides an extract from my reflective diary. It documents the interview process across the three prison sites and with facilitators and TAs. It refers specifically to my identities, standpoints and positionality, how these may have been communicated during the interview process, and what this meant for the course of the research.

Dataset	Reflections on the interview process
Case study One	Case study one, a male Category A prison, was the first interview site. Interviews took place in the prison library and both male and female prison officers were nearby. I had the option of carrying keys, however, I was escorted to and from the prison library as interviews took place between 9am and 5pm when the staff I had spoken with to arrange interviews were on their way to and from the same part of the prison; this also mitigated any risks associated with identifiability as a key holder (Jewkes, 2002). Furthermore, the presence of other women made me feel more comfortable in the male-dominant prison and meant that I would not stand out as the only female in the vicinity. During interviews, I sat opposite interviewees and we spoke across a small round desk. I was always seated next to the door, in line with the guidance I received during my training at HMP Frankland. Despite the presence of the prison officers, there was a degree of privacy afforded to interviewees as prison officers kept their distance. This ensured that interviewees were not overheard and a balance was created between safety and privacy (although, see Mahon, 1997 in relation to ensuring confidentiality; see also, Piacentini, 2007). While I had taken measures to ensure my own safety in the room, it may have been the case that interviewees detected a sense of distrust and this could have affected their responses to interview questions (Roberts and Indermaur, 2008). Thus, building rapport (Davies, 2015), re-establishing trust and finding a common ground with interviewees (Bosworth *et al.,* 2005) was a priority. I found that during interviews, there were opportunities to share my positive experiences of Inside-Out. However, I was aware that expressing an opinion could influence the direction of the interview and I was cautious of the challenges of remaining objective and emotionally neutral during the process (Campbell, 2002). As I was careful in my communication with interviewees, both in person and through the participant information sheet and consent forms, I do not believe that my opinions affected their responses during the interview process.

	Furthermore, I did not feel threatened or at a disadvantage because of my gender or Irish identity nor did I sense that interviewees had any negative associations; they appeared happy to have the opportunity to have something different to do and to speak with someone from outside the prison; this is a common finding in prison research (see for example O'Brien and Bates, 2003, p.221). The interview technique improved over the course of the eleven interviews which took place over two days, it was likely that this was due to my comfort in the research environment.
Case study Two	Case study two was the only female prison sampled. Having successfully completed interviews in the Category A estate, I was confident in my interview technique and comfortable with the prison environment. There was a clear difference in the level of security between this establishment and the Category A men's prison. As a result, I was permitted to bring in a Dictaphone. The prison landscape was entirely different with residents able to walk around freely and with seemingly less restrictions on their movement than in the Category A estate. I was escorted to and from the interview venue, which was a secluded room where interviews would take place over one day. No prison officers were in the immediate vicinity and this, in addition to lesser restrictions on movement, may have affected the responses of participants (see Goulding, 2004), this is addressed in the data analysis. While security remained the priority, the environment was a lot more welcoming and comfortable to work within. On more than one occasion, both prison officers and interviewees offered to make me a cup of tea. I felt at ease in this prison and this may have influenced my delivery of the interview questions and responses from interviewees. However, I remained cautious of leading the discussion in a particular direction (Campbell, 2002) and I refrained from communicating my background or opinions of Inside-Out or the English prison

	system more generally. Interviewees once again appeared happy to have something different to do during their day and wanted to take the opportunity to speak with someone from the 'outside' (O'Brien and Bates, 2003). I had anticipated that being a woman and interviewing women would have been a different experience to interviewing men. I thought that because I was the same gender as interviewees that I would appear to be more relatable than a male interviewer. Some of the women in this establishment revealed that their conviction related to domestic violence and their male former partners; this may have affected their responses and so, my gender could have played a role in their willingness to engage with the interview process. However, I did not notice any difference between the two case studies in terms of the willingness of interviewees to respond to my questions nor did I sense that my Irish, female identity was negatively affecting participant responses or the research.
Case study Three	Case study three was the final prison site visited. It was a Category B men's prison. Movement of prisoners worked in a similar way to the Category A estate, with interviewees available for two-hour windows, once in the morning and once in the evening. The interviews took place over two days and were conducted on the education wing of the prison in a private room. Prison officers could be seen from the room, but they were not present during interviews and this may have influenced participant responses as they knew they would not be overheard. Similar to the technique used in the Category A estate, I was seated opposite interviewees at a desk close to the exit in the room. At no point did I feel my gender, race or Irish identity affected responses or the overall interview process. However, as with the interviewees from the first case study, participants may have detected a sense of distrust due to the precautions I took for my own safety and this could have affected their responses (Roberts and Indermaur, 2008). As with interviews at the previous two sites, every measure was taken to avoid sharing any information which could have led the direction of the interview to a particular conclusion.

	The seventeen previous interviews had helped to hone the interview technique and so I was confident in the delivery and in my tone. While it could be argued that increased interviewing experience may impact upon the quality of the data in terms of its richness, this was not my experience. Rather than result in more nuanced or richer data, the experience simply effected how comfortable I felt conducting the research in the field.
All case studies	In relation to the prison-based interviews, there were long periods of time between interview sessions. In all three case studies, interviews were hand-transcribed on site and later typed. There were several hours between interviews due to 'movement'. Interviewees had a two-hour window in the morning and another in the afternoon to speak with me and so, while awaiting interviewees, I used my time to annotate transcripts and draw out some of the themes emerging from our conversations. This was deemed to be a good use of the time between interviews and an opportunity to produce an accurate account of the process noting any "nonlinguistic observations" (McLellen, et al., 2003, p.66); for example, any pauses in speech which past research has indicated is important to document (Poland and Pederson, 1998; and, Wellard and McKenna, 2001) or other information relevant to the context of the interview. Misrepresentation of nonverbal cues can change the context of the data (Bailey, 2008) and this was particularly relevant in this research as, during the third interview in CS1, a prison officer briefly interrupted the interview. This was noted in the transcript to account for the type of pause which had occurred.
Facilitators and TA interviews	The majority of the interviews with facilitators and TAs was conducted over Skype and this allowed for them to be scheduled around the prison-based interviews. This also provided an interesting dynamic to the data collection process in that, I was listening to interviewees speak about two types of experience; that of the educator and that of the student. This did not influence my conduct in the interview process but forming opinions was unavoidable and I had to be careful in relation to the information I shared with participants.

	Some interviews with facilitators and TAs took place in person in England and in Philadelphia. In-person interviews were easier to conduct because I found that rapport and trust were established relatively quickly, I also found that it was easier to pick-up on non-verbal cues than with the interviewees who I had spoken with over Skype. This aligns with research pertaining to in-person interviews (see Davies and Francis, 2018). While interviews over Skype were conducted without incident, I found that I was more nervous about how I would come across to interviewees and as a result, less confident. My confidence improved as I conducted more interviews and became more familiar with the order of my questions.
	As with the participants from the three case-studies, it was important not to convey a particular point of view during interviews, even though doing so may have helped to build rapport (Davies, 2015). The integrity of the research was of paramount importance and so, while the intention was to have a fluid conversation with interviewees, there were limitations in how far I could be seen to relate to their positive or negative responses. As this may have influenced the findings and compromised the integrity of the research.

American participants appeared to be more friendly than English interviewees and most, if not all, commented on my Irish accent in a positive way. It may have been the case that I benefited from my Irish identity in these interviews as interviewees appeared to be more talkative and forthcoming with information about their experiences. I also found that, those who knew I had been trained as an Inside-Out instructor, who had positive statements to make about the programme, felt they were in the presence of someone with similar views and responded more enthusiastically. Whereas in instances where participants had negative things to say about Inside-Out, they appeared to be cautious with their language. At no point in the data collection process did I feel negatively impacted by my gender, race, predisposition to prison or association with Inside-Out. |

Table 17: Reflective diary excerpt

4.8. Limitations of the research

This research analysed two samples or categories of interview participants: former 'inside' students from Inside-Out courses across three U.K. prisons; and, an international sample of those who had been part of Inside-Out teaching teams, i.e. facilitators and TAs. With regard to the prison-based element of the research, limitations differed from other prison-based studies, for example, consider Copes and Hochstetler (2010, p.51) five-point summary of the criticisms of prison-based research:

> *"Overall, the criticisms of this type of research can be narrowed down to five issues: recruiting unsuccessful offenders, the ulterior motives of inmates, difficulty in establishing rapport, impression management by inmates and difficulty in recall."*

This research was not concerned with crimes committed or accounts of criminal conduct from those in prison and so point one, relating to recruiting unsuccessful offenders, does not apply. However, the remaining four points are applicable, for example, acknowledging the ulterior motives of participants in the research. This limitation was not realised in the research as it was made clear to participants both in their Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 5) and during their interviews that responses would neither positively nor negatively impact upon their ability to apply for parole,

> *"there will be neither advantage nor disadvantage as a result of your decision to participate or not participate in this research."* - 'Inside' Participant Information Sheet

In addition, despite concerns outlined above in relation to how participants would understand the Irish accent, respond to a female researcher and appreciate what was being asked of them, there were no perceived limitations when establishing rapport. Similarly, in terms of "impression management" (Copes and Hochstetler, 2010, p.51), i.e. how a participant presents themselves to an interviewer, there were no perceived problems or limitations. No sense of discomfort or unease was felt, and this may have been in part due to pre-exposure to prisons and prison culture, for example, the prison training undertaken in HMP Frankland, former experiences of entering prisons in Northern Ireland, the Inside-Out Instructor training in Philadelphia, previous experiences of teaching with Inside-Out in HMP

Durham and brief participation in the HMP Frankland Think Tank. However, it is more likely that this is a matter of personality and perception of comfort and fear.

Firstly, all reasonable steps were taken to safeguard participants from triggering or over-familiar language and extensive research was undertaken to ensure appropriate, relaxed body-language was used and non-offensive or suggestive clothing was worn during interview. Additionally, beyond the recommended interview conduct, desk-based research and practical experience provided a more nuanced understanding of prisons and people. As a result, there was no feeling of superiority or inferiority and it is quite possible this came across in the interviews, for example:

> *"The dress code plays a big part in how people react, if you had a suit and a briefcase asking mad questions, things would be different, but you are relaxed, so I can answer personal questions."* - Kenny (CS3)

In terms of participants' ability to recall their experiences, no limitations were recorded. This is likely due to the fact that the Inside-Out experiences of the sample occurred between 2014-2018 and thus from recent rather than historical cohorts of Inside-Out students. Furthermore, because the Inside-Out experience differed so clearly from other prison education and prison-based experience, it may have proved more memorable and thus, recall was not deemed to be a problem. However, it is noted that it could be argued for the same reasons, responses could have been exaggerated accounts rather than true representations (see for example: Brookman's (2013, p.85) "vocabulary of motive" and therefore the validity of claim made by 'inside' participants) although, this is not just a limitation specific to prison-based research, this is a limitation of interviewing more generally and the known risk that there is a chance that any interviewee could "tell bare-faced lies" (Curtis, 2010, p.154). It remains unknown whether 'inside' participants were incentivised to give positive accounts of their Inside-Out experience to present the prison in a positive light.

There was, however, a number of other limitations to the research. One of the greatest limitations of the research was the research sample of 'inside' participants. Each participant differed in terms of sentence length, time served, gender, ethnicity and age. There would have been several methodological benefits of a diverse

research sample with regard to age, ethnicity, and offence type and sentence length in that diversity is directly related to a more nuanced understanding of whether or not Inside-Out has had an impact on the different groups within the sample. However, it must be noted that those who had participated on Inside-Out had already been through an internal selection process and chosen to be on the course. The overall sample of 'inside' participants is not representative of the prison population, only those who have taken Inside-Out and who have been put forward by each prison for interview.

There is no way of knowing whether all prisons restricted potential interview participants from attending interview. However, during the interview experience in CS1, a number of former 'inside' students were encountered in the prison library and expressed their desire to take part in the research. Note, research indicates that those in prison are willing to speak to researchers and participate in research (see Brookman, 2013 in relation to incarcerated individuals' willingness to speak about offending; see too Liebling's (1992) research into suicides in prison noting that "[c]ontrary to expectations staff and inmates welcomed the opportunity to talk to 'someone who wanted to listen' (p.108)). The prison was subsequently contacted to determine whether these participants could be interviewed but the following correspondence was received:

> *"Unfortunately, we have received no further correspondence from any more students requesting to be interviewed."* - Correspondence from Prison Personnel.

This could be perceived as the prison partially restricting access, but it would be speculatory to determine this as a restriction or to pronounce on the rationale for restricting access with any degree of certainty. However, research documents instances where prison personnel can obstruct prison research. For example, Scraton *et al.* (1991, p.6), in their independent inquiry into long-term imprisonment in Scotland, discuss the limitations in using questionnaires to elicit responses from those in prison, noting:

> *"A total of 76 questionnaires were sent by name to prisoners…Forty-five replies were received… It is impossible to know how many of the 17 were not handed on by prison staff. The fact that 14 were returned when the prison staff must have known the 'forwarding' address clearly demonstrates a lack of cooperation" (p.6).*

Research also indicates that prison-based studies carry a cost to prison-staff resourcing, a disruption to the prison schedule and a higher risk to non-prison-based individuals (Noaks and Wincup, 2004) and this could very well have been the prison's rationale for limiting the number of interviews from the site.

An additional limitation in the research sample was the absence of released 'inside' students. This data would have been particularly useful when considering the question of desistance. As Allred *et al*. (2013) note, "both ethical and methodological challenges arise when people are leaving prison" (p200). The process of locating and contacting released 'inside' students was extremely time consuming. In the first instance, a Reception Prison, was contacted and a meeting with the education representative was arranged. It was advised that released 'inside' students were not obligated to provide a release address and so, they could be difficult to track down. In addition, to be ethically compliant with NOMS clearance, all interviews with released 'inside' students would have to be arranged through the probation services. As the research was carried out across three sites and triangulation of the data had been achieved, a decision was made not to source released students. However, the potential for future research to include the views of released 'inside' students was noted.

Furthermore, the research sample of 'inside' participants does not represent gender. The reason for this is twofold: in the U.K. at the point of interview, Inside-Out was operational in only two women's prisons. Sampling from both would have created a higher risk of jigsaw identification (see O'Hara *et al.*, 2011), potentially waiving the anonymity of both prisons and participants; secondly, while Miller (2010) comments on the interview process as an "unavoidably gendered interaction", (p.161) and the "unique" position of women in the field of prison research (p. 163) adding a gender dynamic to the research may have taken the study in a different direction and it was not felt that the gender paradigm could be adequately critiqued or assessed within the scope of this PhD.

The initial intention during the sampling stage of the research was to include those who had 'dropped out' of the course. This was to ensure that the data was not skewed or expectant of a certain biased result. The aim was to gauge whether Inside-Out had an impact on participants who had not completed the course. This

could have potentially informed the argument as to whether or not continued attendance would have provided these 'inside' participants with a platform to engage with the desistance process. Alternatively, data from former 'inside' students may have suggested that Inside-Out had no transformative impact or that their 'self-narrative' could have changed regardless of participation in any prison programme. The option of sourcing and interviewing those who had dropped-out or moved prisons during an Inside-Out course was discussed but access and obtaining personal information relating to the location of those who had moved to different establishments was deemed to be problematic and time-consuming. Thus, in the context of a PhD study, the path of least resistance was to take the route which would provide a greater return on the time spent, for example, multiple interviews on one site in one day.

In relation to the limitations of the international sample of facilitators and TAs it was established that it would not be possible to determine the full extent of the programme's influence due to its scope. Inside-Out is an international programme which can be applied to various different disciplines (history, mathematics, law, criminology). However, the impact of the programme may differ between disciplines; for example, creative, exploratory and reflective subjects may have entirely different outputs than subjects which are based around right and wrong answers such as STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics). There are also international differences between justice systems, prison systems and educational systems, time spent with prison personnel and time involved in other educational courses. Thus, gauging the impact of the programme without a standardised tool to do so would not be possible. This was one of the reasons for not referring to the study as an impact study. The other reason for not referring to this research as an impact study, as per the NOMS direction, was due to the lack of base-line data to compare to the research findings.

4.9. Chapter summary

This chapter presented the research design and methodology. It began with a detailed discussion of the research method used, the methodological approach and the applications for ethical approval. As discussed in 4.2.1. it can be difficult for prison researchers to design and conduct their research freely, it was therefore

important to be extremely thorough with regard to providing the fine detail relating to preparation, risk management, data organisation and ethical compliance. The chapter then presented the sampling strategies used and described the composition of each research sample before outlining the limitations of the research. The following three chapters present the data and the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE: EXAMINING EXPERIENCES OF INSIDE-OUT IN THE U.K.

5.1. Introduction to Chapter Five

The previous chapter detailed the research method and methodology used in the thesis. The aim of this chapter is to inform the core research questions: 'what does identity mean to 'inside' participants?' and 'what influences one's self-narrative?'; 'how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?'; and, 'how has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'inside' participants' self-narratives?'

To address the research questions, this chapter will first consider the 'inside' participant data, which presents the 'inside' student experience in the form of three case studies, Case Study One (CS1), Case Study Two (CS2) and Case Study Three (CS3). The components of Inside-Out, as discussed in Chapter One, are presented alongside the core claims made in the literature and subsequently compared to the data. The data presents the experiences of 'inside' participants in relation to each component of Inside-Out and provides observations relating to the same component from facilitators and TAs[32] associated with the case studies.[33] Although the comments of facilitators and TAs are featured, the core objective of this chapter is to help critically illuminate the learning experiences of U.K. prison-based, Inside-Out students and to establish whether the programme has had any meaningful, lasting and/or transformative influence. Conclusions are formed, comparing and contrasting the claims of the programme with the research samples' narratives at the end of each section. The final section of the chapter will critically distil the analytical findings of the research samples' narratives and respond to the core research questions outlined above.

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[32] The term 'facilitation' is used throughout the chapter and is understood to mean the organisation and delivery of Inside-Out.

[33] Teaching teams are subject to change and therefore it cannot be assumed that facilitators or TAs associated with case studies have taught the participants sampled. It can only be said that facilitators and TAs have taught on Inside-Out programmes associated with the three case studies. N.B the university associated with CS1 runs three Inside-Out courses across three prisons and U.K. facilitators/ TAs have been sampled across all three.

5.2. Investigating the components of the Inside-Out pedagogy

As discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two, the Inside-Out experience is comprised of a number of teaching techniques and long-established pedagogies (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). While this chapter critically discusses components of the programme, it is concerned with exploring context rather than critiquing each in isolation. The sequence in which the components of Inside-Out are presented is significant when considering the impact of the programme, this is due to the way in which each component interacts with the next; for example, in a typical Inside-Out class, group projects will not occur until students have engaged in icebreaker exercises. This sequence is deliberate as each exercise is designed to blend both 'groups' of students together and create an optimum learning environment, that is, a learning environment where students can achieve their full potential in the context of the programme. Thus, examining student feedback in terms of what students felt when they encountered each component of the course, could help to inform the question of how the design of Inside-Out fosters transformative learning. The following core components, identified in Chapter One, are discussed in detail: icebreaker exercises; the circular setting; group work; readings; and, reflective writing.

5.2.1. Group bonding through icebreaker exercises

Daniel-Bey (2013, p.74) argues, "[f]rom the first day, Inside-Out uses methodologies that break down the barriers that inhibit connection among classroom participants". One such methodology is the use of icebreakers. More generally, icebreakers are used in situations to dissolve tension and forge group bonds, in often challenging conditions (Oh *et al.*, 2013). The significance of recognising environmental challenges, such as the prison environment, is therefore relevant and appropriate to acknowledge and discuss in the context of Inside-Out when addressing the research questions outlined above.

Prior to embarking on any programme of learning, it is reasonable to assume students and course tutors may experience some degree of apprehension (Topham and Russell, 2012; and, Maringe, 2010). Responses in this research indicated that participants reported challenges, concerns and apprehensions within all three case studies and within the sample of facilitators and TAs, prior to embarking on Inside-

Out. In highlighting such challenges, the use of icebreaker exercises, and how they may influence other components of Inside-Out and the student experience becomes even more significant.

In CS1, four participants commented on concerns they had prior to the programme relating to negative assumptions held by the 'outside' students and staff. Comments included,

> *"I thought maybe, they've probably already judged us because I'm in jail and they might think I'm a rapist. I didn't open up at first."* - Ben (CS1)

> *"I thought they were going to judge us, the students..."* - Finn (CS1)

> *"I also was a bit worried about what some of the staff might have told the outside students and what they thought of us before coming into the prison."* - David (CS1)

However, both Ben (CS1) and Andrew (CS1) noted that their concerns dissipated by week three of the course. Finn (CS1) also commented that his concerns were not borne out.

In addition, five participants in CS1 discussing course content expressed concerns in relation to essay writing. Alex (CS1) commented he was "excited" about the course content but expressed a "slight concern" that he had never written reflective essays before. Other comments included,

> *"I was worried about the structure of the essay, putting it together, I hadn't done anything like that in years."* - Finn (CS1)

> *"I thought the prison may not like it because they were quite political, and the prison is quite alert to the writings of political prisoners."* - Edward (CS1)

> *"...they would throw out big words and I would think, how can I contribute after that? Then I realised I just had to say it like it is. I started to open up more, week after week."* - Ben (CS1)

Similarly, in CS3, four participants expressed feelings of nervousness, fear and anxiety in relation to working with people from the outside, course content and course requirements. However, responses from all four participants noted that these feelings subsided after the course had begun, for example:

> *"I just went in there just with loads of nerves and anxiousness."* - Joseph (CS3)

"…at first, you're nervous because most of us, we've been away from education for a long time. But once it was explained and once we'd done the first one everything else just came at ease." - Kyle (CS3)

"Just working with people from the outside, what they're gonna be like because obviously in jail, it's the same guys, the same people, and then obviously with this lot it was females as well so, it was a different experience." - Jack (CS3)

In CS2, two of the five participants sampled reported concerns in relation to their aptitude compared to their 'outside' peers and noted:

"I was quite nervous before I went in there because I didn't think that I'd be able to do it. Do you know what I mean? Cos I'm not very academic." - Grace (CS2)

"…when I first heard, I thought oh my Gosh, they're gonna be hella intelligent, they're gonna be smarter than everyone, they're gonna know everything and then when they came it was like, oh they're just like me." - Hannah (CS2)

One participant in CS2 expressed that she "didn't wanna be a Guinea pig" (Harriet, CS2). However, the feelings of anxiety presented in CS1 and CS3 relating to course content were not found in CS2. One plausible explanation for this is that students in CS2 reported their attendance at an information session where expectations were set prior to the course. As one participant in CS2 explained,

"…they made it clear of what subjects would be covered and the information I think was quite a few months before and the information day they said what topics would be covered…So, all questions were answered which was great, so you knew what kinds of topics would be covered and it makes it clear." - Finnula (CS2)

Similarly, five participants within the sample of seven U.K. facilitators and TAs associated with CS1 and CS3 also reported apprehensions prior to delivering Inside-Out. Responses included,

"…my expectation… was one of, somewhat of apprehension…you'd be with individuals there who had been serving long sentences and you do have all these sort of preconceptions around who you're going to talk to and teach and such." - Roy, F, U.K.

"I was a little bit more apprehensive about the gender dynamics so, I didn't know whether the intentions were to learn or to learn along-side the proportion of students we were going to be bringing in but I think I was quite open minded about it, and mainly curious, yeah, to see whether or not it would work...I wasn't sure what to expect I wasn't sure who they'd put on the course because that wasn't up to me." - Vera, F, U.K.

"I was thinking, what if I can't interest them, what if they hate it or what if I just literally can't get anyone to listen to me or they find my style or manner off-putting." - Liz, F, U.K.

The same or similar concerns were not reported from facilitators or TAs associated with CS2.

Given the extent of the anxiety reported across the two case studies which did not opt for an information session, it could be said that in addition to icebreaker exercises, including an information session may significantly reduce reported stress and anxiety. As both 'sets' of students on the Inside-Out course are students of the university for the duration of the course, the partnering university has a duty of care to ensure students are sufficiently informed. A reasonable measure in this instance to honour the duty of care could be an information session. It cannot be said with certainty that an absence of concerns of facilitators and TAs associated with CS2 was connected to an information session with Inside-Out students prior to the course, as this information was not commented on during the interviews concerned.

However, it can be inferred that the concerns or apprehensions indicated above in both sets of data may have been able to be addressed prior to the Inside-Out course and potentially dispel or reduce feelings of stress and anxiety. Icebreakers in Inside-Out are intended to encourage students to engage with one another to confront their presuppositions and expose their commonalities. The intention is that this will, in turn, create a productive and comfortable learning space (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). Had an information session been introduced, this may have increased student comfort in Inside-Out prior to the icebreaker stage which may have led to a more productive learning environment.

The value of an information session and opportunity to meet with course facilitators and TAs is also relevant to desisters. Desistance studies have indicated that acceptance from others is central to desistance, particularly tertiary desistance (McNeill, 2016a). Given that some of the comments from participants have revealed their concerns relating to how they would be perceived, this may be a beneficial addition to the course in terms of preparation. This will be discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Inside-Out uses a variety of icebreakers, one of which is the Wagon Wheel exercise, introduced in Chapter One (see 1.5.1). This is usually used at the beginning of the course (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b) and has been described as a "destabilizing" (Butin, 2013, p.ix) experience where "inside and outside students first dialogue as equals" (p.x). The following section evidences the student experience of icebreaker exercises. It critically explores whether icebreakers helped to fuse both 'groups' together and whether students, as a result, were able to engage as equals thereafter. The section also considers the delivery of the icebreaker exercises according to facilitators and TAs associated with the three case studies.

In CS3, the Wagon Wheel exercise was commented on more than any other icebreaker exercise. Comments included,

> *"I think everyone comes in with their own connotations of what is prison like, what are prisoners like and then near enough instantly then it's taken away because if you ask someone oh, what's your pet peeve, or what's your favourite food or what do you do, it ends up being the same thing you do. You think, I didn't think it'd be that similar, but it tends to be."* - Ivor (CS3)

> *"I think the first icebreaker was brilliant… you have to talk to everyone, but it was good because it got the tension out of the way… if you think about it, if it wasn't there it might take you five or six weeks to talk to certain people..."* - Kenny (CS3)

> *"I think that's the best one because you get to ask questions… You get to know each other, you get to know what the other person is like…At first, it was uneasy, the first couple of people but after a while, it just got normal."* - Joseph (CS3)

Fewer participants commented specifically on the Wagon Wheel exercise in the remaining two sites. However, those who did commented favourably and stated the following,

> *"Do you know, what I found was the best for me was the Wagon Wheel - I sometimes got disappointed when the conversation was happening then it ended, and I had more to say. It's really daunting for the students isn't it but then I think the Wagon Wheel really helps with that - helps people to open up."*-Connor (CS1)

> *"…each person had a different question and it was really surprising how much we had in common with a lot of them."* - Grace (CS2)

Essentially, icebreaker exercises in Inside-Out are intended to motivate students to feel as though they can fully invest in and contribute to group dialog (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b) and participants across all three case studies reported that the icebreakers had achieved this in their class:

> *"The icebreakers, it was good that. Meeting someone new in an environment that doesn't feel like a jail. The room wasn't full of officers, everyone was treated equally, it was the closest thing to being 'out' that I've experienced inside the jail."* - Barry (CS1)

> *"…we all got to kind of know each-other and it was great because we had personalities from the outside which mixed well with the inside and it was a good bond."* - Finnula (CS2)

> *"…after the icebreaker, it kind of got more comfortable and I loosened up a bit… everyone got comfortable with each-other."* - Hannah (CS2)

> *"…it made everyone comfortable with each-other…I don't know, I can't talk for everyone, but I know when we first got there it was like 'us' and then there was 'them'. And the icebreaker, for me just, broke the ice for everyone, we were easier with each-other.*" - Ian (CS3)

> *"…without them, nobody probably would have spoken to each-other."* - Ivor (CS3)

Whereas only three participants in CS1 commented on icebreaker exercises, with one participant commenting they "weren't really relevant to the content of the course, but they were useful" (Ethan, CS1) all participants in CS2 and CS3 commented on the effectiveness of the icebreaker exercises in terms of creating equality and comfort in the group and deepening the understanding of subject matter.

Pompa (2013a, p.18) argues that "one of the strengths of the Inside-Out approach is the dialogic interaction that takes place between and among those involved". The pedagogy, which Butin, G.W. (2013, p.94) has argued, "creates the conditions of possibility for intellectual, emotional, and academic liberation" is achieved by not suppressing "the differences nor the similarities of the diverse group" instead using their "differences as a source of energy". This view was upheld in the data as it was noted by three of the five participants in CS2 who indicated they had felt unequal to their outside peers beforehand, that icebreaker exercises helped them to feel as though they were equal in the classroom by revealing their similarities.

All five participants commented that they felt comfortable around each-other as a result of the subject matter of the icebreaker exercises which was relevant to criminology and their personal experiences. While Georgia (CS2) implied that the icebreaker exercises helped to deepen her understanding of the subject matter, other participants commented on the use of icebreakers to foster comfort and equality in the group. Hannah (CS2) noted her initial concern that the 'outside' students would "be hella intelligent", that they would be "smarter than everyone" and that they would "know everything." However, she commented that she realised during the first class that they were "just like" her. Hannah (CS2) considered the icebreaker exercises to have played a role in helping her realise this. She stated that "nobody was judgemental" and noted that the 'outside' students treated the 'inside' students as "human beings" rather than "criminals." Thus, aligning with Harris' (2013, p.50) view that Inside-Out is "a powerful tool for overcoming dehumanization" and Turenne's (2013, p.123) view that "one of the greatest attributes of the Inside-Out model is the ability it fosters to see participants as fully human". Finnula (CS2) also referred to equality. She considered that equality was "almost instantaneous" stating,

> *"…we all got to kind of know each-other and it was great because we had personalities from the outside which mixed well with the inside and it was a good bond." - Finnula (CS2)*

This could be viewed as a positive reflection on the contribution of the teaching team as they have control of the content of the course. Similarly, both Jack (CS3) and Joseph (CS3) commented that without icebreaker exercises, the class would have been quite different. Jack (CS3) noted that the group would not have bonded "as quick", commenting,

> *"I think it would have took a day. Cos the first day we all slowly got to know one another and then a second day but with that it was just straight away let's get to work, there's nothing to hide." - Jack (CS3)*

Joseph (CS3) shared a similar view,

> *"…it would just be awkward throughout the whole thing because no one would have took the plunge to speak to each other or sit in a different group or whatever." - Joseph (CS3)*

Joseph (CS3) also indicated that the icebreaker exercise helped him realise "how easy it could be" and helped to alleviate feelings of nerves and anxiety. The views

of participants in CS2 and CS3 supported the view of Davis and Roswell (2013, p.3) who considered "Inside-Out begins with the assumption that all human beings- whether they reside behind bars or on the outside - have innate worth, a story to tell, experiences to learn from, perspectives that provide insight, and leadership to contribute to the community".

All participants in CS2 and CS3 explained the significance of the icebreaker exercises compared to only three of eleven participants in CS1. While it cannot be known from the data whether the icebreaker exercises were delivered across all three sites in the same way, the data indicates that the style of facilitation likely varied per site.

In considering the variable styles of delivering icebreaker exercises, seven U.K. facilitators and TAs associated with the three case studies were asked about their experiences of delivering Inside-Out. While participants commented on all areas of Inside-Out delivery, their comments relating to the learning environment indicated how teaching within a prison is exceptionally challenging and, how much more difficult it is to achieve an optimum level of comfort for students to learn. Four participants commented specifically on the challenges of delivering a class in a prison environment. Roy, a facilitator associated with one case study commented,

> *"We've been teaching in the prison chapels which is not been too bad. One of the last sessions I gave … was in a room which was beside a workshop… I didn't like, I thought it was a challenging environment. Otherwise the chapels were fine, they were quiet and quite productive in terms of my engagement with the students and the students themselves so, really the challenge in environment itself was going through all the security but once there, not so much of a challenge." - Roy, F, U.K.*

However, this view was contrasted by a TA associated with the same case study who stated,

> *"I didn't think the teaching environments were good. I didn't think … being next to a woodwork class with banging and crashing throughout the whole session was particularly professional and it didn't really enhance the teaching experience…Some people felt uncomfortable in the chapel and actually voiced that. It wasn't like a community space, if you're not religious then being in a chapel, you know…I didn't think that was very good." - Michelle, TA, U.K.*

Furthermore, three participants associated with CS1 and CS3 commented on the balance of power and control within the prison environment. Comments indicated

that facilitators associated with CS1 and CS3 were aware of the shift in the balance of power, this also may have affected the delivery of Inside-Out. For example:

> *"I suppose the one big element is the idea that the, the Insiders understand the prison environment a lot better than I do, so I definitely felt a little bit on the back foot …where normally I would feel a bit more in control."* - Evelyn, F, U.K.

> *"…in a sense there's a power differential in that… we are still in a room where people know the environment more, they're the experts of that environment so they know the different bells, the sounds, the times, if something's not happening, they've usually guessed what's gone on … So, there was lots of, lots of roles being played out and lots of kind of variations on who had held power at one point."* - Vera, F, U.K.

While the design of the programme is intended to provide experiential and transformative learning, comfort within the environment evidently plays a role in programme delivery. There are multiple factors to consider when establishing comfort within a prison learning and teaching environment. From the student perspective, where the environment is not physiologically well equipped (i.e. whether there is immediate access to basic essentials such as food, water, fresh air) and adequate safety measures are in place (i.e. where a student can be deemed not at risk and relatively free from any foreseeable harm), student learning cannot be said to be adequately supported. As a result, individuals may not be able to remember, understand, apply, analyse, evaluate or create [34] as per Bloom's Taxonomy (see Anderson *et al.* 2001).

However, one must also consider the impact of the environment on the facilitator or TA, both are arguably susceptible to the same negative outcomes as above. The data provides a valuable insight into the differences in awareness and perception of environmental challenges. In acknowledging the potential problems associated with the choice of environment, it could be said that student interaction or a lack of student interaction may be connected to comfort and productivity in the designated learning space. Consider for example, that using a space reserved for prayer and turning it into a classroom may cause upset to students, TAs and facilitators alike and thus they may not feel at ease in their learning and teaching

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[34] I.e. that Bloom's Taxonomy cannot be achieved where Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs has not been met.

space. This will have a natural impact on whether or not the design of the programme can encourage transformative learning.

5.2.2. Creating equality in a circular setting

With the exception of some of the icebreaker exercises (e.g. 'forced choice') and group projects or presentations, the remainder of the Inside-Out class takes place in a circular setting. Of the circular setting Pompa (2013a, p.16) notes "everyone is equal - with an equal voice and an equal stake in the learning process". In relation to learning in a circular format, comments from seven participants in CS1 indicated that it was beneficial in terms of supporting a group discussion where students could learn from one another and from their respective experiences. For example,

> *"When I was there. I didn't feel like I was in jail. I felt like I was in class, it was a really good experience."* - Ben (CS1)

> *"I think it's one of the most effective ways of learning. I feel that now when I'm working on my own. You get a chance to hear other peoples' views in the circle which you wouldn't otherwise hear. I think everything worked well. I found it interesting that the instructors didn't really say much, they would just let it develop."* - David (CS1)

> *"I learned a lot about myself and other people. In a way, it helped my confidence talking in group settings, it also taught me to listen, that I didn't always have to contribute by talking."* - Ethan (CS1)

Similarly, in CS2, the views of four participants aligned with Pompa's (2013a) claims of equality. They indicated that it provided more than a space for integration and reported that it helped to reduce pressure and encourage equality, comfort and confidence. Responses included:

> *"I think it's better…it's like having a seminar at uni, you know where you sit down with tutors who have seminars, there you have time to discuss and you can argue everybody's points and you have the opportunity to write down points and everything and listen to people's ideas and their beliefs and disbeliefs so I think that's an ideal way to teach people… I don't know about the circular environment, but the point is, it was comfortable, it was more comfortable because we didn't feel as if we were in a classroom, we were just having a discussion"* - Georgia (CS2)

> *"…it was really good and actually a lot of the girls got on really well together. It was amazing. It felt good not being, it was …everybody was equal, it was well, you're a prisoner, you're an outside student, there was no rift. Everybody worked well."* - Finnula (CS2)
> *"It was good for me and my confidence more than anything cos I'm not a very confident person. It definitely built up my confidence."* - Grace (CS2)

In CS3 participants reported that the circular learning was enjoyable. Three participants noted that the circular format encouraged comfort, increased interaction and confidence. For example:

> *"…if you don't have it circular, you tend to find that people can isolate themselves off into different corners or groups … it encourages you to actually mingle and interact with the other students because, in prison a lot of the guys, especially the guys that have been in prison for a long time, prison tends to take away the sense of normality from men in prison and obviously women in prison, that's what it's designed to do…So, I think that circular thing and getting people… talking is key because … it all helps with getting people through the course and making people feel more comfortable."* - Kenny (CS3)

> *"Everyone had a chance to talk and then express their feelings and most people participated…if you're shy and that, it brings you out of your shell… once you see your mates and everyone else do it, you want to participate as well."*-Kyle (CS3)

Larson's (2013, p.64) comment that the circular format "supported best practices in experiential education" was supported by participants across all three case studies. However, as Boyd (2013, p.80) notes, "not everyone in an Inside-Out circle will undergo a profound learning experience" and this view was echoed only by participants in CS1 where four participants indicated that the circle induced feelings of stress, pressure and nervousness. For example:

> *"I was a bit nervous about it, but I got through it - it was an experience. I was apprehensive for the entire course, it was only short, perhaps it would have been different over a few years… perhaps if it was every day or more in the week it would have been different."* - Cathal (CS1)

> *"I tend not to speak out, so it was stressful. When we were sitting in a circle at the end of a session and you had to say something that you enjoyed about the session, I started getting nervous around the time I had to speak."* - Finn (CS1)

Participants indicated that the facilitation of Inside-Out (i.e. allowing for a student-led, discussion-based, interactive class) differed from the standard model of learning they were used to (lecture-styled with a lecturer disseminating information). The research demonstrated that all participants across all case studies benefited from an integrated facilitated learning approach rather than the traditional model of teaching. Nine participants in CS1 commented on the differences between their former experiences in education and their Inside-Out experience. Five participants in CS1 discussed the opportunity to be interactive and

learn from each-other in an Inside-Out class rather than a lecture-styled session.

For example:

> *"It was a lot more participatory… Inside-Out, it felt that the students controlled the way the lesson went. It was very relaxed, it contributed to the success of the group and to my own personal success. I didn't take as much out of the formal classroom experiences. They were monotonous, and you didn't feel a part of it because you're being talked to or lectured at."* - Alex (CS1)

> *"I wasn't really interacting with other people before. It was, I was given a bit of work, no discussions. Whereas Inside-Out, it was interactive, we discussed things in groups, we shared our opinions and beliefs, it was more fun to be honest - more relaxed, it wasn't boring."* - Ben (CS1)

> *"It's more interaction where you work with people whereas other interactions you just work on your own with a textbook. It's more dialogue. You get instant feedback. You get diverse points to work with, it's breaking Groundhog Day in prison too because it's in a completely different environment."* - Ethan (CS1)

Five participants in CS1 commented on the style of facilitation noting that it created

a comfortable, sociable and respectful learning environment. Comments included,

> *"The group was small enough, so everyone could have their say, you know. It's for everybody to take part in, equal opportunities. I think the staff encourages you to speak. It was a group, but everyone was an individual within it."* - Dominic (CS1)

> *"It's a respectful environment, you're not forced to be here or forced to learn. If you don't want to speak, you don't have to speak. You interact at your own comfort and the instructors were very supportive, especially the writing tutors. They helped people who had never written an essay in their life."* - David (CS1)

> *"You're working at your own pace, your own speed so you don't feel rushed. The classroom is more open. I felt more comfortable than I normally do in a classroom. I think it was because of the space, it was in the chapel which was a big room. Not because it was peaceful, it was just a bigger open space which made it more relaxed and no prison officers about because they sit outside."* - Finn (CS1)

Similarly, all participants in CS2 commented positively on the style of facilitation.

Georgia (CS2) commented on her appreciation that all provided reading materials

were "current" and similarly, Harriet (CS2) noted that facilitators were "very

helpful" and commented, "they put books in our library and stuff like that."

However, the three remaining participants compared their Inside-Out experience to their former experiences in relation to the facilitators. Responses included:

"…they was a lot more involved." - Grace (CS2)

"…they were so much easier to approach, they were. You could talk to anybody, even (anonymised) you could talk to them about anything, you've got a problem they'll always stay behind, and you could talk to them. Any problems it's easily dealt with…it was nothing like a course I had ever done before." - Finnula (CS2)

Four participants in CS3 also noted that there were benefits to the differences between Inside-Out facilitation and their former experiences in education; comments included,

"It's like, it was more informal, but it's more engaging. In school I was always bored - really bored…Whereas I put way more into doing this. It was a lot more engaging than conventional school… mean it comes down to even like teaching assistants… just making sure that other people get their chance to say things just because if you can take one person and shut them up for two mins and let some else talk, that person's entire philosophy on something can change…" - Ivor (CS3)

"They weren't too strict, and they weren't basically 'teacher teachers' like you're used to, like basically, just let's say helpers in the class you could see that. They made it seem like you was part of the class…they were watching the class, making sure you were alright…you thought that they were part of the class because they were always speaking, always encouraging you to take part." - Joseph (CS3)

"I enjoyed it so much and one of the teachers really stand out for me, [anonymised] she was brilliant…anything that she does I wanna be involved in, basically yeah, she's brilliant and she's such an amazing teacher - she knows exactly what she's doing." - Kyle (CS3)

Facilitators and TAs associated with all case studies commented on their interpretation of the significance of the Inside-Out circular format and their experiences of programme delivery, for example:

"The ethos…is…more egalitarian, it's less the instructor taking over, it's to do with the sharing of that experience…teaching in Inside-Out takes place within the context of ordinarily a circle and with Inside/Outside Student … to break up the hierarchical concerns within teaching …the whole core essence and ethos of Inside-Out as I see it is the dialogue and discussion between Inside student and Outside student, not between me and the class." - Roy, F, U.K.
"I think the structure of Inside-Out provides a space for people to engage in different medium so if you're not happy to engage in the 30 person circle you

might be ok to engage in the small circle so yeah, I think it's much more conducive to student engagement." - Tracy, F, U.K.

"I think more people were more involved in the Inside-Out teaching. Like if I think to seminars, like 'normal' sort of seminars previously like if people didn't talk, they just didn't talk and you kind of got the impression people just … weren't really bothered about being there, they weren't… too fussed either way whereas in Inside-Out you knew everyone really wanted to be there, people would speak up and it just felt like a completely different environment." - Eileen, TA, U.K.

"The layout, the sitting in the circle, I love that, I wish I could do that in all my teaching now, …I mean I'm still not perfect at it but …you get better with practice … that's interesting and it's challenging…I suppose, every day teaching at the university had become not challenging, …Whereas the Inside-Out… just being in the prison environment is challenging and managing the class in that circle and trying to steer the discussion, think of the topics, design the curriculum, you know everything is challenging but in a good way." - Liz, F, U.K.

However, two participants associated with one case study criticised the circular format indicating differences in programme delivery:

"…a lot of it felt like a women's coffee morning rather than sitting in the circle and I didn't feel the facilitator, the teacher, brought people back into the circle, she allowed them to just sit around with coffee and tea, table and chairs without bringing them back and it just felt messy. So, I don't think the teaching environment was very good." - Michelle, TA, U.K.

"…the emphasis on the circle and that the dialogue needs to happen in the kind of equality situation that's physically represented, equality's somehow physically enshrined…again that just seems an over-emphasis on something that would be normal in a language classroom … I see a lot of crossover." - Evelyn, F, U.K.

The majority of participants across all three case studies reflected positively on the circular format, not only supporting the view that "everyone is equal - with an equal voice and an equal stake in the learning process" (Pompa, 2013a, p.16) but implying that it contributed to reducing anxiety and promoting confidence. Furthermore, comments upheld Link's (2016, p.50) view that "the course allows students to examine their life experiences in a different context and thus grow as individuals and scholars". That participants commented the circular format is more than a tool to bring both groups together is significant for two reasons. Firstly, participants have indicated that the physicality of the 'classroom' carries much more significance than the Inside-Out literature hypothesised. Secondly, of arguably

greater significance, the responses are a reflection on the quality of facilitation provided and an indication that facilitators were engendering feelings of comfort, equality and minimal pressure in their students through their actions.

However, it must be restated that this was not the case for all participants, specifically four within CS1. Furthermore, that facilitators and TAs associated with one case study indicated a noticeable distinction between facilitation styles, creates the possibility that this could significantly offset the good intentions of the circular setting. This once again serves to highlight that while the programme aims and claims to foster an experiential and transformative learning environment, the variation in delivery can have an impact on the quality of the student experience and the educational value students can extract from the experience.

5.2.3. Student empowerment through group learning

In an Inside-Out class, students have the opportunity to work in both large and small groups (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). While the aims of large groups are to promote equality and inclusion within the Inside-Out 'circle', Inside-Out claims that "assigning students tasks to complete in smaller subgroups is an effective way of empowering students to take responsibility for their own learning" (Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a). All participants in CS1 and CS2 commented on how group-work affected them in terms of their experiences in large groups. Comments from CS1 related to escapism and comfort:

> *"When I was there, I didn't feel like I was in jail. I felt like I was in class, it was a really good experience."* - Ben (CS1)

> *"...after a few sessions, I was able to interact with people properly. We started to get to know one another, we felt a bit more comfortable and we gelled a bit more."* - David (CS1)

Other comments from CS1 related to improved confidence and listening skills:

> *"...when we got into the group dialogue, I really enjoyed it. I learned a lot about myself and other people. In a way, it helped my confidence talking in group settings, it also taught me to listen, that I didn't always have to contribute by talking."* - Ethan (CS1)

> *"You get to hear everyone's point of view, you get to hear other perspectives, you get to express your own perspectives...it's important to me because it's*

learning generally but also learning about yourself. It broadens your thinking." - Ethan (CS1)

In CS2 comments were similar to CS1. Whereas some comments related to inclusion, friendship and comfort, such as,

"Because it's done in a group-based and it's more talking, it's more, it's more what's the word, it's not independent, you've got people there to talk to and I think that's what made it different, it's more, friendly based." - Finnula (CS2)

"it was like a platform to say how we felt or what we thought and kind of dissect, break down what we had read and break it into different parts… gradually, you can see that the tension was loosening, and people just integrated and took it from there."* - Georgia (CS2)

"it made my brain work harder anyway! … with the Inside-Outside, you're sort of like finding arguments against paperwork and group discussions so yeah that was, but it was interesting everybody's views and everything …" - Grace (CS2)

Other comments pertained to feelings of equality and diversity:

"I think the discussion was good, cos it was good to see things from all different peoples' … point of views… it's loads of different people from all different walks of life, different colours, different everything … it was interesting to hear what certain people think about certain things and what their opinions are on certain things and who you share the same opinions with…obviously these people aren't like the same as us like we're in prison, they're not" - Harriet (CS2)

"I felt everybody was equal in that group, I did…We're all in the same shoes like, all literally learning." - Hannah (CS2)

In relation to the small group discussion, three participants in CS1 (Edward, Ethan and Alex) commented that small group exercises were the best part of the class. Comments from CS1 included,

"…the way they would get the main points of the readings is through the discussions and if you didn't have the group discussions, people wouldn't have absorbed the readings and the reflective writings again, yeah because as much as people will give their whole, like if they're in a group, especially from inside students, they'll, they'll sort of stick to one opinion because they're in a group, yet when they're alone and by themselves and writing it out, they'll let their opinion change because it's hard to bullshit yourself…" - Ivor (CS3)

> *"I liked the small group exercises, everybody had a chance to say what they thought but then afterwards the small groups returned to the larger groups again…I think the group work is more intense, more informative."* - Alex (CS1)

> *"It was just nice to see people be all that they could be and be able to express themselves in different ways. It was refreshing, there was one point we were in little groups doing poetry, stories etc. and then when we came back, we saw their work and that's just not a side you normally get to see of people. You've been around someone for so long and the environment makes them a certain way but this experience, in a different environment meant there was an opportunity for the person to be who they were anyway but provided the right space for them to be expressive."* - Andrew (CS1)

Similarly, four participants in CS2 expressed appreciation for the small group exercises, for example:

> *"…obviously when you have a big group of people, it's harder to get your point across."* - Harriet (CS2)

> *"…mini debates in the group was a good way of doing it… it helped having somebody else's views…was almost like 'no answer is wrong.'"*-Finnula (CS2)

> *"…everybody was just so nice you know what I mean?... we worked in small teams, and you got to know them all and everybody contributed…the groups would change all the time like, so … you would eventually get to know everybody."* - Grace (CS2)

In CS3 all participants reflected positively on their experiences in smaller groups. Responses included:

> *"In a smaller group they may have more of an opportunity to say things that they didn't have in the bigger group because in a big group a lot of people want to say things."* - Kyle (CS3)

> *"It was interesting because with the small groups you're still finding that everyone doesn't perceive things the same way and then knowing that other people as well are going through the same thing and not everyone in the group agrees with something but it's ok to not agree… It was like slowly after every session I started to realise it. Not everybody was going to agree with something, not everyone has the answer for it."* - Jack (CS3)

> *" …it took me out of that bubble I was in, like being in this environment. It took me out of that bubble, and it gave me a chance to remember what I'm capable of and what I can achieve if I did really want to achieve something."* - Joseph (CS3)

The large group discussion was described by participants as a platform to talk about the views of others, how they felt and what they were thinking. Additionally,

participants reported they felt able to contribute as no answer was wrong, they did not feel judged and they could ask for help. This provides a further indication that facilitators and their teaching style was successful in fostering a positive learning environment for students.

5.2.4. The significance of relatable weekly readings

Only participants in CS2 and CS3 made reference to weekly set readings in their Inside-Out course. Comments from three participants in CS3 included,

> *"Yeah, it was very interesting as well cos, certain stories and that kind of made you understand how other people or everyone else sees like, views things and how people have like grown up and it makes you see things in your own self as well so, it was interesting."* - Jack (CS3)

> *"…there was one essay we had right, it was about getting out of jail, [a person] similar age as me, and they was talking about the things he was going through, and what he went through … he did some time in jail and I just related to it so well. I think that was the biggest challenge. I didn't know I was going through them things if that makes sense, so I was learning about me while I was doing this course, if that makes sense."* - Ian (CS3)

Four participants in CS2 also commented on weekly readings, comments indicated that they helped to deepen their understanding of criminology. For example:

> *"I also found the reading and the paperwork interesting and that you could relate to some of it. Like we had drug paperwork and like I could relate to that because my ex partner's a drug addict. So, I really read into that quite."* - Grace (CS2)

> *"…after reading all the journals and everything, you know, it really opened my eyes to a lot of things."* - Georgia (CS2)

Georgia (CS2) considered that one of the benefits of the Inside-Out class was a "more in-depth" look as to "what is happening in society, outside and inside, why people commit crime, and eliminating preconceived notions about people." She considered that it made her view others in a different way than she had done before the class. Similarly, Finnula (CS2) considered that the use of readings which included statistics helped her to get "more of an understanding of why crime happens" and to "never judge a book by its cover" implying that Inside-Out helps to humanise people. She commented specifically on the use of drugs statistics stating, "that opens quite a few peoples' eyes as to why they do the crimes that they do, so it helps."

Hannah (CS2) also commented that she is no longer "judging people" because the course informed her that "everyone is different, everyone's crime's different" and "there's a back-story" to peoples' actions. In any course, essential and supplementary readings are chosen by a teaching team and are intended to better inform students so that they gain a deeper understanding of subject matter. However, as there is little published evaluation of Inside-Out in the U.K., this is a research finding as it provides an indicator that the facilitators at this site were providing relevant reading materials and 'inside' students responded positively to them especially when the readings related to their own circumstances.

5.2.5. Reflective writing and increasing capacity for critical thinking

Reflective writing is a core component of the Inside-Out class as Davis and Roswell (2013) comment, "the work of shared reflection … increases participants' capacity for critical inquiry" (p.5). While Inside-Out-related literature focuses on potential benefits of the reflective writing process (see Pompa, 2013a, p.21), little is known about challenges faced by 'inside' students as they prepare to write reflectively and receive assumed 'university-level' critical feedback, some for the first time in their lives.

Participants without an academic background arguably will not have received critical feedback prior to Inside-Out, this makes it all the more important to understand participants' situations as the impact of receiving even slight criticism, may have a damaging effect, regardless of any good intention. This section explores the responses from participants across all three case studies in the context of their experiences of reflective writing as part of Inside-Out. It exposes the fragility of the Inside-Out students who can find the process challenging in addition to their perception of the use and value of feedback.

In CS1, nine participants expressed concern in relation to the reflective writing component of the programme and four participants considered this to be the greatest challenge for them to overcome. Some comments related to style and structure, for example:

> *"It was difficult because I was doing an Open University course at the time and the styles were different. Reflective writing is more about, 'I'."* - Alex (CS1)

> *"I was panicked after talking to someone who had done Inside-Out because of all the essays, I was told I'd end up writing and I'd never done anything like that before."* - Ben (CS1)

> *"I was worried about the structure of the essay, putting it together, I hadn't done anything like that in years."* - Finn (CS1)

> *"I wasn't really confident about the writing; I hadn't done any education since school."*-David (CS1)

However, other comments from CS1 related to physically hand-writing an essay,

> *"…just getting to write again, not the writing itself but the physical writing. When I started, people were dropping out just because of the writing, even when they brought in the reserves only eight or so Inside students completed it."* - Dominic (CS1)

Correspondingly, in CS3, four participants reported feelings of nerves, fear and apprehension prior to the reflective writing element of the course. For example:

> *"I was nervous going into it."* - Kyle (CS3)

> *"…when they said a 5000 word, obviously at first yeah it got a bit scary."* (Joseph CS3)

> *"I was scared, I was thinking this is just gonna be like loads of writing loads of reading … like everything that I was like fearing."* - Jack (CS3)

None of the five participants in CS2 expressed concerns in relation to the reflective writing component of Inside-Out. However, all five commented on difficulties they encountered while writing, comments included,

> *"…my first essay wasn't really good because I had never done a critical reflection."* - Georgia (CS2)

> *"…it's harder to write in that style of writing."* - Harriet (CS2)

> *"…it was a bit confusing to reference…I found that quite difficult."* - Grace (CS2)

There was a significant difference between the three case studies and the prison estates in relation to why reflective writing was challenging. This may have been related to the number of reflective writing papers required per course, for example, in CS1, it was reported that participants submitted four reflective writing papers, whereas in CS2 and CS3, participants reported that they kept a reflective diary as

well as submitting at least two reflective writing papers. Only those in CS2 and CS3 raised access to resources as a challenge.

Georgia (CS2) explained that challenges pertained to finding the time and space to write the essays. She explained that she was 'released on temporary licence' and this afforded her the ability to attend a library outside of prison, but this was not the case for others. Georgia (CS2) stated, "you only have access to education at a certain time so…I think we should be given laptops or something to help with this course." Grace (CS2) expressed a similar concern and stated that she felt "pushed for time" to write essays because "getting movement to education to do it" and finding "the time to go on the computer" was problematic. Finnula (CS2) also expressed this concern. Noting that essays were "extremely hard" she suggested they would be "easier" if there were more opportunities to write smaller assignments stating, "I think if I was to do more of it, it would get easier." She further explained that in prison,

> *"…not many women have more chances to do reflective counts [essays] so may find harder to put things together… if they do it slightly more often, but not so many words, they might find it easier to do…at the same time, it helps them as-well learn better their English and their punctuation as well, how to put things together."* - Finnula (CS2)

Harriet (CS2) also raised issues with access to resources however, rather than access to laptops, she highlighted the difference between 'inside' and 'outside' students' access to academic staff. Harriet (CS2) considered that 'outside' students were "at an advantage" because they can speak to university staff whenever they choose - a luxury not available to 'inside' students. She suggested that while resources were placed in the library, she would have benefited from verbal help. Harriet explained, "there should have been a session for reflective writing…so you know what you're doing" and expressed her view that the course needed "more educational value" in the context of getting more help from the facilitators. These concerns were not raised in either the Category A or B prison estates. Importantly, there is no comparative data from the participants' 'outside' counterparts to establish whether the same problems were faced.

Research indicates that even informal conversation with academic staff beyond the remit of a scheduled class can result in an overwhelming benefit to students in several areas, but most notably in terms of academic achievement and sense of self-belief (see Grantham *et al.*, 2015). However, it must be noted that even with the luxury of access to external resources and the proven benefits to students who avail of additional face-time with their course tutors (Kim and Sax, 2011) not all students will avail of the opportunity to speak to a course tutor beyond the context of their Inside-Out class.

While four participants in CS1 commented that essay writing was their greatest challenge, they noted a marked improvement in their technique and willingness to write as the course progressed, for example,

> *"Over the weeks, I would refine it down, get the structure, I think you just have to keep working at it."* - Andrew CS1?

> *"By the end and I was improving in each one, this made me feel happy."* - Finn (CS1)

Similarly, all four participants in CS3 reported that, their feelings towards reflective writing changed once they could see that they could do it. Comments included:

> *"Once I'd done the first one, once I'd completed the first one it was fine, it was completely fine."* - Kyle (CS3)

> *"Just doing the reflective writing straight after at night when I got back and I realised how easy it could be, it wasn't that scary as I thought it was."* - Joseph (CS3)

> *"Once I did it, I was thinking wow, I can actually do this, I enjoyed it to be honest… I've never done that before, never, writing and then referencing and so on and so forth…so when I did it and I knew I could do it I thought wow, I just kept on looking forward to it."* - Ian (CS3)

Inside-Out students in all three sites had the opportunity to submit a piece of reflective writing with the expectation they would receive critical feedback. While none of the eleven participants in CS1 commented on feedback, four participants in CS2 and all participants in CS3 emphasised the benefit and quality of feedback provided. Comments in CS2 included,

> *"…(anonymised) did help, she was fantastic, she did do… how she would do it, what not to do, what to do."* - Finnula (CS2)

"I didn't really know what it entailed, so it was after the first essay that they now gave me feedback and they explained to me what it was all about." - Georgia (CS2)

"The first one was easier than the second one because we had more help on it." - Harriet (CS2)

Grace (CS2) also commented on the value of feedback explaining that the assignments "could have been explained a bit clearer", however, she also noted that the facilitators were approachable and willing to help:

"They stayed on like 45 mins after the leaders so if we had any questions and that so if you didn't understand it then you'd ask and the leaders, they broke it down for us." - Grace (CS2)

Furthermore, in CS3, self-reported improvement in the reflective writing was again linked to the positive feedback received after submitting assignments to course facilitators. In addition, all of the remaining participants remarked on the benefit of feedback, comments included,

"Yeah, I could see by the grades. When I put my all into it, yeah, I could tell. I got seventy-five in one, that's a distinction but other times I was like sixty-fours and sixties sometimes yeah… I got the third highest mark, so the feedback was alright actually yeah." - Ian (CS3)

"…feedback was good for… cos, obviously with dyslexia there's a little challenge, there's little battles I have where I could read something and totally like not understand what I've read but they just confirmed that I'm doing well…" - Jack (CS3)

"…at first I kind of focused my reflective journals on what I was feeling in the class at that time to what was going on, but we were encouraged more to not only do that but tailor it to the writing, the reading, what we've actually learnt." - Kenny (CS3)

All participants in CS3 commenting on the benefit of reflective writing provided responses that exceeded the claims made by Inside-Out practitioners. Comments broadly indicated that the exercise along with the feedback provided, impacted levels of self-efficacy, inspiring students to overcome their fears and in some instances, progress to other educational courses. Comments relating to encouragement included,

"it helps and encourages people to actually write something because a lot of people in prison don't … it builds confidence, breaks barriers and helps people understand their ability and also, gives them a chance to reflect on what's actually just happened…that was really significant for me cos I was able to

just sit down…and say, what I experienced, what I learnt, what I felt, it's good." - Kenny (CS3)

"Yeah It was like a diary that you had to do and they taught us in the first class and then once we took part, and everyone got used to it, it was easy for everyone to be honest, in fact the inside students got higher points than the outside students because the outside students, they're used to writing essays and that and this one was different…"-Kyle (CS3)

Other comments related to improved confidence, for example:

"For me, the benefit was that it gave me more confidence that actually now I'm doing a degree. So, I didn't know how to write essays so once I knew how to write essays, it gave me the opportunity to do my own degree which I'm currently doing now." - Ian (CS3)

"…yeah because as much as people will give their all, like if they're in a group, especially from inside students, they'll, they'll sort of stick to one opinion because they're in a group, yet when they're alone and by themselves and writing it out, they'll let their opinion change." - Ivor (CS3)

"I think the best part … was knowing that I'd have a bit of that coursework … and bring it back and then give it to someone and they'd mark it up and give me a result and let me know that I'm not that bad … It just made me know that, I can…I shouldn't fear my dyslexia…" - Jack (CS3)

Reflecting on their experiences of assigning, grading and providing feedback, two facilitators associated with CS2 and CS3 reported that they were attuned to the anxiety their students conveyed to them in advance of the assessment. Comments included,

"I found myself interacting with students in terms of calming their fears about the amount of writing they had to do." - (Tracy, Facilitator, U.K.)

"I'm surprised that our students are really anxious and nervous about the assessment … I think our students find it really difficult." - (Liz, Facilitator, U.K.)

Two facilitators and TAs associated with one case study described their experience of facilitating reflective writing:

"I've never come across reflective writing before, or had any training on reflective writing or assessment so that's a huge, huge difference." - (Roy, Facilitator, U.K.)

"I think there should have been a minimum requirement to get onto the Inside-Out Program. We had students in [anonymised] who couldn't read and write, and we had to mark assignments with the spelling and the grammar on a level four university course… I think perhaps right at the beginning of

week one they should have been told how to write reflectively, they should have been told how to read something and reference it. A lot of the Inside students have no idea how to do that and of course they haven't, why would they? Whereas, if you're in your third year at [anonymised] University, you've already had two whole years, so you're at an enormous advantage." - (Michelle, TA, U.K.)

Three facilitators associated with CS1 and CS3 described their experience of grading and encouraging an authentic experiential learning environment:

"When I was marking the formatives, I tried to like give as much feedback as possible because it was a completely different assessment than the Outside students are used to and then I guess for the Inside students, sometimes it's like the first essay that they've written."-(Eileen, TA, U.K.)

"Before, we had essays and standard assignments, you've got your marking criteria and guides that you can give to students that have been developed centrally and all the same you can give out and our students really want one for the reflective diary but it's more difficult to do because it's so personal and it's very difficult to kind of quantify and then that does make me think it's very difficult when you're marking it and we should really develop some kind of criteria …" - (Liz, Facilitator, U.K.)

"…I made a point of saying to this … cohort that if you read all about the different theories of learning and theories of education, it's not how you're doing it, it's what you're doing while you're doing that and you're thinking differently, you know you're thinking creatively, you're more mindful of what you want to say, you know you write it down, erase and you know, go back…it's not just about marks …if it's going to be the true experience then it needs to be as authentic as possible." (Vera, Facilitator, U.K.)

Under the broad term, 'reflective writing' there are various and distinct types of reflection (Grossman, 2009, p.15) and reflective processes with "differing levels of complexity" (Finlay, 2008, p.16). While reflective writing is becoming more integrated into Higher Education (Kirk, 2017) and while research has noted its importance across disciplinary fields (Ryan, 2012), as Barton and Ryan (2014) note, "there is also acknowledgment that the teaching of reflection is inconsistent and superficial" (Barton and Ryan, 2014, p.409). One of the reasons for this is the lack of framework or scaffolding for students (Harris, 2007) and subsequent lack of consistency in the way in which reflective writing is taught and assessed. This is in line with the research findings. Ryan (2012, p.221) underlines the problem with failing to define the parameters of reflective writing within their discipline noting,

"If students are to enact particular identities within the discipline they should be provided with opportunities and pedagogic scaffolding to represent their reflective learning in different modes."

The above comments have indicated: an awareness in two out of three sites of student anxiety; an acknowledgement in two out of three sites that reflective writing is an entirely different model of writing than Inside-Out participants may be used to; that in at least one site, there was no standardised way of assessing the reflective papers; and, that in at least one site, the facilitator delivering the programme had not been trained to write reflectively.

In relation to the emotional input required, reflective writing can differ significantly from other types of assignments (see Kirk, 2017, Moon, 2006, and Lillis, 2001). Reflective assignments *require* an emotional input and, in the context of Inside-Out, it could be argued that this is an unfair request of a prisoner who may be in an already disrupted emotional state (i.e. feelings of anxiety prior to the course). Conversely, it could also be said that anxiety relating to reflective writing and in particular, the first reflective assignment as reported in this research, is part of the Inside-Out student experience. As such, education could be transformative in this sense as, through the process, students become less anxious than perhaps they once were. There is a body of research recognising the impact of feedback on students (see Brown *et al.*, 2016; Panadero *et al.*, 2014). For prison-based students, feedback has the potential to be even more impactful.

As the research has indicated, participants reported a sense of normalcy and humanisation when taking part in Inside-Out. They acknowledged their respect and appreciation for the Inside-Out tutors. Therefore, as indicated, prisoners without an academic background may not have received critical feedback prior to Inside-Out, and so it is imperative that teachers acknowledge the impact of receiving even slight criticism as it may have a damaging effect, regardless of good intentions. While the sample of facilitators and TAs related to the three case studies is small, it is unlikely, without guidelines for assigning, grading and feedback, that the student experience could align with claims made by Pompa (2013a, p.21) that "this format offers all participants the opportunity to use multiple dimensions of themselves in their papers, leading to a deeper understanding of both the issues and the overall experience of the course". As one facilitator indicated, "… Well executed, it can be a very powerful way of assessing students' understanding" (Roy, Facilitator, U.K.),

but one must consider the impact on students when Inside-Out is not well executed rather, when it is unregulated and not 'scaffolded.'

The following section responds directly to the research questions outlined in the introduction: 'how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?'; and, 'how has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'inside' participants' self-narratives?'

5.3. Establishing the significance of the design of Inside-Out and its influence on participants' self-narratives

Regarding the outcomes of Inside-Out, Pompa (2013a) considers, "by the end of the semester, both 'inside' and 'outside' students develop a desire to make change in the world" (p.16), "it is the ultimate border-crossing experience" (p.17). She notes, "when instructors contact us after holding their first course, the description is remarkably similar. It is they say, a deeply transformative experience" (p.24). That the programme provides a transformative learning experience is a contested term (as discussed in Chapter Two). However, if Inside-Out is deeply transformative, then it is possible to suggest participants' self-narratives may have changed; for example, a change in the way in which one understands criminal behaviour after a criminology-based Inside-Out class. Although, whether this amounts to a transformation or a change in one's self-narrative or identity is debatable. While participants may indicate a transformation post-Inside-Out, one must consider the wider context of their response, for example, their understanding of the terms 'identity' and 'transformative' and to what the 'transformation' pertains.

The understanding of the term 'identity' in CS1 was varied among participants with those who indicated self-reported higher levels of educational achievement citing more abstract definitions. For example,

> "Identity is an abstract term, identity of what? Yourself? How you appear to others? How you relate to others? How you feel, look and behave with others? The key word here is 'others'. Projecting yourself for whatever reason is part of the human condition, to gain acceptance in work or socially. There we are, back to others again, what do they think of you? Remember the Prisoner TV programme; "I am not a number, I am a free man", that's my identity, I will always be who I am." (Dominic, CS1)

"Belonging to a place/culture/ideology. Modern identities are quite different from the Victorian notion of identities. That is to say that they refuse jingoistic notions of confinement to one of the above media. Most of us exhibit and possess multiple identities. I, for instance, am both a Middle Eastern and European. I am perpetually informed by both cultures and feel at home in both. However, I feel that we, of the minorities, are continuously challenged and asked to submit to old notions of identity." (Edward, CS1)

However, the majority of comments in CS1, CS2 and CS3 were similar and related to physical and personality-based traits, comments in CS1 included,

"What I think a person is: race, religion, creed. I would define identity as what makes you as a person. What drives you, what you believe in. The way you think. The way you see yourself." (Ben CS1)

"Being able to be yourself no matter the situation and people accepting you for who you are." (Andrew CS1)

Comments from participants in CS2 and CS3 included,

"Identity means yourself, who you are, what you represent. Everything about you. Everything about me. That's my identity, which includes my name, mainly my name and who I am. What I represent, my views, my beliefs." - Georgia (CS2)

"It's who you are as a person. Your individual… yeah, how you identify yourself. Gender…everything really, your build, your eye colour, just you as an individual, tattoos. Yeah, it's just how you identify as a person." - Grace (CS2)

"Identity is for me, what you see yourself as. So, for me, identity means what I see myself as. And for somebody else's identity is what they see themselves as." - Kenny (CS3)

"Identity…who you are, basically. It could be anything like, as a person, who you are it could be your background, or your skin colour. It could be anything." - Kyle (CS3)

That Inside-Out claims students will experience a transformation could lead one to believe that this would align with participants definitions of identity, i.e. a transformation of, 'how you see yourself', 'the way you think', 'how you look and behave with others.' However, as the data below presents, definitions of transformative and transformational can vary.

The Oxford Dictionary of English (2010) definition of 'transformative' is "(*adjective*); *Causing a marked change in someone or something*." Table 18 demonstrates that

while fourteen participants in the sample indicated they had a transformative learning experience, eight participants had not.

Was Inside-Out a Transformative Learning Experience?	Yes	No
CS1	6	5
CS2	3	2
CS3	5	1

Table 18: Inside-Out as a transformative learning experience

Six participants in CS1 considered that Inside-Out provided a transformative learning experience. For example:

"Inside-Out is a transformative learning experience. It is unlike anything I have ever been involved with. Prisoners talked about the 'Inside-Out' class with each other within the prison after the class had finished, not something that usually transpires after a normal prison class. Brilliant. Can I say more?" - Dominic (CS1)

"Yes, because it kind of, it made me sad about myself, because when I passed and got 20 credits, I thought I could have gone to university and done something with myself, but I've wasted a lot of time, self-contemplation, it made me think about myself. I could have met all these good people." -Ben (CS1)

"Yes, because obviously, before I went down there my views were my own, but because of this class, I am thinking of other peoples' perspectives and if you can continue with that, I think it could be a good formula for change." - Cathal (CS1)

Similar responses were obtained from participants in CS2 where three participants reported they felt transformed by Inside-Out:

"… it's a transformation in that you can't just judge why something's happened, simple as…I think that's made me less judgemental than ever which has made them less judgemental which is fantastic." -Finnula (CS2)

"…now I think before you done something stupid again, you would think first, you would reflect, or you would look…if you were to go out again and think, I'm gonna do another crime or something, I think you would definitely reflect back on that first after doing the programme." - Grace (CS2)

"…because of it I took off my clothing of ignorance … and it made me see where other people were coming from." - Georgia (CS2)

In CS3, five participants reported a transformative learning experience, for example:

> "… it's transformative and it's taken me to the next step of where I need to go, it's taken me to the next step of thinking, of acting, of behaving." (Joseph, CS3)

> "The transformation is that Inside-Out taught me, that I can actually operate on that level… 100% that's a transformation." (Kenny, CS3)

> "… if I didn't do Inside-Out, I wouldn't be doing my degree so probably it's changed my outlook on that basically." (Ian CS3)

As illustrated in Table 18, six participants in CS1, three participants in CS2 and five participants in CS3 indicated Inside-Out had been a transformative learning experience. However, as the comments below indicate, across all case studies, there were differences in what this term meant to participants,

> "An experience or event that usually leads to positive change - revolution, rehabilitation, improving the system or one's self." - David (CS1)

> "Transformative: work or social conditions can be transformative to your attitude or the way one conducts oneself. It's a bit like a change, is it real or do we revert back to our origins, who we are? Transformational is used as a term to describe an effect, but does it last?…prison does not transform… Will prison transform me into something else? A better person? I am who I am." - Dominic (CS1)

> "…overtones of a positive power to change a person from one state into another unexpected state." - Edward (CS1)

> "…whether it's education or whether they go through a job and then you can see them calming down, doing education, doing their courses … they can be the opposite to how they've been and that's how they've transformed to become ready for the outside…it's been the opposite of what they were when they first came in." - Finnula (CS2)

> "…when things transform, I see it as a change…I don't think it's always permanent." - Harriet (CS2)

> "Bettering yourself and being in a better place than you was before… we're always transforming, we're always changing innit, but yeah." - Joseph (CS3)

> "…it could be anything. You can transform from something to something else but that could classify as change as well if that makes sense." - Kyle (CS3)

"So, just a small difference in something is just a change, if you go, I hated fish and now I kind of like fish, that's a change, but a transformation would be I hated fish and now I'm a pescatarian." - Ivor (CS3)

Whereas some former students may use the terminology 'transformative' others may not and, as Perry (2013) noted, there are "very likely students who have taken an Inside-Out class who were fundamentally unchanged by the experience" (Perry, 2013, 43). This was evident in the research, for example:

"I don't think it's a life transforming experience. Like at all…it's not something I sit down and think about, it's not something I remember. It's not something that made me think, oh I wanna change and be a better person or whatever." - Harriet (CS2)

Eight participants chose not to use language amounting to 'transformative.' This may be due to the fact that they were not transformed by Inside-Out, even though the class may have been impactful. Consider Kish (2013) who provided a powerful account of her Inside-Out experience without stating that it was transformative. The view that Inside-Out had provided a positive or beneficial experience was prevalent in participant accounts where a transformative learning experience was not reported. All participants across all three case studies who declared they had not been transformed by Inside-Out, explained that the experience had still benefited them. For example,

"I'm on that continuous journey of learning, of continuing to better myself. I was already going on that direction. Inside-Out didn't change that direction but it reinforced for me why I need to keep going. I didn't go to college, university or finish school so it's hard to compare it to school, but I do think it's benefiting me…" - Ethan (CS1)

"It has the potential to provide differing perspectives on matters of crime and all the issues relating to it…The learning experience itself, the way it is set up, Inside/Outside students, the instructors and mutual respect provide for an effective environment for learning."-David (CS1)

"…there was never a time there where I felt like I didn't learn something new. Like I always felt like I was learning something new. Even if it was just about a person. The majority of the times that we were there we was productive like we was productive like we was always doing something." - Harriet (CS2)

"Yeah, I'm happy I done it because I now understand more about crime and why it can happen… I'm not judging people no more, before I used to judge people and now, I'm not judging." - Hannah (CS2)

"I wouldn't say it's completely transformational but it's a larger end of change." - Ivor (CS3)

Responses indicated that more generally, participants had a positive and meaningful learning experience different to any learning experience they had previously. Of the remaining participants in CS1 who did not report a transformation, all five commented positively on their individual experiences. For example, Finn (CS1) noted, "I wouldn't say it's been a transformation; it's helped me with my writing, but it hasn't changed my life" and Edward (CS1) stated, "it hasn't changed my life, of course it hasn't but I loved the experience". Ethan (CS1) further noted,

> "…the benefits for me were: improved confidence; self-esteem; interpersonal skills and communication; working in diverse groups; [and] learning about something I had no knowledge of and what it entails. The think tank and what's come out of it, meeting new people …" - Ethan (CS1)

Similarly, in CS2, of the five participants sampled, three indicated that they had not been transformed by the programme but all five recounted positive and beneficial learning experiences,

> "…it makes you reflect on maybe where you've slipped up in your life and you know that's got you into this situation." - Grace (CS2)

> "…the qualification, the meeting new people, the environment I was in, the people that was there, the tutors." - Hannah (CS2)

> "…me being the way I am has helped other people be less judgmental and then in return they've then put their name forward for the course." - Finnula (CS2)

Correspondingly in CS3, while one participant commented that he did not feel fully transformed, he also noted:

> "I take a second longer to think about things more now, instead of just having my opinion on something and just going well, I've decided this opinion so it's right for me. I've taken the time to look at other opinions, listen to other opinions before finalising where I stand on something." - Ivor (CS3)

Student responses indicated that, rather than a 'transformative learning experience', they had a positive learning experience. This is not diminishing of the achievement of the programme, but it does raise questions about the claims of the programme and whether they have been overstated.

While the focus has been on whether Inside-Out has provided 'a transformative learning experience', it is perhaps instead more valuable to consider how the

components of the pedagogy and overall experience have *benefited* participants. However, based on the responses, it may be important to revisit the claim that Inside-Out is truly transformative for everyone involved as this has not been the case for eight of the twenty-two participants in the research.

In CS1 for example, all eleven participants commented that Inside-Out exceeded their expectations of prison education. It could be said that this reflects more on the standard of education prisons are used to as highlighted in the Coates (2016) Review, rather than the calibre of Inside-Out delivery. Comments included,

> *"It far outweighed my expectations. The experience I'd had of education in prison before usually ended up in disappointment."* - Alex (CS1)

> *"It is amazing, it passed my expectations, I miss the course. I loved the social interactions, the relationships with the tutors and with the students. You wouldn't expect that you would become a good friend of someone in just ten sessions."* - Edward (CS1)

> *"It was better than I thought it would be. I thought prisons, everything in a prison is substandard. This was different. The people who teach here are the bottom end of society - the teaching staff can't get anywhere so they teach in prison…. you had the best of the best coming in to teach the outcasts of society whereas we were just being taught by the outcasts of society before."* - Dominic (CS1)

> *"It's given me a purpose. It's given me a purpose to, for me-it's given me purpose to know I can achieve my goal."* - Connor (CS1)

Furthermore, three participants in CS1 noted they returned to class because they "enjoyed it" (Barry, CS1, Dominic, CS1 and Ben, CS1) and the remaining eight participants in CS1 reported that interaction with others made them return. Comments included,

> *"Very interesting discussions about probably the most important things in society. The interaction was equally important. Even though it was a short course, you really build a rapport with the staff and students. I didn't realise this until the end, and I was really surprised how I felt."* - David (CS1)

> *"The environment. It was a good environment to be in, respectable people, we were treated well, I always got something out of the session, so it was something I always looked forward to."* - Ethan (CS1)

> *"I really enjoyed the concept of the class, the content of the course I found interesting, the atmosphere was friendly, relaxed, comfortable and it was a couple of hours a week of normality."* - Alex (CS1)

"Once you're in it, you don't want to quit it. I wanted to see it through - you get kind of a bond, it's about the group. It's nice to see the same group of people every week and know that you're all going on this journey." - Andrew (CS1)

The remaining participant noted that he returned as the class gave him "new purpose" (Connor, CS1). This would also indicate that the fact the class was different and novel, contributed to the positive feedback from participants.

The data demonstrated that there was a clear division between those who found Inside-Out to be transformative and those who did not – indicating that Inside-Out does not provide a transformative experience for all participants. However, what can be tabulated is whether Inside-Out proved to be a transformative experience for people in groups of self-reported similar ability (see Table 19).

Self-reported level of educational achievement	Participant	Has Inside-Out provided a transformative experience?	Percentage Transformed
None	Connor (CS1)	Yes	100%
Essential Skills (Level 1 and 2 Maths and English)	Finnula (CS2)	Yes	83.33%
	Ian (CS3)	Yes	
	Jack (CS3)	No	
	Joseph (CS3)	Yes	
	Ben (CS1)	Yes	
	Andrew (CS1)	Yes	
BTEC/NVQ	Grace (CS2)	Yes	100%
	Cathal (CS1)	Yes	
GCSEs/ A-Levels or equivalent	Harriet (CS2)	Yes	71.43%
	Hannah (CS2)	No	
	Ivor (CS3)	Yes	
	Kyle (CS3)	Yes	
	Kenny (CS3)	Yes	
	Finn (CS1)	No	
	Barry (CS1)	Yes	
Bachelors Degree	Dominic (CS1)	Yes	50%
	David (CS1)	No	
	Ethan (CS1)	No	
	Alex	Yes	
Masters Degree or Equivalent	Georgia (CS2)	Yes	50%
	Edward (CS1)	No	

Table 19: Self-reported levels of education and transformative learning

When looking at the two extremes of the educational spectrum, the data demonstrates that Inside-Out has been perceived as transformative by 83.33% of

those with Essential Skills and 100% of those reporting no previous education in comparison to 50% of participants reporting masters degrees and 50% of participants reporting bachelors degrees. It can be determined from this data, that when targeted at those with self-reported lower levels of education, Inside-Out has been reported to be more transformative than when targeted at those with self-reported higher levels of education. Therefore, the design of Inside-Out can be said to encourage transformative learning within this study in specific groups of participants within similar self-reported levels of education. The findings of this chapter will be revisited in the analysis in Chapter Eight which draws on the relevant desistance literature to address the core research questions.

5.4. Chapter summary

This chapter sought to inform the core research questions, 'how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning' and, 'how has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'inside' participants' self-narratives'. It has considered the learning experiences of U.K. prison-based, Inside-Out students to establish whether the programme has had any meaningful, lasting and/or transformative influence. It also presented the experiences of associated U.K. based facilitators and TAs.

When taking into consideration student feedback on the course in terms of what was gained from the individual components and style of delivery of the course, it was very clear that students had beneficial and positive experiences. Participants across all three case studies indicated that the facilitated group-learning in a circular format created comfort and equality, a productive learning space, and, that it generated confidence. As with any educational course, the quality of the teaching or facilitation dictates to some extent, student comfort, student achievement and educational value. What can be seen strongly in the research is commentary from 'inside' students indicating the value of facilitator input. However, there is also evidence to show that there are fundamental differences in programme delivery. The data demonstrated that students across all three case studies did not have a "deeply transformative experience" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132).

One must remember that Inside-Out programmes across all three case studies were between eight and ten weeks long. A weekly, two-hour session over a period of

eight weeks is not likely to provide the experience Inside-Out suggests. It is therefore highly unlikely that the programme, as delivered in the U.K., could notably affect one's self-narrative. Thus, it would be unlikely to provide a gateway opportunity to engage with the desistance process. However, it could be inferred from the data, that given the reported benefits to students, sustained involvement in Inside-Out related activities, such as think tanks, does have the potential to influence 'inside' participants' self-efficacy and self-narratives. The objective of Chapter Six is to explore this conclusion further by considering comments from students, facilitators and TAs associated with the case studies which have think tanks in operation.

CHAPTER SIX: INSIDE-OUT THINK TANKS AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

6.1. Introduction to Chapter Six

Chapter Five critically examined the methodology of Inside-Out. It considered the experiences of Inside-Out students, facilitators and TAs and Inside-Out's claim that it delivers transformative learning. Additionally, it considered the possibility that sustained involvement in Inside-Out related activities may have the potential to influence 'inside' participants' self-efficacy and self-narratives. The objective of this chapter is to critically examine how transformative learning could be achieved through Inside-Out think tanks, thus informing the research question, 'how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?'

The Inside-Out Center claims[35] there are "over two dozen think tanks meeting regularly around the world". The maps below at *Figure 15* are taken from the Inside-Out official webpage and illustrate the location of the think tanks.
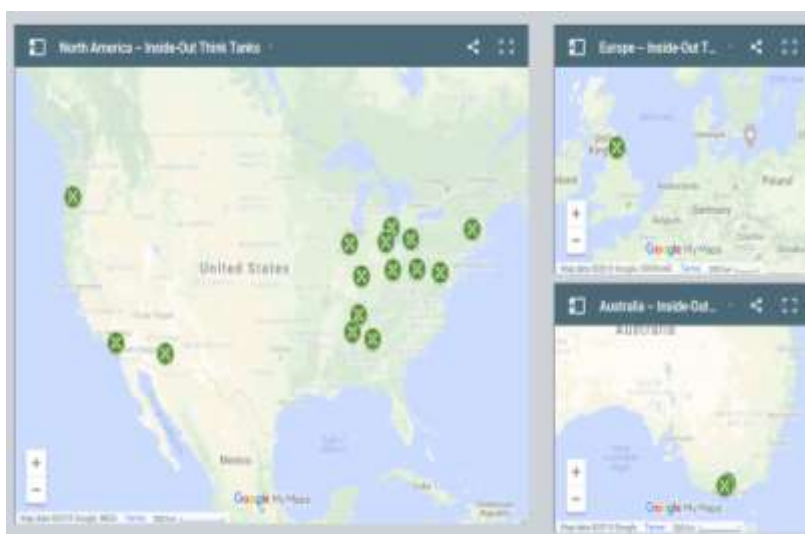
Figure 15: A map of Inside-Out think tanks from the Inside-Out official webpage

On its official web-page, Inside-Out states that "groups form organically, based on local interests and initiatives", that they "operate with the Inside-Out model" and, that they "develop their own projects, which may include leadership development,

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[35] As per the information on the official Inside-Out webpage
http://www.insideoutcenter.org/Think Tanks.html.

re-entry programs, training Inside-Out faculty, or community workshops on topics such as restorative justice, conflict resolution, and racial inequality."

As discussed in Chapter One (1.2.3.), The Graterford Think Tank was the first Inside-Out think tank to be established in 2002 and it is still in operation under the new name The Phoenix Think Tank. It consists of former facilitators, TAs and former Inside-Out students at SCI-Phoenix (formerly SCI Graterford). It has met for over twenty years and serves to train new Inside-Out facilitators, alongside its other aims and objectives as detailed on the Inside-Out website.[36] The current guidance offered by the Inside-Out Center is that any further contact with students after the course should be programmatic in nature, i.e. it should serve the purpose of benefiting the development of Inside-Out and those involved. However, the purpose and benefits of Inside-Out think tanks and what roles members play when they attend is less well detailed. In addition to participants in CS1 and CS3, over two thirds of the research sample of facilitators and TAs (twenty-two participants) indicated they had been involved with an Inside-Out think tank at their facility.[37]

This chapter begins by presenting responses from participants within CS1 and CS3 in relation to their experience as think tank members. It explores the purpose of their think tanks and their respective roles. The views of facilitators and TAs in the U.K. associated with both sites is then considered before examining responses from the international sample. The chapter concludes with the research findings and a discussion of whether, based on the data, think tanks could foster a transformative environment for think tank members.

6.2. Establishing think tank roles, purposes and benefits in the U.K.

Participants within CS1 and CS3 discussed their experiences in relation to the perceived purpose of think tanks, their role within, and the reported benefits of their involvement. While six participants in CS1 discussed the benefits of attending the think tank at their facility, none were able to establish its purpose or express a clear understanding of their role and why they were there. However, participants

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[36] Further information in relation to the aims and objectives of the Phoenix Think Tank is available from its webpage http://www.insideoutcenter.org/think-tank-phoenix.html
[37] Note at the point of interview, CS2 had not formed a think tank. As it had only completed one Inside-Out course, creating a think tank at this early stage may not have been feasible.

remarked on some of the outputs of the think tank including forming friendships, contributing to Inside-Out courses, building workshops and improving relationships with prison staff:

> *"I guess it's this amazing friendship with the tutors and the think tank. The think tank is a continuation of social interaction with the tutors. That you haven't been abandoned - that the tutors are still with you, that's so important."*- Edward (CS1)

> *"The think tank and what's come out of it, meeting new people… Every time they do an Inside-Out programme, I get to sit in on a programme, so being able to continuously contribute is a big benefit. Also, delivering two sessions to staff. We speak about things in the think tank even though nothing has ever materialised, not yet, it's good to talk about potential and gain support, for what we're trying to do. The workshops have come out of the think tank, it remains to be seen if they were valuable…I welcome the opportunity to stay a part of it."* - Ethan (CS1)

> *"Being a member of the think tank has continued the positive experiences the Inside Out course produced… I think starting up the think tank, trying to be positive role models for the prisoners. I think the think tank enables you to highlight problems in the prison service and you also get the feeling that some of the managers listen to you. It's introduced me to staff members I wouldn't have interacted with normally. Relations have, with management, improved."* - Alex (CS1)

The purpose of Inside-Out think tanks was discussed in Chapter Two (see 2.6) which noted that that the regularity of think tank meetings and goal-oriented framework could potentially offer stability, consistency and a sense of purpose for members. It was also noted that they could support the rehabilitative aims of prisons by encouraging a purposeful educational journey for prisoners particularly when think tanks had a clear mission statement, vision statement and designated roles for members. Participants experiences in CS1 did not align with the Inside-Out literature presented in the Chapter Two; for example, participants did not indicate their objective amounted to "a long-term commitment to collaborative work on social justice issues" (Pompa, 2013a, p.21), or anything in particular, nor did they describe a "miraculous transformation" (Perry, 2013, p.41) as a result of continued contact. This was perhaps a result of how the think tank had been organised at the facility as highlighted by two participants in CS1 who reflected negatively on their experience,

> *"I felt very proud of myself but then when the think tank happened, it's a different experience. If you had Inside-Out every week, you'd have different*

things to learn about. Inside-Out think tank for me is not the same as the class. The think tank for me, is just dead." - Connor (CS1)

"Even in the think tanks you go down and people from four years ago are there, they have all these ideas and I haven't seen anything come of them. I haven't seen nothing come of them." - Andrew (CS1)

While responses from participants in CS1 did not indicate that the associated think tank had a clear mission statement, vision statement or role for members, they did indicate the value of creating a positive prison culture. For example, Alex (CS1) commented that a benefit for him was showing his value, or social capital to other prisoners as a positive role model, improving relationships with the prison personnel and feeling as though he was being listened to; furthermore, Edward (CS1) described the value of the "social interaction" the think tank provided him. Creating a positive prison culture aligns with the rehabilitative aims of prison education as outlined in the Coates (2016) review (see Chapter 2 of the Review). It could therefore be argued that even though the think tank, as described by those in CS1, did not mirror the descriptions of think tanks outlined in the literature presented in Chapter Two (see 2.6), the opportunity to continue to interact with Inside-Out and feel valued and listened to, echoed the findings of the Coates (2016) Review in relation to the importance of creating a positive prison culture and learning opportunities beyond the typical classroom, in supporting rehabilitation.

CS3 provided a contrast to CS1; in CS3, all participants commented on their involvement in the think tank and they were clear on its purpose and their role within. Ivor (CS3) explained that the think tank's purpose was "to help … to tweak/ improve/ reflect on the overall class to try and improve the next year's class…but when there is a chance for something else to be focused on, it can be." Additional comments in relation to the purpose of the think tank included:

"…we just give out ideas on how we can improve the course, what didn't work on the course and so on and so forth." - Ian (CS3)

"I enjoy being a part of that because you get to put in your input, and you can test how you see things and what input you put in if people agree with it." - Jack (CS3)

"How we can make the inside-out better … We used the think tank to come up with the idea to get a professor to come and do a lecture on joint enterprise…that's the idea behind it that we can, everyone can put forward

ideas and see if we can execute them and then go forward with it." - Kyle (CS3)

Participants also reported the benefits of their involvement; for example, Ian (CS3) commented on the value of feeling comfortable enough within the group to share his ideas and Ivor (CS3) noted that it was a "chance to have greater a greater amount of responsibility". Comments from Joseph (CS3) and Kyle (CS3) related to the value of staying involved with the group and what that could mean for them in the future:

> *"Just to get to speak and say what's on your mind and you get to interact as a group again… it makes you want to stay involved, it makes you want to do things, it keeps you thinking you know what's next, what you can do next, what you can accomplish."* - Joseph (CS3)

> *"…the good thing about think tanks as well is that you can still be in contact with like people such as [Anonymised] and you can see them… every once a month, and then if you have more ideas you can let them know there."* - Kyle (CS3)

There was a divide among participants as to whether the think tank was a continuation of Inside-Out. Whereas Joseph (CS3) agreed that the think tank was a continuation of Inside-Out, Ian (CS3) contrasted this view commenting that the think tank was not an extension or continuation of Inside-Out because "it's not work, it's not essays".

Two participants commented on the outcomes of their involvement in the think tank (Ivor (CS3) and Kenny (CS3)). They noted that it had led to greater opportunities including working as TAs on subsequent Inside-Out courses. Kenny (CS3) commented:

> *"It doesn't necessarily stop at Inside-Out because the things that I've done beyond it and am planning to do in the future with [Anonymised] are out of this world… now through the think tank … we've actually been able to write a session ourselves…in addition to that, me and [Anonymised] have already spoken about potentially doing some research together in the future of things in prison, out of prison, I would never have expected in a million years that I would be doing these things whilst in here and that's all started from the basic Inside-Out."* - Kenny (CS3)

Participants in CS3 reported that the purpose of the think tank at their facility was to improve future iterations of the course. However, responses indicated that think

tank participation lead to further positive opportunities for participants, such as becoming TAs and undertaking research with Inside-Out facilitators. In addition, comments from CS3 indicated that sustained contact with the 'outside' group highlighted the significance of giving purpose to 'inside' students and having a valued opinion. The remarks from participants in CS3 above align with the literature regarding the purpose of think tanks as outlined in Chapter Two, they also resonate with the literature on transformative learning in relation to empowering learners to be more independent and self-directed (Hinck and Scheffels, 2015) and the subsequent relationship with rehabilitation (see Jehanne Dubouloz *et al.* 2010). The varied responses provided by participants in CS1 and CS3 highlights the differences in experiences of think tank involvement. Whereas participants in CS3 defined the purpose of their think tank and related benefits beyond friendship, those in CS1 did not. This may have implications on whether think tanks can contribute to rehabilitation, transformation and desistance processes and this will be addressed in Chapter Eight.

The following section considers the views of facilitators and TAs associated with both the CS1 and CS3 think tanks. The objective is to obtain a better understanding of the purpose and operation of think tanks at both sites from the practitioners involved.

6.2.1. The operation of think tanks at CS1 and CS3 according to associated facilitators and TAs

The data indicated that three facilitators and TAs associated with CS1 expressed problems and inconsistencies in the way in which the think tank had been operating. Comments signposted confusion in relation to the purpose of the CS1 think tank, such as:

> *"It was never explained to me on the couple that I went to but... from what I could tell, it seemed to be writing to other prisons and writing to other Inside-Out programmes and sharing ideas."* - Michelle (TA, U.K.)

> *"I'm not sure what the purpose is supposed to be, I'm not sure what it should be... the think tank meetings weren't organised very clearly and weren't set up with a purpose and weren't held to their agenda effectively, I witnessed almost no think tank meetings that actually allowed the men to rehearse or practice or achieve anything valuable...there was literally no guidance, no parameters."* - Evelyn (F, U.K.)

While Michelle (TA, U.K.) had indicated she'd attended only a few think tank sessions, Evelyn (F, U.K.) stated that she was a trained Inside-Out instructor and attended think tank sessions regularly. She added:

> *"…it was really frustrating being part of the think tank … it was leaderless …Inside-Out is something that sets it up to be about equality and about fostering confidence and leadership of others, but everything needs some kind of leadership and the think tank that we had seemed to exist without a mission statement, without an agreed upon purpose, without a voted-on purpose. It seemed to have been set up on the fly thinking, 'well we'll deal with those issues later' and that seemed…irresponsible and a little bit dangerous because it was obvious to me going every month that for some of the men… it was extremely frustrating."* - Evelyn (F, U.K.)

Evelyn (F, U.K.) also indicated she attended another Inside-Out think tank run by the same University and noted similar problems:

> *"…at women's think tank at the female estate again the purpose was very unclear am, it was like a little social tea-club am, and ad-hoc ideas were brought all the time…but again under the guise of some kind of equality…I can't see an actual strong ethical foundation for any of that."* - Evelyn (F, U.K.)

In relation to their perceived roles within the think tank, both Michelle (TA, U.K.) and Evelyn (F, U.K.) again indicated uncertainty:

> *"Well, I was observing, or I was invited to be a member of the think tank I guess but I was only really invited along to a couple without really being told what my role was. For me, what I gave myself as a role was to get a feel for what Inside-Out was, but it wasn't really explained to me why I was invited along."* - Michelle (TA, U.K.).

> *"That's a good question. That's another question I would have like to have answered. It's the question I did not know the answer to, it's a question I frequently asked the professors."* - Evelyn (F, U.K.).

Responses from participants in CS1 and the associated participants within the facilitator and T.A sample aligned. Across both samples, there was a consensus that the think tank associated with CS1 had no defined purpose and members were unclear as to their think tank roles.

Comparatively, responses from facilitators and TAs associated with CS3 indicated the opposite. Vera (F, U.K.) explained that while the think tank associated with CS3 was in developmental stages, participants had a clear understanding of what they were working towards, their role within the think tank and what they intended to derive from the think tank in terms of benefits to members. Vera (F, U.K.) indicated

she regularly attends think tank sessions and, in relation to the purpose of the think tank, she commented:

> *"I think for our think tank where it is at the minute, it's to really embed the values of what Inside-Out's about… it's becoming more collaborative and more trust formative roles… it's more than just designing the course, it's more about thinking about what do we want it to be known as and ultimately, I think we're hoping to get our think tank closer to where the Graterford think tank is, so, about training and about facilitating and maybe about maybe really showcasing how this thing works…we're not quite there but we're still adopting an identity and I suppose an accountability process for what we're trying to achieve."* - Vera (F, U.K.)

Regarding their perceived roles within the think tank, participants' comments included:

> *"I suppose I see it as a bit of a semi-supervisory role… I guess I'm feeling like partly responsible in a mentor kind of training capacity but also want to foster a collegiality collaborative approach to it whilst also maintaining I suppose ultimate responsibility in case it goes a bit pear-shaped."* - Vera (F, U.K.)

> *"I suppose I kind of lead it or chair it … But we are really trying to encourage the guys to kind of take over and make it more their thing, but it's hard, you know when we first started it and you want them to have a load of ideas about what they want to do, they didn't really have any ideas so, I came up with some ideas and they seemed really interested in them and liked them but obviously it's quite new still. The plan is, that hopefully, once we've kind of done these things that they might come up with their own ideas and I do see some signs of that starting to happen."* - Liz (F, U.K.)

Both facilitators associated with CS3 commented that their think tank had been working on developing "taster sessions" (Liz, F, U.K.) and had been used in a consultation capacity for designing and developing the Inside-Out curriculum. Furthermore, both participants commented on their improved relationship with the partnering prison and noted the advantages of their think tank:

> *"…the benefits are peoples' perspectives and it's beneficial that it allows people to share their ideas, but I think it's quite nice to have something like that running alongside it to share the responsibility a little bit, you know? and I guess then people feel like they've got ownership over it and it doesn't become any one person's singular thing."* - Vera (F, U.K.)

> *"…the benefit is, I think, that there is something to get involved in when Inside-Out finishes rather than it just being the end. And the other thing is, hopefully in time that it will become something, you know a vehicle for them to do the things they want to do and …in the fullness of time that would be something that they totally ran themselves, you know, advertised themselves and possibly got paid for, or you know, felt that they managed more and were*

in control of …and hopefully there will be other projects and things like that that they can do as well." - Liz (F, U.K.)

Regarding the two remaining U.K. participants from the sample of facilitators and TAs, one participant was associated with CS2 which did not have an associated think tank. While the remaining participant was not associated with any of the case studies, she did run a different U.K. Inside-Out programme and was in the process of setting up a think tank at the partnering facility at the point of interview. Carla (F, U.K.) indicated that her initial think tank role would "help form the terms of reference and to chair the discussions…be more as an initial instigator and then after a while, more taking a bit of a back seat". She considered the purpose of the think tank and stated:

> *"I think they've got a really important role actually in carrying on involvement in education and a focus in education or just a focus on dialogue and on connection between the two institutions allowing the Inside students to stay involved if they want to and allowing the University to still be part of… talking, discussion dialogue, around whatever they want to make as their focus … they seem an important development/ follow-on from Inside-Out."* - Carla (F, U.K.)

In contrast with the more established think tank at CS1, Liz (F, U.K.) presented the view that the think tank at CS3 is very much a work in progress and has highlighted a number of positive points in relation to progression and identifying think tank roles. Think tank aims, objectives and roles had also been considered by Carla (F, U.K.) in advance of setting up a think tank at a U.K. facility. Conversely, Evelyn (F, U.K.) and Michelle (TA, U.K.) both conveyed an impression that the longest-running U.K. think tank is not functioning in the way that a think tank should. With only one of the four participants associated with CS1 offering an explanation for the current state of the think tank, it is not possible to establish the scale of the problem. However, it does highlight the need to evaluate think tanks more thoroughly and more regularly to achieve a best practice.

To deduce whether the think tank at CS1 is an anomaly, the views of facilitators and TAs involved in Inside-Out think tanks unconnected to the case studies within the international sample will be discussed in the following section.

6.3. International think tanks: examining perceived roles, purposes and benefits

In the international sample, participants discussed their involvement in Inside-Out think tanks. While there were five participants who indicated they had no think tank at their facility, all five remained open to the prospect of initiating one in the future. However, three participants explained obstacles preventing them from developing a think tank, for example, both Nick (F, US) and Rita (F, US), from the same Inside-Out teaching team, commented that they had delivered Inside-Out in a men's re-entry facility with no fixed 'inside' student population to facilitate a think tank.

Furthermore, Rita (F, US) explained that due to changes in prison management and willingness to continue Inside-Out, there had been difficulty in running the class. In addition, while Simon (F, U.K.) demonstrated good relations between his university and partnering prison as a result of "continuation" of the Inside-Out class. He considered that "the physical infrastructure" of the partnering prison "really doesn't lend itself" to developing a think tank. Thus, demonstrating that despite a willingness to begin a think tank, universities are often at the mercy of prison personnel for access and at times, restricted by the type of establishment they are attempting to enter. The remainder of the sample considered their roles, the purpose of the think tank and their perceived benefits.

6.3.1. The purpose of think tanks

It is expected that each think tank may have a different purpose, and, regardless of the subject matter, groups will operate within the model of Inside-Out. In discussing the purpose of their think tanks, seventeen facilitators and TAs in the international sample presented various 'missions' or aims of their think tank. Responses were categorised into the following themes: Inside-Out training; continued critical discussion; maintaining friendships; and, re-educating. Comments are discussed below.

6.3.1.1. Continued group-work and Critical Discussion

Five participants commented that their objective related to continuing the work of the Inside-Out class to benefit think tank members. Comments included:

> *"...the way I, I think of it and I explain it is that we work on projects together to counter the school to prison pipeline."* - Rhana (TA, US)

"Their purpose is …multifaceted, one, to serve as a regular meeting space that's a zone of learning and dialogue for Inside/Outside alum. This is a distinct space from what they deal with daily. Two, our purpose is to be a platform for doing things that benefit directly the men who are incarcerated in there." - Bethany (F, US)

"I think they serve the purpose of … continuing to bring people together who feel really motivated and energised by the course, who feel changed by the course. Feel like change agents and…I think think tanks provide the opportunity to continue the conversation and to together, create programming that contributes towards change in some way in some fashion." - Jenny (F, US)

Two of the five participants who commented on this theme noted the additional challenges they faced both in relation to the impact of the type of sentences being served by inside-members and observing inclusivity, for example, Gail (F, US) considered that the work "is focused on re-entry programming, trying to … help people get out and stay out." However, she also commented that "literally half of them are doing life, they'll never walk out of there, but they work on re-entry and it's this concept that we have of 'reach back and propel forward' you know." Gail (F, US) highlighted the power of the work of their think tank and the drive to benefit others from its work even under difficult circumstances. Similarly, Rosie (F, CA) commented on inclusivity:

"…we wanted to work from a feminist inflected and trans-inclusive analysis… we wanted to espouse in terms of how we approached conflict and how we approached what it meant to be together."- Rosie (F, CA)

6.3.1.2. To inform future Inside-Out classes

Four participants, Adam (F, CA) Ken (F, US), Dev (F, US) Tina (F, US), commented on improvements to future Inside-Out classes,

"…it's really nice to basically get to have student feedback …about what worked and what book did you like, what didn't you…what worked in the class and so am… you know, we'll be teaching the current Inside-Out class and I'll be like "hey guys we're coming up on week three as you might remember we did this icebreaker or we asked these questions" or whatever… I'll think back to our class and I'll be like you know, 'I kinda felt like it didn't work, or it didn't hit home the mission what do you all think about that?'" - Ken (F, US)

Tina (F, US) and Dev (F, US) also noted that there was an intention to improve and expand Inside-Out. Dev (F, US) commented on an important subtheme. i.e. the valuable role of outside members in relation to access to external resources:

> *"I think one of the great things about think tanks is it has sort of like a core model of being led by inside guys and being organised by someone who you know has ability and access on the outside… our focus was on expanding education throughout the …system and that's really where we acted, you know we, tutoring programmes and asking the administration to expand classes and organising classes at various prisons and coordinating with other instructors."* - Dev (F, US)

In addition, Adam (F, CA) commented on the use of the think tank to navigate some of the difficulties faced in running Inside-Out in Canada. He noted that "the Inside-Out model was born in a very different correctional context…where most of the Inside students are serving life sentences" and this differed to the Canadian approach to incarceration. Adam (F, CA) commented that in the US, the no contact rule could "be defended in terms of validity" but that he had difficulty adhering to it in Canada where he explained many of the inside students were serving sentences of two years. He acknowledged the help of the think tank in navigating some of the differences noting:

> *"…there's a whole bunch of correctional realities that our think tank has been trying to work through and reflect in the way that we deliver the Programme"*
> - Adam (F, CA)

Adam (F, CA) highlights an important issue in relation to context and delivery of Inside-Out and this will be discussed in the subsequent chapter in relation to the validity of the claims of Inside-Out and the delivery of the components of the programme.

6.3.1.3. Expanding the educational value of Inside-Out

Seven participants commented on the educational value of think tanks. Participants' comments related to the use of the think tank to educate the public on social injustices and as a means of continuing to educate think tank members using the Inside-Out pedagogy. However, participants also noted that their purpose could encompasses multiple aims, such as training, in addition to providing further educational opportunities. That think tanks could be used to further the conversations from the Inside-Out class is valuable, but to extend this conversation to the wider community, i.e. non-Inside-Out members, could be quite powerful. Remarks included:

> *"Inside-Out is a no-advocacy organisation but we feel that people who have an opportunity to come into the prison and be involved in an educational or cultural experience there will be moved by that and impressed by it and so*

we're doing things of that nature. We sponsor common readings, or we have guests come in to see what we're up to, those might be community leaders, university leaders, politicians, ah, people in the legal profession and that's a way of, I would say advocating without it being advocacy." - Daniel (F, US)

"…it's just to further information about social justice and criminal justice in the United States. So, part of that is to help further expand the network of Inside-Out faculty through training and that's a part of the think tank but the training is just one element of what we do. So, our goal is to create space where people are being further educated about criminal justice, social justice and transformation." - Sally (TA, US)

"The short-hand for me is, it's about changing the nature of the discussion about issues of crime and justice and so, primarily it's a public education. A public education but also education by helping its coaches and training." - Leanne (F, US)

Subtheme: To maintain friendships

Three participants within this theme also commented on the desire to stay connected to Inside-Out to maintain friendships with other students, facilitators and TAs. Their comments included:

"…it's kind of a weak-assed way for folks not to break contact, right… some of these think tanks are really just a way for them to not end." - Audrey (F, US)

"it's a way to stay in contact with people who …I feel very close to and … who I care about and care about me." - Kylie (F, US)

Subtheme: To influence policy

One participant commented that the purpose of her think tank was to influence correctional policy,

"…we actually try to influence correctional policy making in the think tanks. So, what we do is um, come up with practical strategies and we give them to ah, the local correctional authorities and we try to influence policies in that way and we've already been successful in doing so on many occasions." - Maria (F, AUS)

In addition, while Ken (F, US) did not indicate that influencing policy or practice was the purpose of his think tank, he commented that it was one of the outcomes:

"…they're doing interviews now to put a report together for the Governor's Office about what works to reduce recidivism so they're asking guys on the yard "what are your biggest fears upon release, do you need housing do you need employment what would you do to reduce recidivism?" so we have people who are incarcerated interviewing people who are incarcerated about how to make the system better and that never would have happened if not

for Inside-Out and us saying 'there's more than we can do by putting this think tank together' and keeping things rolling." - Ken (F, US)

That an Inside-Out think tank could be actively involved in and potentially influence policy, practice and research is a significant achievement. It provides agency to 'inside' members and a purpose beyond attending a monthly group conversation. These are examples of how think tanks could be perceived as a positive beyond the Inside-Out programme in high-security prisons, and potentially foster a transformative experience for members. When compared to CS1, it is quite clear that the longest-running European think tank has not achieved the same results through its prison-university partnership. If that were to change, the potential for 'transformation' may be more likely. This view is supported by those in CS3 who have conveyed a transformative experience as a direct result of the associated think tank's productivity, for example, research and opportunities to be a TA on Inside-Out classes.

The international sample of facilitators and TAs reported various purposes of their think tanks including training, continued critical discussion in a 'safe space', maintaining friendships and re-educating the public. There was expected thematic overlap in the sample. However, in line with research on Inside-Out think tanks, the sample predominantly presented the view that the purpose of a think tank was to prolong contact between the inside and the outside and facilitate regular critical group discussion. In relation to their roles within the think tank, responses fell into two core themes, both themes are discussed below.

6.3.2. Role assignment in international Inside-Out think tanks

When discussing their perceived roles within their associated think tank, responses from members in the international sample fell into two themes: that roles remained as they had been during the Inside-Out class, i.e. as facilitator or TA or, that they had adopted a leadership role. Both themes are explored in this section.

6.3.2.1. Extension of the Facilitator/TA role

Twelve participants (Peter (F, US), Audrey (F, US), Daniel (F, US), Dev (F, US), Rhana (TA, US), Bethany (F, US), Rosie (F, CA), Kylie (F, US), Leanne (F, US), Tina (F, US) and Jenny (F,US), Sally (TA, US)), considered their role to be an extension of their former

role as facilitator or TA However, they also indicated that their roles were subject to change and responsibilities could vary depending on the focus or task of the think tank. Remarks included:

> *"I'm a member of the think tank so, sometimes I facilitate workshops, sometimes we're doing trainings and I'm a part of coaching and mentoring like the other members of the think tank."* - Tina (F, US)

> *"I mean sometimes I work with an Inside member to create a workshop and facilitate that workshop…other times it's just …as a participant in whatever we're doing during that particular day."* - Kylie, (F, US)

> *"My role varies. Typically, I am the primary facilitator. In other words, I come in with the agenda, remind people how we wrapped up the week prior, etc. I kind of keep it on track."* - (Bethany, F, US)

> *"Ah, formerly my role was the historian of the think tank, so I took all the notes and distributed them every week am, but I mean I, I kind of changed roles…we all worked in groups to start various education projects at the, at the prison am yeah, I mean I, was just, just being part of it."* – (Dev, F, US)

> *"I was a co-facilitator."* - Peter, (F, US)

Two participants in this group, Rhana (F, US) and Rosie (F, CA) commented on the importance of rotating the roles within the think tank to ensure equality. Rosie (F, CA) further commented that the regular rotation of roles ensured that it was "beautifully co-owned." However, whereas some participants noted that responsibilities changed based on the demands of the class others commented that they had little choice other than to continue with their former role. Facilitators and TAs from the 'outside' have a unique position where they can communicate with other external stakeholders in a way that the inside student population cannot. They are also privileged in terms of what information they have access to, what resources they can bring into the prison, and in their engagements with prison personnel.

Explaining his role as a facilitator, Daniel (F, US) commented he was "not entirely comfortable." He noted that as relations between the university and the prison were strained, the prison has indicated that without his involvement, the programme and any associated projects would cease. Similarly, Audrey (F, US) stated she helped to facilitate "so it continues." She highlighted an important issue in her region, that "… lifers just don't have access to any programming other than

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inside out and it's a way for them to remain engaged… because other than Inside-Out they can't do anything." This view has been expressed only by non-U.K. based participants and the data suggested this was largely related to the differences between prisons and prison culture across different countries.

6.3.2.2. Roles of leadership

Three participants in three countries considered their role within the think tank to be one of leadership:

> *"I lead the think tanks, I see myself as the leader of the think tanks."* - Maria (F, AUS)

> *"…we're kind of sorting that part out but I play the leadership role."* - Adam (F, CA)

> *"I don't know, I'm a cofounder with all of them, ah, I lead all the, all the stuff, we bring in the agendas am, we, we bring in outside opportunities am…you know just by the virtue of us being on the outside and having access to Internet in projects and the University and things like that am, oftentimes it's kind of us leading things or at least bring things in but we're on par."* - Ken (F, US)

Outside participants may adopt more responsibilities in terms of the organisation and operation of the class given their access to resources and prison staff. However, part of the ethos of Inside-Out is to strive for equality in the classroom and to create a space where there are no labels, and therefore no leaders. Considering oneself as a 'leader' of this group is not in keeping with the message Inside-Out conveys.

It is evident within the international sample that non-U.K. based facilitators and TAs have established roles and an understanding of their contribution to their respective think tanks. In contrast to the U.K. sample of facilitators and TAs, there were no participants in the international sample who indicated confusion in relation to their think tank role. Whether think tanks have the potential to influence 'Inside' participants' self-efficacy and self-narratives will be entirely dependent on how each think tank is run. Therefore, establishing roles, conduct and an objective is fundamental to gaining an understanding of the potential Inside-Out think tanks may have. A leaderless think tank with no clearly defined objective is an unlikely environment to foster a transformation, impact self-narrative or have any meaningful or lasting effect on its members. Comparatively, a think tank with a

clearly defined purpose, objective and understanding of participants' roles makes for an 'environment' conducive to transformation. This view is reflected in participants' perception of think tank benefits as discussed in the next section.

6.3.3. Reported benefits of creating and maintaining think tanks

Participants considered a multitude of perceived benefits of an Inside-Out think tank. Responses were wide-ranging and predominantly positive. The following themes emerged: humanisation and improved self-efficacy; relationship building; and, creation of a safe space to observe different perspectives and achieve goals. Each theme is elaborated on below.

6.3.3.1. An opportunity for regular and constant learning

Five participants, Kylie, (F, US), Ken (F, US), Leanne (F, US), Tina (F, US) and Adam (F, CA), indicated that the think tank provided an opportunity to continue a mutual learning experience. Kylie (F, US) commented that the think tank had taught her "an incredible amount about not only teaching but just about life." She considered that she now thought more about "shaping (her) lens on society …about empathy, about solidarity." Other comments included:

> *"I take as many people as I can into prison and I do workshops, I've got three people coming to that and I've got company from out of town who have planned their visit so that they can go to a workshop because they've been hearing about it from me for years but it's not just that, you know, I think we can have a big impact collectively."* - Leanne (F, US)

> *"I think it offers the Inside-Out International Center a 'brain trust' of people who are thinking about these issues and questions who can guide the programme going forward…taking advantage of that, really using that brain power is really a gold mine."* - Tina (F, US)

> *"…that kind of dialogical reciprocity that is so vital to making sure that Inside-Out remains anchored. Closely connected to, is a better way of putting it, closely connected to a sense of prison realities of prisoners' needs and of opportunities for education and transformation in that context I guess. I think that's the most important thing to me anyway."* - Adam (F, CA)

6.3.3.2. Improved self-efficacy

Inside-Out think tanks are intended to operate under the same design as the Inside-Out model, meaning that everyone involved has an innate worth and value to the group dialogue. Providing think tanks are meeting regularly and operating in-line

with Inside-Out guidelines and values, it is a natural assumption that this will improve self-efficacy in think tank members. Setting a mutually agreed goal and constantly dialoguing as equals to achieve the goal, should in theory instil a sense of agency in members.

Comments from seven participants in the international sample indicated think tanks provided a space for members to work on projects which could instigate positive change. Maria (F, AUS) commented on the importance and "invaluable experience" of a practical, prison-based experience to 'outside' students. She noted that "it continues to give them something to look forward to, you know, keeps them engaged, keeps them thinking, keeps them … going with the ability …to change the world …it's huge." These views were upheld by Bethany (F, US) and by Dev (F, US):

> "personally, as someone who started as a student…Inside Out definitely helped me continue with my education. Ah and it helped me find direction for my future career am and I, and that wouldn't have happened personally for me without involvement from the think tank pushing for the organisation in state." - Dev (F, US)

> "…it serves a really important practical role in our cognitive and emotional lives. The think tank gives us something to look forward to. It gives us some continuation in appropriate connections and the assurance that we're working on something just a little bit bigger than ourselves that will benefit someone else. It gives us a sense of accomplishment that we're able to make and have actually started and finished something that had benefited other people there" - Bethany (F, US)

Importantly, Bethany (F, US) is an outside member of a think tank who has specified she attends weekly. That an outside member of a think tank looks forward to going into a secure facility on a weekly basis to achieve a "sense of accomplishment" in creating and implementing group activities which benefit other people, is crucial to forming an understanding of the perceived transformative impact of the think tanks on its members.

Two participants commenting on this theme also considered the power of creating positive changes in the prison environment, they stated,

> "Developing and appreciating and supporting an alternative experience inside a dehumanising environment that was built around the strengths of the participants and the strengths of our collaboration and allowed those strengths to grow… we were co-creating something that was acutely bigger than any of us individually and I continue to be humbled by it." - Rosie (F, CA)

"I think humanising the, first of all, the inmate population, students, seeing them as human beings rather than caricatures, and the other thing I think for the inside students, demystifying college and making it something that's achievable and something that they can do because a lot of these guys don't have the confidence to pursue Higher Education." - Peter, F, US

While participants such as Peter (F, US) noted, there is an added benefit to 'inside' members to instil "the confidence to pursue Higher Education" by giving them the opportunity to submit work and receive constructive feedback, Jenny (F, US) questioned the lack of evaluation of the Inside-Out model:

"…we continue to do this work without evaluating it, without really questioning it, without doing anything longitudinal…I think we need to interrogate this assumption that we make, it's part of our mission that we provide transformative education and we have not interrogated it…we assume it." - Jenny (F, US)

Jenny (F, US) raises an important issue of evaluation. If an organisation is to make a claim that its practice is transformative and use this to publicise a programme and to gain funding, then it could be argued that there is a moral obligation in addition to a professional obligation to provide substantial evidence to support its claim. She considered that "think tanks have a greater chance of doing transformational work."

6.3.3.3. Building and facilitating friendships and strengthening prison-university partnerships

Two participants-Daniel (F, US) and Leanne (F, US) commented on the use of think tanks to strengthening prison-university partnerships, allowing think tanks to have more of a presence within the prison environment. As Daniel (F,US) noted,

"It allows us to strengthen our efforts which in the prison, it gives us a visibility and a platform with the Department of Corrections, it gives us a home where we can do things that is independent of a regularly scheduled class that has students enrolled and has requirements that are not necessarily amenable to all of the other types of things that we might do through the think tank." - Daniel (F, US)

While building on pre-existing relations with prison personnel others considered think tanks were an opportunity to build on and nurture friendships.

Four participants commented on the theme of friendships within think tanks. Responses included:

> *"…a lot of the people in my class, who were my Inside Out class were in the think tank and that was just so wonderful to like meet them again and not just in a classroom context, now we're in like a life context, you know? Like now it's no longer like talking during the breaks about our lives, you know? It's like, we're like, we're truly friends you know?"* - Rhana (TA, US)

> *"I have no clue if they're beneficial, if the prison finds them beneficial, none of that…. I really find, some of these think tanks are really just a way for them to not end."* - Audrey (F, US)

> *"I mean for me it creates long lasting like friendship … and I'm not sure that's what your question is but it has had a huge impact on my life, but it has nothing to do with the pedagogy of Inside-Out. It has to do with the fact that um, predominantly … that the men on the think tank have made the choice for peace and happiness and resilience and they do it over and over again… a context that is so heart-breaking and dehumanising and isolating and they're like this incredible model like how to really choose that in your life and it kicks my ass. You know?"* - Jenny (F, US)

Whereas Sally (TA, US), indicated that friendships between members drove the work of the think tank, others implied that the use of the think tank was to facilitate the growth of friendships which had begun in the Inside-Out class and remain connected to members.

6.4. Chapter summary

This chapter sought to critically examine how transformative learning could be achieved through Inside-Out think tanks and inform the research question, 'how does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning.' The data presented the experiences of 'inside' think tank members in CS1 and CS3.[38]

When considering the views from the U.K. sample, it is clear that whether an Inside-Out think tank can influence or foster transformation varies per site and depends on the allocation of roles, its objective, and whether it follows a methodology beneficial to its members. Members of the think tank at CS1 across both samples

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[38] It must be restated that participants in CS1 represent only a fraction of the Inside-Out student population at their prison compared to those in CS3. Participants in CS3 came from the only Inside-Out class at their institution, therefore CS3 was a balanced representation of the 'inside' student population compared to CS1 which sampled across four years of Inside-Out classes. It must also be noted that the recruitment process for think tank members is unknown.

indicated no clear allocation of roles, no defined purpose and no assigned methodology for their meetings. While comments from 'inside' members in CS1 indicated they could discuss projects and in some instances, members had gone on to become TAs, other participants indicated that nothing had come of their think tank experience. In allocating roles and in defining a purpose and objective, expectations are set, and it would appear that this is an appropriate way to conduct Inside-Out think tanks. However, when expectations are not discussed or agreed upon, this could have a negative impact on think tank members. When compared to the think tank at CS3, the purpose, roles and objective of the longer-established think tank at CS1 differed significantly. 'Inside' members in CS3 reported in detail their roles, the purpose of their think tank, and what they perceived to be benefits. Across both samples associated with CS3 (i.e. the sample of 'inside' student and the sample of facilitators and TAs), it was clear that members' expectations were set in relation to: what stage of development the think tank was in; what it hoped to achieve over time; and, what roles members had and would have as the think tank developed.

When comparing responses between participants within the U.K. to those in the international sample of facilitators and TAs the extent of the flaws in the approach of CS1 were made clear. Whereas the responses of those associated with CS3 aligned with the international sample, the responses of those in CS1 did not. Across the international sample, all participants involved in Inside-Out think tanks provided a clear understanding of the aims and objectives of think tanks. Furthermore, no participants indicated a lack of clarity in relation to their role. Within the international sample, participants from the U.S.A., Australia and Canada reported significant and tangible achievements of their think tanks. Thus, the comments of the international sample and CS3 demonstrate the power of a well-run think tank and the very real possibility that it could foster a transformation of members when operated responsibly. This is turn could contribute to rehabilitative and desistance processes and this will be comprehensively addressed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Seven presents the international sample's experiences of teaching Inside-Out. It examines cultural, racial and political contexts to demonstrate factors which

can have a notable impact on the delivery of Inside-Out and its outcomes. The objective of critically examining this data is to highlight the fact that Inside-Out may provide a 'transformative' learning experience, but that it is dependant on the delivery of the programme and the context in which it is delivered. Whether this has a subsequent impact on desistance processes is addressed in the analysis of the data presented in Chapter Eight which draws on the relevant desistance literature to address the core research questions.

CHAPTER SEVEN: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON INSIDE-OUT PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

7.1. Introduction to Chapter Seven

The previous analysis chapters (Chapter Five and Chapter Six) sought to explore the Inside-Out experience from the perspective of 'inside' students along with facilitators and TAs associated with the three case studies to inform the research questions. The data has indicated that, from the perspective of twenty-two Inside-Out students across three prisons in the U.K., eight considered that the programme had not been transformative. However, what has emerged thus far across the three case studies along with comments from associated facilitators and TAs, is a pattern of responses outlining the benefits of Inside-Out and of facilitated learning. This chapter seeks to gain a deeper insight into facilitated learning and Inside-Out delivery. This information may help to inform the research question 'to what extent can it be said that Inside-Out effects a change in one's 'self-narrative' and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process?' The chapter aims to provide a practical understanding of the role of facilitation in Inside-Out and whether the views of facilitators and TAs in the U.K. align with those in Canada, Australia and the U.S.A.

The chapter begins by presenting comments from the sample of facilitators and TAs in relation to preparation for Inside-Out. Navigating the obstacles of educational pre-requisites and the selection process; ensuring personal safety and the safety of others; managing the Inside-Out class; and, preparing for Inside-Out delivery are firstly discussed. The significance of including this detail in the chapter is to highlight the differences in Inside-Out experiences and the obstacles in the way of delivering an educational course in a prison setting. The chapter then presents the perceived value of attending Inside-Out training and considers whether it adequately prepares future facilitators for their Inside-Out teaching experience.

The core discussion in this chapter centres around the theory that facilitators create a new kind of membership in Inside-Out. In assigning rules, roles and group-orientated goals, the chapter presents the view that Inside-Out facilitators and TAs hold the power to influence members in a positive way, thus contributing to transformation.

7.2. Preparing for Inside-Out: ensuring personal safety and the safety of others

Regardless of the location of the programmes, there is a multitude of influencing factors which can disrupt the delivery of Inside-Out. For students on the 'outside', obtaining prison security clearance can be a lengthy process, in addition, even students who have obtained clearance can have a change of heart and opt out of the programme. There is the added difficulty of travelling to the prison for some 'outside' students and inevitably, there will be 'outside' students who do not want to proceed with Inside-Out after their first session, tour of the prison or at another point in the course. For both 'inside' and 'outside' students, prison lockdowns can disturb entire courses. It is the right of prisons to be unpredictable; there may be scheduled prison lockdowns, unknown to the university for security purposes and this may result in the cancellation of a class which can directly affect the content of the next class and the overall delivery of the course. It could also impact upon the rate of attrition. The effects of a prison lock-down are numerous. In essence, there are factors within the control of the facilitator and TA and there are factors beyond one's control.

In a prison, there are specific institutional rules, requirements and laws to govern personal safety and the safety of others (see for example, the Prison Rules, 1999). As Inside-Out is (usually) delivered in a prison setting, all participants must be vigilant and responsible for themselves and fully compliant with the rules of both establishments. A heightened sense of self-awareness is not always present in non-prison-based programmes and so extra measures must be taken when delivering Inside-Out to ensure personal safety and the safety of others. Audrey (F, U.S.), Dev (F, U.S.), Maria (F, AUS) and Simon (F, U.S.) considered that their own experience within prisons dispelled personal safety concerns. As a formerly incarcerated individual, the position of Gail (F, U.S.) was unique in the sample in relation to the type of former experience in prisons she had. Providing an insight into prison culture, Gail (F, U.S.) noted she was aware of potential rule-breaking in prison, based on her own experience and therefore had concerns in relation to seditious behaviour grounded in experience. However, for many of those without extensive experience in prison, the added measure of interviewing could mitigate or manage many foreseeable risks.

7.2.1. Mitigating foreseeable risks through interviewing

In circumstances where there is the option to interview and select students for the programme, one has the opportunity to mitigate risks and obstacles to learning can be managed in advance. There will always be a level of uncertainty in relation to student performance due to a number of unknown influencing factors (for example, mental or physical health issues i.e. social anxiety, learning disabilities or alternative personal problems, how students interact as part of a wider group or in a particular environment) and so the opportunity to have a discussion with potential students prior the course is therefore invaluable and could improve course delivery.

The ideal situation is one where the selection process for 'inside' students is entirely at the university's discretion. In this situation, those delivering the class will have a good understanding of the intellectual aptitude and ability within the classroom before the first class takes place. It essentially allows for additional time to plan in advance of the class and mitigate any potential problems. However, it is not always the case that universities will have the licence to select 'inside' students. As Tracy (F, U.K.) noted, her concerns related to student literacy levels due to the involvement of the prison during the 'inside' student selection process. Five participants in the sample commented on the significance of interviewing prior to Inside-Out (Maria, F, AUS; Tina, F, U.S.; Sarah, F, U.S.; Bethany, F, U.S.; and, Leanne, F, U.S.). Both Maria (F, AUS) and Tina (F, U.S.) commented that interviewing was a tool to mitigate risks. However, Leanne (F, US) indicated she used the opportunity to assess the academic competency of 'inside' students and Bethany (F, U.S.) indicated she used the opportunity to set expectations. Comments included:

> *"I tried to interview the students as best as I could to make sure that the ones I took were mature enough and knew how to handle themselves and knew what was ok to be said and what wasn't and what are the boundaries and things like that so, that's kind of how I wanted to mitigate against all those issues that I could foresee but yes, I did foresee some issues in relation to gender in particular."* - Maria (F, AUS)

> *"I did interviews and because there wasn't a requirement that they had to have a college background you know, or that kind of thing, so…. But I would talk to people about the writing and the reading and the expectations whether or not they were comfortable with that, whether they did writing, you know, if they knew what they were getting into kind of thing."* - Leanne (F, U.S.)

"…I do a variety of things up front—in the pre-course interview…with that in discussions with 'inside' and 'outside' students. I tell them in the one-on-one interview among other things that this is a dialogic course: this class will sink or swim, based on the amount and type of student engagement with each-other and the material. I tell them directly, that I don't expect every person to talk a lot per session, but student voices are what make the class so powerful and wonderful. When students own the learning process and I am not a talking head, the class work much more effectively. So, I prime them from the beginning in that regard." - Bethany (F, U.S.)

Zarah (F, U.S.) raised the issue of not being involved in the interviewing process and therefore not knowing 'inside'-students' incentive for taking Inside-Out. She commented:

"I wonder how much of that was about getting credit or not getting credit and I wasn't able to am, conduct interviews to pick the Inside students ah but rather there was a social worker at the institution who just sent me a bunch of students am so many of them I don't know how much they were interested or invested am, in the first place" - Zarah (F, U.S.)

As the sample has indicated, interviewing can eliminate many of the concerns prior to the course and potentially equip facilitators and TAs to deal with associated problems should they arise during the course of Inside-Out. Those who cannot interview potential students may have a significantly more difficult time managing or facilitating their Inside-Out class and this can have an effect on the quality of the Inside-Out experience. Comparatively, the U.K. sample of facilitator and TAs did not discuss the selection process during the course of their interviews.

Educators may opt to attend the Inside-Out Instructor Training which, as discussed in Chapter One, intends to adequately prepare facilitators for their delivery of Inside-Out. Whether the training can adequately prepare all facilitators is critiqued in the following sections.

7.3. Significance of the Inside-Out training

In relation to the Inside-Out training, seven participants (Rosie, F, CAN; Kylie, F, U.S.; Sarah, F, U.S.; Bethany, F, U.S.; Jenny, F, U.S.; Audrey, F, U.S.; and Simon, F, U.S.) commented on how prepared they were in advance of their own Inside-Out course. While Rosie (F, CAN) and Jenny (F, U.S.) praised the Inside-Out training and explained how well it prepared them for their own classes, the remaining participants' comments included:

> *"having worked so much with the men in Graterford I expected the 'inside' students to be extremely well prepared for class and am extremely scholarly and that was certainly not the case. Am, so my expectations actually for the Inside students were probably a little greater than am, how that turned out."* **-** Zarah (F, U.S.)

> *"I felt very prepared coming out of the training, Yet, I felt very unprepared, you know for some unknown. Unprepared for something I knew was out there! It was difficult for me to see how I could take this general template of a course—the one provided at training...and transform it into something that was suitable for my teaching purposes."* - Bethany (F, U.S.)

> *"I mean the training was good because it just kind of sensitised you to all that you have to be. You gotta be on your toes, and you gotta have all the I's dotted, T's crossed…The training, it's good because I think the training makes you realise that being organised is important, but the training is not real to the extent of the class, you've gotta just let it go more."* - Simon (F, U.S.)

While participants reflected positively on the Inside-Out training, there was an indication in the data that the training gave an unrealistic account of what was to be expected in an actual Inside-Out class. It would be impossible to recreate an Inside-Out class in the context of training given that the 'inside' students will have already taken Inside-Out prior to the training. In a true Inside-Out class, students within both groups may not already know one another, and so conveying the initial tension that students will inevitably experience in an Inside-Out class to facilitators and TAs would not be possible in the context of a controlled training environment. However, these are important limitations of the training institute and they should be noted particularly for those intending to deliver Inside-Out in a prison environment outside of the U.S.A. Further limitations of the Inside-Out training include adequately portraying and preparing for racial and gender-based tensions.

7.3.1. Addressing racial and gender-based tensions within Inside-Out

Two of the most significant challenges to address in any environment are the matters of gender and race. These themes are not to be downplayed, particularly in the context of prison programme delivery. As one participant explained, "I mean I don't know how you can walk into a prison and not have concerns about gender and race" Dev (F, U.S.). These 'issues' are at the forefront of Inside-out delivery and striking the correct balance in terms of what language is used in the 'classroom', what readings are chosen and how the discussion is facilitated contributes to the overall success of the programme. These themes cannot be and have not been separated in the data. This section of the analysis presents the difficulties facilitators and TAs have encountered while managing the learning environment both linguistically and physically to ensure students felt safe and equal during Inside-Out. Comments from eight participants (Adam, F, CAN; Simon, F, U.S.; Ken, F, US; Maria, F, AUS; Nick, F, US; Sarah, F, US; Daniel F, U.S.; Rita, F, U.S.; F, and Dev, F, U.S.) indicated awareness of potential tensions around both subjects prior to the course. For example:

> *"my main concern was that I didn't have a sufficiently sophisticated kind of verbal toolbox and, kind of, experiential background to kind of navigate all of the kind of, difficulties associated with the racial diversity particularly in relation to our aboriginal students a lot of whom had experience of residential schools."* - Adam (F, CAN)

> *"most of the students that I bring are you know, sort of privileged kids and most are females, most are young female and you know you always worry you know, what kind of stuff is going to be said and you know, you know because conversations get quite deep quite quickly at times, so, you know there might be issues with managing that"* - Maria (F, AUS)

> *"I was concerned am if they would have a level of awareness around racial tension, gender, am and how that could play out. Um, concern around if the 'outside' students would be sensitive to difficult conversations or am if they would be mindful of the differences that existed."* - Nick (F, U.S.)

> *"race wasn't much of an issue but, but sexism, I was definitely concerned. I was definitely concerned but I didn't know how that was all going to play out and, so I wasn't as pro-active about it."* - Simon (F, U.S.)

Participants (Kylie, F, U.S.; Rhana, TA, U.S.; Nick, F, U.S.; Leanne; F, U.S.; Sophie, F, U.S.; Sally, TA, U.S. and Bethany, F, U.S.) also commented on their position in relation to their own gender, age and race and how this might affect the balance in the classroom. For example,

"I was conscious of my own you know, race and class privilege, I was conscious that I was a woman inside a man's facility" - Kylie (F, U.S.)

"my main concerns were as, as a woman of colour you always have to be cognisant of how you're going to be received, am, how others are, yeah, how others are going to interact with you. And whether you'll be listened to or taken seriously in whatever setting you go through right and am, I don't know I've always heard the phrase from the guys inside right, 'prisons are stuck in the 40s' right? Am, and being a woman of colour in a space that is stuck in the 40s is always a concern." - Rhana (TA, U.S.)

"one of my concerns came from my age and just knowing that there would be guys in there who were older and had more life experience although am, you know I have had students in my classes who have been older as well am but I think just that push back am, from the 'inside' students not knowing how they would necessarily respond am, not knowing…if they would be challenged by the material and, and if so, how would they respond to it" - Nick (F, U.S.)

"I think being a white woman going into a prison, especially the class is mostly black men, was a little bit concerning just in that - not wanting them to think that I didn't or couldn't understand where they were coming from." - Sophie (F, U.S.)

Participants (Rosie, F, CAN; Tina, Jenny, F, U.S.; Audrey, F, U.S. and Simon, F, U.S.) commented on how they used the racial a gender-based tensions as a learning point in Inside-Out. Responses included:

" I was teaching at a women's school so, there were two experiences with trans-students which I learned from…one of the ways we immediately established a sense of commonality with the 'inside' and 'outside' students was that we are all women and then we discovered along the way as a class, that it was that whole 'girl-power', 'I am woman, hear me roar!' thing, what could be an exclusionary could itself create exclusion and we were all educated by the trans-students who should not have had to do that work.." - Rose (F, CAN)

"we had to have a lot of really explicit conversations about me as a woman and me as a teacher and me, you know, in all these different ways that I think were really productive." - Tina (F, U.S.)

"we had some situations where there were perfect teaching moments about prison masculinity and ah, and misogyny and the way my female students in particular…I needed to engage with them, I wanted to see how they felt about that whole experience and so we did some interesting debriefings separate from the class and then we talked about it in class because we were talking a lot about gender and masculinity in the class and so that was interesting." - Simon (F, U.S.)

In comparison, participants in the sample of U.K. facilitators indicated gender balancing was more of a concern than issues concerning race. Comments included:

> "I was a little bit more apprehensive about the gender dynamics so, I didn't know whether the intentions were to learn or to learn alongside the proportion of students we were going to be bringing in but I think I was quite open minded about it, and mainly curious, yeah, to see whether or not it would work" - Vera (F, U.K.)

> "there has been sexual tension between the students which is normal but mediated quite differently in a group setting where our incarcerated students haven't seen this many women in quite a while...I'd say more of a racial divide in terms of via the 'inside' students to mainly white 'outside' students, there's exceptions to that rule, that wasn't something we were worried about, I became much more aware of it after taking the Inside-Out training course in America because race is such a huge issue there and obviously it is in the U.K. as well but it hasn't seemed to play out in terms of any overt concerns or discussions which is maybe something as facilitators we should be more explicit about." - Tracy, (F, U.K.)

> "race didn't even occur to me until I went to do the training in the States where race was a huge element of the training. Am, and I can well understand why, because race is a huge element of incarceration in the States." - Evelyn (F, U.K.)

In addition to the matters of gender and race, participants discussed the inevitable issue of the balance of power in Inside-Out.

7.3.2. Addressing the balance of power in the learning environment
Power dynamics can be complex and difficult to manage due to the nature of the environment and peoples' perception of the environment. Power is one of the dimensions which can influence learning experiences. There is also the matter of credibility to consider. 'Inside' students must believe that they can contribute cultural capital and educational value to the course based on lived experience and similarly, 'outside' students and academics must accept that a trade of information can occur within the class.

Participants expressed concerns in relation to how they would be received as an educator in the prison context. Jenny (F, U.S.) and Zarah (F, U.S.) both referred to the prospect of becoming a disciplinarian within the classroom which is not the objective in Inside-Out where the class essentially teaches itself. In addition, four participants, (Sophie, F, U.S.; Rose, F, CAN; Dev, F, U.S.; and Nick, F, U.S.; Bethany,

F, U.S.) commented on their concerns relating to their age, experience and physical appearance; for example:

> *"I'm small, I'm physically small, and as a woman who's physically small I've often felt like I'm not going to get an automatic extension of respect…I was worried about whether I would get respect, I think I was also worried about whether I deserved respect. Like I had to learn my own depth of capacity to feel my way into this new environment."* - Rose (F, CAN)

> *"I kind of look at going into prisons as like you're going into you know, their house, their space and so, I wasn't sure how I would be treated by both the guards or the correctional officers and by the, the inside guys… I was definitely concerned how they would ah perceive me am, if I was gonna be seen as legitimate, having … knowledge beyond book smarts."* - Nick (F, U.S.)

> *"I was really worried about coming across as naïve.…Perhaps naïve as a human being in general. Remember, no prior experience—personal or professional- with prisons. Certainly, I was comfortable as an educator in general. I had a lot of experience. But, I was learning how to enter a context where a key component of the learning experience related to the place…prisons."* -Bethany (F, U.S.)

The Inside-Out training cannot adequately prepare facilitators for the challenge of building rapport and creating equality within the classroom. This is partly because it is an individual experience and one which must be carefully managed if the class is to continue without incident. Five participants (Adam, F, CAN; Sally, TA, U.S., Ken, F, U.S., Sarah, F, U.S. and Gail, F, U.S.) remarked on the difficulties they faced, remarks included:

> *"so, you have to … be aware that you're trying as much as it's possible sometimes to try and create a college class that doesn't give people different expectations based on the fact that they're incarcerated."* - Sally (TA, U.S.)

> *"my main concern was treating both 'outside' and 'inside' students equally…and not, not holding 'inside' students in particular to a lower standard"* - Ken (F, U.S.)

> *"I felt like I wanted to be extra cautious about things that might be triggers. Am, more so for the 'inside' students than the 'outside' students, so ah, being attuned to the likelihood of having am, you know, trauma in their recent lives or am challenges or you know or feeling upset and managing emotions in relation to being separated from family. Am, I wanted to be really cautious about being aware of those things."* - Zarah (F, U.S.)

Having navigated gender-based and racial tensions within the Inside-Out class, the challenge of facilitators and TAs is to deliver the components of the programme. The sample of U.K. facilitators and TAs has already been discussed in relation to the components in Chapter Five. Responses will be compared with the remainder of the sample within the discussion and analysis in Chapter Eight. With each component of the programme comes additional obstacles; for example, the Inside-Out model stipulates that there should be no base-level of education needed to participate in the class (see Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a, 2004b). This can be problematic as there could be a disparity between the levels of intellectual aptitude and ability among students. Participants (Adam, F, CAN; Sally, TA, U.S.; Sophie, F, U.S.; Sarah, F, U.S.; Simon, F, U.S.), reported their awareness of differences in the class, for example:

> *"I think the Inside-Out class really places extra requirement and challenge and lens on the course of like how do you engage in these types of conversations where you're pulling from everyone's experience but you're also navigating the way that certain people have more social, cultural capital."* - Sally (TA, U.S.)

> *"I was a little bit concerned that they might have a little bit of trouble with the amount of reading and writing it was going to take and I was worried a little bit about their self-esteem when taking the classes because most of them, at least in our class, they don't have high-school diplomas or a GED So, I was a little bit worried about their own comfortability being able to do the assignments and engaging with the reading with college students"* - Sophie (F, U.S.)

Navigating the issue of variable levels of achievement is an inevitable added obstacle when assuring equality in Inside-Out. Where there is a noticeable disparity between students in terms of the way in which they can contribute to the class, their language and ability to internalise and interpret reading material, the job of the facilitator to engender equality and to teach a university-level course is made significantly more difficult. Participants discussed their styles of facilitation which indicated how they combatted inequality by building positive bonds in their Inside-Out course. Three participants commented on the use of icebreakers in their classes.

Whereas Simon (F, U.S.) commented more generally on icebreakers both Leanne (F, U.S.) and Kylie (F, U.S.) specifically described the power of the Wagon Wheel exercise in creating respect and engendering positive group bonds, their comments included:

> *"you know, we have these so-called ' icebreakers' in Inside-Out but I think it's more than an icebreaker, I mean, you're setting the foundation for learning, I mean it's like right out of the Inside-Out rules, you're creating a place of respect and you can't do that I think without some transparency"* - Simon (F, U.S.)

> *"to start the 'wagon wheel' you know and then within about three minutes to hear the laughing and the people starting to relax, you know, just seeing that process and having that awareness that it's never going to be this quiet again! It's a good thing."* - Leanne (F, U.S.)

Similarly, three participants commented on their management of Inside-Out readings. Simon (F, U.S.) stressed the importance of the group discussions on the early course readings suggested by Inside-Out whereas Jenny (F, U.S.) and Audrey (F, U.S.) both commented on making reading accessible and relevant to the course:

> *"Well, my reading assignments have not differed very much, I would maybe in an Inside-Out course pay a little bit more attention to literacy levels and so, assign some readings that are more accessible…I do a sprinkling of more (quote unquote) 'accessible readings' am, but for the most part I assign as much reading, I think reading is really important even though people don't like to read."* - Jenny (F, U.S.)

> *"I've drastically cut down the readings um, and focused them more on an iterative process meaning about half way through we start having conversations that relate to what people are interested in and so, I start bringing more of those readings in than what's sort of this predetermined thing that we do in Higher Education that we're gonna get from 'point A to point B'."* - Audrey (F, U.S.)

In tailoring readings, facilitators have made Inside-Out more inclusive thus fostering an environment where students can develop a sense of belonging. Five participants (Gail, F, U.S.; Adam, F, CAN; Rita, F, U.S.; Nick, F, U.S.; and Ken) further explained that in creating the Inside-Out environment their focus is on relationship building, for example:

> *"I have literally sat knee to knee with some of the most violent and high-ranking gang members in this country, literally. Serial killers and ah, they had nothing but respect for me. I really can't explain it, why that is, or the phenomenon around that. Like I still think about it, and they did. I think because I had nothing but respect for them… I want to take this man for the man he is in front of me right now and how he treats me and that's, that's*

what he deserves and that's what I have to do as he's gonna do for me, hopefully." - Gail (F, U.S.)

"my whole pedagogy has been reconstructed around relationship building. I start off by enabling the students to start building relationships with each-other right away. I use the Wagon Wheel in the very first class and continue to stress that notion without explicitly kind of berating them or badgering them with it but that their relationships with each-other are at least as important as their relationship with me." - Adam (F, CAN)

"I think the dialogical pedagogical model that Inside-Out has, this idea that through conversation that learning can happen… I've definitely seen the power of that a lot more um and I've just really been impressed at how ah, how well the 'inside' and 'outside' students have engaged with each other and how they've um really formed a strong educational environment for themselves." - Nick (F, U.S.)

Five participants (Tina, F, U.S.; Sophie, F, U.S.; Jenny, F, U.S.; Simon, F, U.S.; and Ken, F, U.S.) commented their intention to build relationships and build community through group work. Comments related to the value in providing a space for both groups to interact and learn from one-another and included:

"when I did Inside-Out… even though they were dialogue based and in circles… I was not as intent on building community and not as intent on creating opportunities for people to find similarities across presumed differences because those differences were not as stark in those prior classrooms…in Inside-Out it's pretty stark; there's the 'inside' and the 'outside' and so as a facilitator, I'm much more attentive to bridging those gaps than I was prior to doing that kind of course." - Jenny (F, U.S.)

"I mean the laughter, it's real whole-hearted laughing that goes on in an Inside-Out class that doesn't maybe go on as much in a regular class and I think again it's really that experience of human connection that's not taken for granted so that's been amazing to me…when it's that visceral, it takes it to a whole other level, where the lived experience and knowledge just combine - so I've never seen that before the Inside-Out experience - that's learning." - Simon (F, U.S.)

One of the things that I think is, is so different refreshing about Inside-Out is that it does privilege and value experiences…Inside-Out it's more like your one experience is the fabric of understanding am you know, that we all put together to arrive at an answer and that's much more refreshing everybody knows that you can't get your own life wrong you can't interpret your life wrong and so it, it gets a point where there's, there's no right or wrong answers but am, there's really, really great answers that are backed up by people's experiences and what they've lived through am, be it on the 'outside' or the inside. - Ken (F, U.S.)

Regardless of the components of the course, it is argued that the success of the course in terms of building community and improving self-efficacy is a result of the way in which it is facilitated. In terms of the physicality of the circle and how it was managed, four participants (Adam, F, CAN; Gail, F, U.S.; Sarah, F, U.S.; Daniel, F, U.S.) commented on their perception of their role. Comments included:

> *"The circle develops its own capacity, because it develops its own - I know I'm talking about it as an entity, but it is that very Gestalt notion right? The whole is greater than the sum of its parts, this 'whole' starts to emerge which is this kind of collective 'we' awareness. I know this sounds a little bit mystical…but what happens is, you get freed up to be present in a different way if you're not responsible for managing classroom dynamics."* - Adam (F, CAN)

> *"some instructors make the mistake of being in the centre of the circle and that is not the proper way to teach Inside-Out. A true instructor only walks around the edges of the circle, um, never in the centre the centre is sacred to the students you can be part of the circle but that's not what the centre is for, not for the instructor."* - Gail (F, U.S.)

7.4.1. Authenticity in the classroom

Five participants (Adam, F, CAN; Sarah, F, U.S.; Daniel, F, U.S.; Audrey, F, U.S.; Jenny, F, U.S.; Simon, F, U.S.) suggested it was necessary to be authentic as an Inside-Out facilitator, for example, providing feedback without a 'sugar-coating', acknowledging and confronting difficult and controversial subjects, and allowing for the space to discuss differences of opinions openly and freely. In allowing for these important discussions to take place, one begins to listen to and understand alternative perspectives thus facilitators can strengthen bonds between class members. Comments included:

> *"I think in the traditional classroom a lot of times assessment is giving feedback to like say what's a wrong answer or right answer or a better answer could be whereas I kind of saw in Inside-Out, providing am, feedback was more about building the discussion like, continuing the thought process of other things to think about."* - Zarah (F, U.S.)

> *So, gender's a huge problem, race is a huge problem but here's the other issue around race that I find very comforting actually and actually around gender and sexuality, I think every 'ism' almost. I say this to my students, I feel like at least in my prison classes we can have real honest learning conversations about this stuff…I feel like we have more learning conversations about these in Inside-Out because they're more, you kind of take off those multiple layers because nobody's got time in there to kind of pussy-foot around the issue, it's in their face on a regular basis and they bring it to the forefront you know?* - Audrey (F, U.S.)

"Those moments of learning about privilege, you know, really learning about privilege, can never take place unless something like that happens cos then it's real, then it's authentic, it's like, BAM. You know? And so, that's amazing to me. I mean, you can't teach that" - Simon (F, U.S.)

7.4.2. Assessment, reflective writing and feedback

7.4.2.1. The significance of Facilitators and TAs: design and structure of student feedback

Assessments are designed to help each participant from the 'inside' and the 'outside' consider subject matter and essays should demonstrate critical thinking in terms of how the group discussions and external readings compared with or changed their preconceptions and how or why. Although topics vary per discipline, in the U.K., Inside-Out tends to be a criminology course and topics have therefore thus far maintained a criminological focus.

Reflective writing can be quite challenging. Some students who have been taught to write in an 'academic' manner can find it difficult to construct an essay in the first person, i.e. 'I felt/ I think/ personally'. Similarly, students who potentially have little academic experience such as the 'inside' students, (some serving life sentences or sentences since their mid-teens with minimal education) may find the feedback to be quite overwhelming if they have never written before and received criticism. This could have a potential impact on how students react within the prison, with other prisoners, prison officers and fellow classmates in future sessions. It is important to be aware of each individual's learning needs within the 'learning community' that has been created in the prison environment. It is vital to consider the implications of feedback on the 'inside' students, for example: a prisoner's mood and subsequent actions after the class when they return to their prison routine. Higher Education in this form has an impact on the students, it is the facilitator's role to ensure that this is positive. Therefore, when feedback is generated, it should be done with sensitivity and respect with the betterment of the students' already present skills in mind.

The language used in feedback is key; it should not be inflammatory. The aim is to encourage the student to engage with the feedback, not to over-criticise and diminish their effort. However, feedback must be constructive and so, where there are fundamental errors such as referencing issues, the correct method should be

provided and exemplified on their feedback sheet. Where there is a collective misunderstanding of a point raised in class which is demonstrated across the range of papers received and the feedback given, there is an opportunity to address the issue and, by alerting the class to the fact that both 'inside' and 'outside' students have had the same problem or misunderstanding, perceived intellectual barriers can be broken down and classmates can begin to view themselves as equals.

While quality of feedback differs between feedback providers, the impact of feedback cannot be ignored. A student who receives clear constructive criticism (see Appendix 11 for example) will arguably learn more from it than the student who receives four lines of generic feedback from a marker who applies a 'one size fits all approach'.

Seven participants (Adam, F, CAN; Nick, F, U.S.; Rosie, F, CAN, Sophie, F, U.S.; Ken, F, U.S.; Audrey, F, U.S. and Simon, F, U.S.) commented on the significance of reflective journals in Inside-Out, for example:

> *"in the Inside-Out context it seems really important for them to constantly, for both the 'inside' and the 'outside' students, kind of process what was happening because there's a lot of heavy processing work I think, that the course invariably engenders."* - Adam (F, CAN)

> *"that reflection opportunity provides students an opportunity to really ah form connections that they don't otherwise with material in the other classes…Inside - Out really, I think drives that home and it teaches students that, that the information they're learning has a direct effect on their lives, the people in their lives, their community."* - Nick (F, U.S.)

> *"One thing that I didn't expect was that am, it allows you to also learn more about your 'outside' students that you would never get in a traditional classroom and you know through writing or reading the papers that have been written in the classroom discussions that I, I never would've known that the different traumas and experiences that our 'outside' students actually go through now are going to during the class"* - Ken (F, U.S.)

> *"the reflection papers are helpful and useful…I knew folks would get a lot out of the dialogue but I didn't realise how much they would get out of like the physical space for the 'outside' students and I also didn't realise how much the 'inside' students um, would really actually get out of having conversations that elevated them in a space that prepared them to be back in free society"* - Audrey (F, U.S.)

Eight participants (Kylie, F, U.S.; Peter, F, U.S.; Sarah, F, U.S.; Rosie, F, U.S.; Rita, F, U.S.; Bethany, F, U.S.; Daniel, F, U.S.; Jenny, F, U.S.) commented on the marking

(grading) and feedback following the submission of a reflective paper, diary or journal. Comments implied that there was a split of opinion in the sample between those who inflated the results of 'inside' students and those who did not. Comments in relation to inflating the results included:

> *"I'm aware that you know, across all thirty of my students there is a wide continuum, a wide range of am you know, previous education so I have to keep that in mind in terms of how I grade and the comments I give back."* - Kylie (F, U.S.)

> *"Well, I'm not a big fan of assessment to begin with, I find it highly problematic…and I would say it's my impression that Inside Out here, across the range of all of our instructors tends to do a little bit of grade inflation."* - Daniel (F, U.S.)

Whereas others conveyed a more equal approach to grading, for example:

> *"these guys would have an idea of how they would perform in a college class. So, you know, if they need writing improvement then they need to learn that, they need to know what they need to work on if they're really going to pursue college after they get out, it's good to show them something they need to work on rather than just patting them on the head and saying that's a great effort because that doesn't teach them anything. So, I want to challenge them, I don't want to discourage them, but I want to give them feedback that's meaningful, so they know what they need to improve upon."* - Peter (F, U.S.)

What can be seen in the comments above and in the majority of comments on the subject of grading is an acknowledgment that there will be a difference in the standard of paper presented by both 'inside' students and 'outside' students, this is captured by Jenny (F, U.S.) who commented:

> *"grading reflective papers is like, almost impossible… How do you grade how someone feels?... they don't know how to read critically very well like the 'outside' students and they don't know how to write good argument papers…I just pay less attention to it in an Inside-Out course and, I'm not that harsh of a grader."* - Jenny (F, U.S.)

7.4.2.2. Self-directed learning

All participants reflected on their style of facilitation. Comments indicated that facilitators were aware of their role within Inside-Out as a member of the group rather than as a font of information and included:

> *"For Inside-Out, I'm providing the material, I'm providing the design, but it feels like in many respects what I'm doing is I'm bringing them to the starting line and then I'm saying "go!""* - Daniel (F, U.S.)

"when I started to teach Inside-Out… I took on a much more facilitation orientated role in that context but notwithstanding that part of it, so the exercise of explicit authority was much less in the Inside-Out context than in the conventional classroom context…there was a much higher expectation of kind of, moral leadership…I had to do more as being a kind of focal point in terms of the legitimacy of the very undertaking itself." - Adam (F, CAN)

Whereas some participants acknowledged the equal learning value to everyone in the circle including themselves, for example:

"I think that that actually is a good shift to have not just in a circle context of sitting in a circle but that I'm not spewing out information, that learning can be interactive and that everybody in that space has something to contribute." - Audrey (F, U.S.)

Others commented on detaching themselves from the circle, for example:

"what's beautiful about a properly run Inside - Out class is that you start out a facilitator, but you quickly fade into the background. So, my mantra is 'a silent facilitator is the best facilitator' because by the end of class, they don't even need me anymore.",- Gail (F, U.S.)

"you are kind of in the background although you try to control the situation of course and be on top of, you know, everything that's happening and that isn't happening. You're still very much, a completely different teaching experience to what, you know, what is used to in you know, an ordinary lecture theatre." - Maria (F, AUS)

"The most successful Inside-Out classes, I think, are where the instructor very much fades into the background… and in Inside-Out the learning really is the transformative process of dialogue between the 'inside' and 'outside' students…So, you know, I feel like we can go deep. You know, we go deeper in Inside-Out but not as broad" - Rita (F, U.S.)

Participants explained how they created a group dialogue within Inside-Out. Whereas some participants commented on the use of exercises to generate discussion, for example:

"you have to basically revert back to group exercises and discussions and some lecture but probably a lot less lecture in that format and you don't have the methods to present a lecture really because you're in a more informal setting so I think you have to change it up quite a bit." - Peter (F, U.S.)

"Getting to actually interact with them and to hear their thoughts and opinions on the material is really great…it's more facilitating them and helping them teach each-other and really think about the material rather than just regurgitating what I'm saying to them." **-** Sophie (F, U.S.)

Others noted that it was more about letting the class teach itself by taking a background role:

> "Inside Out kind of, gives a freedom … to let the class decide itself what's the important subject matter … so when Inside Out is much more ah, class led or student led am than teacher led I think that is an advantage in that am, students really decide on what is most important and where the interesting ideas lie." - Zarah (F, U.S.)

> "I let go of control with regard to conversation or dialogue … I intentionally shape the directions of conversation as opposed to taking a strong initiative or always leading. Overall, my experience is that the conversation in these courses is more fluid and free in terms of the timing of things and the content. I try to be in the background…not just the person to answer to when questions are asked." - Bethany (F, U.S.)

> "it's a process of working together to find some kinds of answers to a lot of issues, to understand the issues more fully to think through, how could this be approached differently? What has this come from? So, all the different methods that are used to draw forth from the participants and in that interactive dialogic way - different perspectives and different ways of thinking about the issues I think is a lot about what makes it rich." - Leanne (F, U.S.)

7.4.3. Perceived benefits of participation in Inside-Out

All participants commented on their perception of benefits to Inside-Out students. Two participants commented that the levels of reported impact may not be entirely accurate. Their comments included:

> "I almost wonder sometimes if that isn't a little bit cruel. To give them this fabulous fifteen or sixteen-week experience and then they go back to regular life at the prison. … sometimes I think we get a little dramatic about the impact of the class from the Insiders and what the loss of it would mean. I think the Insiders have lost so much already that on the scale of things that they've lost, this may be rather low." - Rita (F, U.S.)

> "I do wonder um about this claim that we have to providing transformational education, transformative education… How do we measure it and for whom? …it's part of our mission that we provide transformative education and we have not interrogated it, … we assume it… I think think-tanks have a greater chance of doing transformational work and I think that's more among the people who are doing it rather than the programming that they're doing …I mean it's not like I'm the only one thinking that it's worth really thinking about what we mean by this term …" - Jenny (F, U.S.)

Jenny (F, U.S.) highlights an extremely important point, that it is difficult to measure transformation, the danger in assuming everyone will experience a transformation and the overselling of a demonstrably beneficial programme with inflated language.

Other comments considered that the class developed, informed and empowered students. Comments included:

> *"I hadn't expected to see that level of, I hesitate to use the word 'transformation' because it's kind of cliché, but that level of kind of development is better. I hadn't expected to see it so uniformly present in both the 'inside' and 'outside' students. I thought that it would be transformational for the 'inside' students, I didn't anticipate how tremendously important it would be for the 'outside' students."* - Adam (F, CAN)

> *"it was a lot greater and better than I could ever have imagined…it was the depth of the conversations it was the, you know, the impact of these ah, learned experiences, lived experiences I suppose, of 'inside' students that had such an impact on 'outside' students. It was just amazing."* - Maria (F, AUS)

> *"Inside Out is more of a service you are providing for people and more a space you are creating for self-empowerment."* - Sally (TA, U.S.)

> *"Students got to see themselves as experts, their fellow students as experts because they had these experiences that really had something to say about these theories and issues and questions we were raising…"* - Tina (F, U.S.)

While one participant gave a particularly graphic depiction of the perceived impact of the class:

> *"they put students in my class whose lives need saved… one brought me her suicide note - she was done you know, Inside-Out saved her life and I had another man … in the class in the penitentiary where men don't cry and sobbed and said, "I was going to die, I was ready to kill myself and you brought this to me"… So, what it does, and the word I hear so often is 'purpose', gives people purpose it gives them a voice, so purpose and voice…insight to themselves that they never even knew; it gives them community … it gives them something to live for."* - Gail (F, U.S.)

Gail (F, U.S.) also explained that the success of her first programme had added significance as she had been given a particularly challenging group in a "violent federal max[39]." She explained the challenging make-up of 'inside' students in their first class and noted that "in these high-security facilities, gangs don't mix", remarkably, Gail (F, U.S.) recalled that in the final class:

> *"the head of the Aryan brotherhood and the head of the Black Panthers … spoke together at the podium."* - Gail (F, U.S.)

She considered that this was due to "the creation of a community" and "the creation of a safe space." Gail (F, U.S.) commented Inside-Out "created that safe

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[39] A 'federal max' is an American Federal Maximum Security Prison.

space that some of them had never had ever in their life and they found it in that circle."

7.4.4. Inside-Out as a transformative learning experience: are facilitators and TAs more 'transformed' than their students?

Across the sample of Inside-Out facilitators and TAs, participants voiced their view that they had been influenced in some way by their experience of the programme. Within the sample of facilitators and TAs associated with the three case studies, all seven U.K. participants reflected on how their Inside-Out experience had influenced them in relation to their approach to teaching non-Inside-Out classes, for example:

> *"It has made me think a little bit more I have to say in terms of my role as 'teacher teacher' … just a little bit more thinking around the most appropriate time to intervene, not intervene make comment on, not make comment on, for me it was very much a shift because it's not a teaching style that sits well with me."* - Roy (F, U.K.)

> *"I think I probably listen to them more, like across all courses now, so, I'm trying to, kind of trying to redress the balance a little bit, this power differential that I am a tutor therefore I know better than you the people in my class whereas we don't go into Inside-Out with that sort of attitude so I'm trying to dispel that attitude that might be in class elsewhere…So, where we try and harness that in Inside-Out, I try to do elsewhere."* - Vera (F, U.K.)

> *"I think it would make me a bit more relaxed or am, try to get people to be a bit more reflective because I think that seems to be a really good way to get people to sort of think about theory and literature."* - Eileen (TA, U.K.)

In the remainder of the sample, i.e. those not associated with any of the case studies, comments from ten participants (Maria, F, AUS; Dev, F,U.S.; Kylie, F, U.S.; Carla, F, U.K.; Sarah, F, U.S.; Rita, F, U.S.; Bethany, F, U.S.; Daniel, F, U.S.; Leanne, F, U.S.; and Jenny, F, U.S.) reflected a similar sentiment. Comments relating to confidence and changes in perception of others included:

> *"it has had an impact…it's given me more confidence in the creative component of teaching and leading activities. I have learned wholeheartedly the importance of using a mixed format rather than lecture-based strategy. I think I've learned to enjoy learning from my students through this pedagogy."* **-** Bethany (F, U.S.)

> *"I think it's made me braver to just abandon that difference of 'you at the front, them sitting down' that kind of active, passive kind of thing which I was, I thought I was doing anyway but I think Inside-Out just goes so many steps further and you can see how productive it is and how valuable it is as a way*

of generating genuine learning and conversation and discussions" - Carla (F, U.K.)

"it has influenced it a lot. Because I try to bring you know um, parts of Inside-Out in all the other classes that I teach that are not Inside-Out. Um, you know it's, God it completely changed my whole life and my outlook on life and you know, how I see people, how I see what they go through you know, made me much more empathetic myself and compassionate and you know, I suppose, patient" - Maria (F, AUS)

Comments in relation to changes to the delivery of other classes included:

"Now, even in a class that I teach that has 140 people, I'm going to be breaking them down into small groups and talking with one another, and I'm encouraging them to get to know their neighbours in the classroom more than I would have before that and I'm emphasising it in a way that's delivering, I hope, a message that is not related to the curriculum but just as related to the fact that we're all in it together and if we've got the opportunity to have a conversation, we'll find that there's an agenda there that we can develop for improving things. So, it's made me more deliberate in my teaching in regard to some of the method." - Daniel (F, U.S.)

"it has influenced it in terms of being more intent on creating community whether I'm 'inside' or 'outside' um, and creating those opportunities for people to be able to be in the classroom and recognise they're in the classroom with other human beings" - Jenny (F, U.S.)

Five participants, Tina (F, U.S.), Adam (F, CAN) Peter (F, U.S.), Gail (F, U.S.) and Ken (F, U.S.), commented that Inside-Out had an inspired them, for example:

"I would say it's the reason that I have continued to be a professor." **-** Tina (F, U.S.)

"I should say that the Inside-Out experience completely transformed, it challenged and then transformed my kind of previous views of teaching." - Adam (F, CAN)

"A couple of these guys inspired me to work on the book. Because I ended up having a relationship with these lifers, a lot of the guys in my… class were lifers and they thought a lot of these stories need to be told, you know there's a lot of false assumptions about lifers. So, I've taken it upon myself to write a book about it …it was definitely inspired by the stories of these men that I'd met in these classes." - Peter (F, U.S.)

Three participants (Rosie, F, CAN; Rhana, TA, U.S.; and Sally, TA, U.S.) commented that Inside-Out influenced their commitment to alternative learning pedagogies. Comments included:

"it's actually also influenced, very much influenced, a deeper and deeper commitment to alternative pedagogies, not just in my own teaching but also in terms of trying to create opportunities to spread the word and to help support professors… with teaching in general. I'm really, really caught up both in community engagement and alternative pedagogies and that all started with Inside-Out." - Rose (F, CAN)

"in the workshops that we run throughout the day, we use like most of the Inside-Out activities, like the wagon wheel…Because it's effective… in the same way the like wagon wheel or these sorts of activities breaks down the walls between…'inside' students and 'outside' students it does the same thing for people on the 'outside'…And other things like 'forced choice'…They think it's fun… that's part of the value of it right? Having fun and laughing along-side of somebody, that's the sort of silliness that you can have alongside of each-other…that's invaluable." - Rhana (TA, U.S.)

The majority of the sample of facilitators and TAs reported a change as a result of Inside-Out.

7.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the data relating to the delivery of Inside-Out according to facilitators and TAs. It considered some of the challenges to successful Inside-Out delivery and how delivery could be affected if not adequately prepared for or managed. The chapter presented the view that Inside-Out has the potential, through facilitation, to encourage transformative learning arguing that this hinges on the quality and regularity of facilitation; the emphasis on an individual's social value and capital; a determination to ensure equality, a balance of power; and, an awareness of racial and gender-based tensions. The extent to which the delivery of Inside-Out can influence transformation and desistance processes will be analysed and discussed in the final chapter which concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction to Chapter Eight

The objective of this chapter is to further the discussions of the data chapters by framing the Inside-Out experience using the following six headings: preparation; selection; facilitation; structure and content; assessment; and, progression. The chapter will address the research questions by considering which of the key elements of Inside-Out may contribute to transformation and desistance processes and explore how this may be achieved.

The chapter begins by presenting the initial steps taken by facilitators in preparation for an Inside-Out class. It critiques the Inside-Out instructor training and considers how preparation for Inside-Out can impact upon transformation and desistance processes. The discussion then moves to student selection and whether variable selection criteria matters when assessing the transformative claims of Inside-Out. A discussion of selection-bias follows, drawing on the data presented in Chapter Four regarding the educational achievements of participants. It questions whether the preselection of participants with certain characteristics or achievements could result in specific outcomes. The subsequent impact this may have on transformation and desistance processes is then considered.

The chapter then examines the role and contribution of facilitators and TAs and their influence on transformation before considering the structure of the programme and the content of the course. The final section investigates how Inside-Out is assessed and how participants can capitalise on the benefits of Inside-Out through the use of think tanks. The chapter concludes with a summarising discussion where it is argued that Inside-Out participation and involvement in Inside-Out think tanks has the potential to encourage transformation in individuals and support rehabilitative and desistance processes.

8.2. Preparation

Preparation for delivering an Inside-Out course begins at the Inside-Out instructor training where facilitators are taught how to prepare for and deliver the programme. It is argued here that the Inside-Out instructor training and the steps taken prior to the first session of Inside-Out can influence transformation and support desistance.

8.2.1. The Inside-Out Instructor Training

As described in Chapter One (see 1.4; see also 2.4), the Inside-Out instructor training is delivered in one week, with no on-going evaluation or monitoring scheme. By relying on participants to engage with and fully understand the ethos of the programme and the supporting materials needed to produce their own curriculum in this short time-frame, it could be said that the lack of a more in-depth training could potentially result in under-prepared facilitators delivering Inside-Out courses.

The data from both samples demonstrated that facilitation varied significantly between the case-studies (this is discussed further at 8.4 when considering facilitation). This may mean that the Instructor Training does not adequately account for the variation in former teaching and education experiences of trainees. In turn, this could impact upon the extent to which they can support transformation and desistance. To gain a deeper understanding of this impact, it is helpful to consider the Inside-Out Instructor Training through the lens of critical social theory.

Inside-Out is framed by critical pedagogy (see 1.2, 2.4. and 8.5). It is argued here that, as there are clear ties to critical social theory which puts "criticism at the centre of its knowledge production" (Leonardo, 2004, p.12), the ability of the facilitator to deliver the Inside-Out pedagogy in the way in which it is intended, will have a direct impact on the transformative aims of the programme and whether it can support desistance processes. Leonardo (2004, p.12) notes, "it is Freire's work that promotes ideology critique, an analysis of culture, attention to discourse, and a recasting of the teacher as an intellectual or cultural worker".

Leonardo (2004, p.16-17) further states:

> *"quality education is the product of a struggle during the pedagogical interaction where both teacher and student play the role of critic. If criticism is done appropriately and authentically, then educators put theory in its proper place within the process of education".*

However, as Carrington and Selva (2010, p.46) comment, critique is not the only focus of critical social theorists, "[t]heir approach to quality education also engages in a language of transcendence, so there is a capacity to imagine an alternative reality and hope for education and society". This language is echoed in desistance literature which makes strong connections between the themes of imagining a new self (see Maruna, 2001; and, Giordanno *et al.,* 2002) and the significance of instilling hope (see LeBel *et al*., 2008) in would-be desisters.

This research found that while participants reflected positively on the Inside-Out training, there was an indication that it provided an unrealistic account of what was to be expected in an actual Inside-Out class and that it had not adequately prepared facilitators for the challenge of building rapport and creating equality within the classroom (see 7.3). When this is considered alongside the data presented in Chapter Four (see 4.6.2. and 4.6.3.) relating to the former prison and teaching experiences of facilitators and involvement in prison education, this underlines one of the core problems in Inside-Out delivery: the difficulty in transmitting critical pedagogy and ensuring "quality education" (Leonardo, 2004, p.16). It also indicates that the Inside-Out training alone, is not enough to ensure that its aims of delivering a Freirean pedagogy are borne out in every iteration. It can be said then, that this research supports the view that the ability of the facilitator to deliver the Inside-Out pedagogy in the way in which it is intended, is dependent on the quality and content of the Inside-Out training; this will have a direct impact on the transformative aims of the programme and whether it can support desistance processes.

8.2.2. Pre-Inside-Out information sessions
Chapter Five presented data from the three case studies (CS1, CS2 and CS3) alongside data from U.K.-based facilitators associated with each. It was found that while participants across both research samples indicated concern and apprehension prior to embarking on Inside-Out, participants in CS2 and associated

facilitators and TAs did not assert the same kind or level of concern. There are a number of possibilities as to why the same concerns were not raised by those associated with CS2. One such possibility relates to the type of prison and the gender of participants. As Chapter Four reported (4.5.2.) the three case-studies took place in different categories of prisons which varied in terms of the control, security and freedom of 'outsiders' to move within, and in the gender composition of each Inside-Out class. CS2 was the only women's facility sampled where the Inside-Out classes had been run by an all-female Inside-Out team. It is therefore possible that concerns reported by those in CS1 and CS3 potentially related to gender. However, it was proposed that, the introduction of an information session in CS2 prior to Inside-Out resulted in fewer reported concerns. It is argued here that this added level of preparation is beneficial for the reasons outlined below and, can influence the desistance process.

Firstly, universities have a pastoral duty of care to their students[40], by extension this applies to 'inside' students on Inside-Out. Pastoral care is inclusive of practices which promote good mental health, and which are tailored to student needs. It is therefore good practice to be compliant with pre-existing university pastoral care duties and provide an equal student experience – this is also in line with Inside-Out's vision of equality. Inside-Out indicates that the programme is transferable in that anyone can participate regardless of their educational achievements (see 3.5), this must therefore include those with learning difficulties and disabilities or other mental health issues. In the Review of Prison Education, Coates (2016, p.35) discussed those with learning difficulties and disabilities (LDD),

> "Prisoners with LDD can face additional challenges in adapting to prison life and in engaging with prison education. Research has shown that education provision may not always have offered the support those with LDD need in order to participate effectively. They may have issues with communication, interaction, cognition and learning. Many may have additional physical needs and/or mental health difficulties. However, they must be able to access equivalent learning opportunities and receive the necessary support to enable them to engage with education."

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[40] See for example, Durham University's 'Policy and Strategy' document which recognises pastoral care:
https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/university.calendar/volumei/201819/201819p-s.pdf.

Necessary support for engaging with Inside-Out could come in the form of an information session which may help those with LDDs to engage with the programme, this is again in keeping with Inside-Out's claim of inclusivity and equality.

Furthermore, Tyler *et al.* (2019) suggest,

> *"investment is required to improve prison staff knowledge and understanding of mental illness as well as the screening process to ensure the effective identification and treatment of individuals with mental health needs in prison."*

While Inside-Out teaching staff do not constitute prison staff, they do have some control over the selection process or screening process for 'inside' student applicants. Effective identification in this instance could be registering student anxiety during an information session and signalling this to the appropriate prison staff. Thirdly, the mental health of prisoners has been at the forefront of recent research and policy recommendations for (re)integration and desistance strategies. For example, the House of Commons, Committee of Public Accounts, 'Mental health in prisons - Eighth Report of Session 2017–19 (p.3) found,

> *"Improving the mental health of prisoners is a difficult and complex task, but it is an essential step to reducing reoffending and ensuring that those who are released from prison can rebuild their lives in the community."*

In addition research shows that reports of mental health issues among prisoners are much higher than the general population (Fazel *et al.,* 2016) and that mental health issues are reported to be much higher among female prisoners than male prisoners (McCann *et al.,* 2019). This outcome is significant as CS2 was a female prison were no participants raised concerns relating to their mental health.

Aside from the benefit of potentially addressing student (and facilitator or TA) anxiety, prior to the course, the data indicated that an information session could have an impact on the effectiveness of the components of Inside-Out. In removing some of the concerns by demystifying Inside-Out and what is expected of students and by demonstrating to course facilitators and TAs who they might be working with and under what conditions, the effects of the components of the course may be amplified. Consider for example, the data presented in Chapter Four (see 4.6.4.), specifically that which stated two 'groups' within the sample of facilitators and TAs (indicating extensive and limited prison-related experience respectively). It was

shown that over half of the entire sample had limited prison-related experience and, within the U.K.-based portion of the sample, only one participant had experience of prisons beyond 'in a visiting capacity'. It can be inferred from the data that limited understanding of the teaching environment or the prison estate was connected to the apprehensions and concerns voiced by facilitators and TAs during interviews.

The data reported that, by the third week of Inside-Out, concerns had subsided among both samples. However, it is argued here that if a comfortable teaching/learning space could be created before the class begins, then the overall output or success of the class may increase. For example, if students can begin to see themselves as equals during an information session about the course, and if facilitators and TAs can become more comfortable in and knowledgeable of their teaching environment, then there may be an opportunity to draw a greater benefit from Inside-Out. This has a knock-on effect on the extent to which the course can encourage a transformation and potentially desistance.

As presented in Chapter Five, concerns in some instances pertained to how participants may be seen by 'outsiders' and the labels which may be applied to them, such as 'offender' or 'rapist'; this amounted to feelings of stress and anxiety. As McNeill (2016a) argues, acceptance from others is central to tertiary desistance. However, the delayed acceptance from others resulting from failure to counter labelling (see Becker, 1963) or the 'looking-glass self' (see Cooley, 1902) at the earliest opportunity (i.e. through an information session) could mean that greatest outcomes are not drawn from participants in the course. As Maruna (2012, p.80) argues, "if others around us think we are dangerous and not to be trusted, we often become dangerous and untrustworthy. We internalize the stigma that others put on us." This could be avoided by including an information session in advance of Inside-Out which may alleviate stress and anxiety and encourage acceptance.

8.3. Selection and selection bias

In advance of an Inside-Out programme, students are subject to a selection process to determine their suitability for the course. The selection processes for participants in this study are not known. However, if characteristics of students such as their age, gender, personality, educational background and criminal record can be pre-selected, then a facilitator, TA or a prison, has an opportunity to introduce selection bias to Inside-Out and potentially control the direction of the class. The data presented in Chapter Four (see Table 9 and *Figure 8*), indicated that participants had variable amounts of pre-exposure to prison education prior to Inside-Out, and, variable levels of self-reported educational achievement across all three case-studies. This may have had an impact on whether participants felt transformed.

As highlighted in Chapter Five (see 5.3), when targeted at those with self-reported lower levels of education, Inside-Out has been reported to be more transformative than when targeted at those with self-reported higher levels of education. Therefore, the design of Inside-Out can be said to encourage transformative learning within this study in specific groups of participants within similar self-reported levels of education. If participants with higher levels of education, only, were sampled, there may have been fewer reports of transformation. While it is not possible to determine whether selection bias occurred among the sample of 'inside' participants in this research, it is possible to say that education more generally could be transformative, rather than Inside-Out.

In terms of how selection may relate to transformation and desistance, Inside-Out to some degree could be said to be a self-fulfilling prophecy (see Maruna, 2012 for a discussion on Pygmalian effects). For example, if students are told or expect that Inside-Out will be a transformative learning experience, they may be more likely to report, or think that they have had, this experience. As Maruna (2012, p.80) notes, "the idea that one person's expectations for the behavior of another can impact the other person's behavior" is grounded in research. Therefore, if participants with little experience of education are selected for the course and told that that it will be transformational, then, research suggests they are more likely to report a transformation. For participants with little to no comparative educational

experiences relying on the expectations of their facilitator, it is clear that through selection bias, the impact of the programme could be pre-determined.

8.4. Facilitation

This section aims to establish a clear focus of the role and contribution of the facilitator in Inside-Out and how this may influence transformation and desistance processes.

As discussed in Chapter Two (see 2.4.) Pompa (2013a, p.14) considers that in Inside-Out, the role of the facilitator is "to call forth, with subtlety and grace, the choices of those in the class, through a dialogic exchange among equals". However, noting the variation in facilitation styles as demonstrated through this research, the success of Inside-Out in providing a transformative learning experience hinges on how it is implemented. As Harris (2013, p.57) notes, "[o]ne key to making Inside-Out classes successful is how the instructor carries herself into the space and how she sees her role, because this sets the tone for the whole experience".

Chapter Five highlighted the variable styles of facilitation in delivering the core components of the programme. It was noted by U.K. facilitators that teaching within a prison is exceptionally challenging. While the design of the programme is intended to provide experiential and transformative learning, comfort within the environment evidently plays a role in programme delivery. Environmental concerns are also prevalent in desistance literature which suggests that the physical space in which activities take place can have an impact on the desistance process (see Graham and McNeill, 2017, p.439). However, as Farley and Pike (2016, p.68) note, "[t]he prison learning environment must balance the competing need for security with that of rehabilitation through the provision of education".

In Chapter Seven, styles of facilitation were explored in detail and an emphasis was placed on how facilitators and TAs overcame obstacles to course delivery and engendered equality within the Inside-Out learning space. Rather than establishing a clear description of the role of 'facilitator', the data presented various styles of facilitation and reported facilitators' and TAs' perception of benefits to students. The facilitation methods and experiences outlined in Chapter Seven clearly align

with McNeill *et al*.'s (2011) view, that "it is necessary to create the right environment and the right relationships to support learning" (McNeill et.al., 2011, p.2). In their study into whether prison arts programmes could inspire desistance from crime, McNeill *et al.* (2011) considered theories of learning. Having presented and compared two bodies of literature relating to arts in prison and adult learning, they found that participating in the arts could influence engagement in learning (McNeill *et al.,* 2011, p.82),

> *"…in terms of improving their literacy skills, by helping to change negative attitudes to education through providing contextualised activities that are interesting and fun, in which literacy skills are used in ways that are very different from those experienced at school; by building on and extending the knowledge and skills that offenders already have and helping them to progress; by providing a range of different activities that enables people to work to their strengths in collaboration with their peers; and by increasing confidence and self-esteem through increasing skills and encouraging social interaction through working together on absorbing projects."*

While the Inside-Out pedagogy does not amount to an art, and while its delivery is notably different from other prison education programmes, the outcomes reported in this research align with McNeill et. al. (2011). Inside-Out has a novel approach to learning which, as the data highlights across all three case studies, builds community and meaningful relationships with peers. It can also be said that it engenders equality, trust and improves self-efficacy. Most importantly, the research highlighted the significance of the role of the facilitator, to draw from social capital and use an individual's knowledge and experience to challenge preconceptions and strengthen social connections. The importance of this kind of support is noted in desistance literature (see Norman and Hyland, 2003) and within prison education literature as Farley and Pike (2016, p.67) note:

> *"student-tutor relationships are usually characterized by respect, understanding, care and positive expectations which reduce anti-social cognition and help to build anti-criminal identity".*

Furthermore, the research established parallels with tertiary desistance (see McNeill, 2016a) in terms of the importance of positive recognition by others – specifically those in different "social hierarchies" (Nugent and Schinkil, 2016, p.580) such as Inside-Out facilitators and prison staff. Therefore, while the research has shown variation in facilitation styles and argued that this is likely due to the preparation element discussed at 8.2., it can be argued that when the Inside-Out

pedagogy is delivered as intended, facilitators have an opportunity to encourage transformation and support desistance processes.

8.5. Structure and content

Inside-Out is framed by critical pedagogy (see 1.2, 2.4. and 8.2). As discussed in 8.2.1., the Inside-Out Instructor Training prepares trainee facilitators for the delivery of the course. However, as the data has demonstrated, there was variation in programme delivery and this could be viewed within both research samples. This is partly due to the complexity of transmitting the programme's pedagogical approach within such a short space of time; and, the added difficulty of accounting for trainee facilitators with limited or no former teaching or prison-based experience. What this suggests is that Inside-Out has not tailored its approach to training; this can have an impact on the transmission of the programme. While the structure of the programme in theory can support transformation and desistance, in practice, based on the findings in this research, this is wholly dependent on the quality of facilitation.

As Anderson *et al.* (2001, p.26) argue,

> *"identity as a competent learner is shaped by the complex interaction of a number of factors that include past learning experiences and mediating effect of family influences upon them … as well as the norms and values of the social networks to which individuals belong".*

A limitation of the research is the lack of available information regarding the circumstances of each 'inside' participant. Without this information it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which Inside-Out has influenced participants' vision of themselves as competent learners. However, it can be said that responses in the research regarding their overall experience aligned with desistance literature in terms of how the structure and content of the programme helped students to see an alternative view of themselves and their opinions (Maruna, 2001; and, Giordano *et al.,* 2002) and the significance of instilling hope (LeBel *et al*., 2008; and, Healy, 2013) in would-be desisters. The structure and content of Inside-Out, in this regard, helps to encourage transformation and support desistance.

As Rocque *et al*. (2016, p.47) note, "[i]ndividuals have multiple identities" and this was represented in the data which established that 'inside' participants not only

considered the meaning of identity to encompass different physical and personality-based traits and features but also showed that identities could vary based on social situations. Participants' comments provided a foundation for understanding how the programme had impacted them. In response to the research question, 'how has participation on Inside-Out influenced 'Inside' participants' self-narratives?', the data clearly demonstrated a wide range of benefits of Inside-Out participation and provided evidence that elements of the programme have had a positive effect on participants, exceeding the claims in the research. It can be inferred that the content of the course, specifically the way in which the elements of the course interact with each-other, can encourage transformative learning and support desistance processes. Decisions in relation to the content of an Inside-Out course are at the discretion of the facilitator. However, the content fits within a scaffolding for learning. The following discussion begins by considering the components of Inside-Out and how they can encourage transformative learning, it then considers how, as a collective, the components of the programme can support desistance processes.

As outlined in Chapter One (1.2.2), Inside-Out suggests distributing 'Student Rules' at the beginning of the Inside-Out course. This is one of the first pieces of information students will obtain in relation to Inside-Out and, for 'outside' students draws attention to potential changes they may need to make regarding their clothing and behaviours prior to entering prison. The Student Rules inadvertently lead students to consider why it is necessary to think about their clothing, not to bring electronics to prison, and not to ask about convictions. Encouraging students to think about such implications of their actions is one of the first ways in which Inside-Out teaches – it encourages a change in thought and therefore fosters transformative learning.

In addition to the Student Rules, the class is encouraged to construct 'Guidelines for Dialogue (Discussed at 1.5). Students have the opportunity to express their opinion on how the class should operate, how people should behave, how long people should speak for, what language is acceptable or unacceptable and what topics should or should not be discussed (i.e. convictions). This simple exercise has the potential to shift the control of the class from the facilitator to the student.

Both groups of students are encouraged to talk about what may be acceptable or unacceptable in the context of the class and this can lead to a change in opinions and in practices. Placing every member of the class on an equal footing, forcing each member to challenge their pre-conceived notions and collaborate in designing their own rules of dialogue provides an opportunity to experience a change from the traditional teacher student relationship. In turn, this redresses the balance of power and creates the conditions necessary for transformative learning and a "gradual building of trust" (Turenne, 2013, p.127). When students "break down the barriers that inhibit connection" (Daniel-Bey, 2013, p.74) the design of Inside-Out can be said to foster transformative learning.

Adhering to the ''Student Rules' and creating the 'Guidelines for Dialogue' can provide valuable learning opportunities for both groups of students and urge them to challenge their pre-conceived notions. Icebreaker exercises can further these learning opportunities when delivered appropriately and in the right learning environment. During the first three weeks of an Inside-Out course, some of the most intense work is completed – students engage with structured icebreaker exercises, i.e. forced-choice, the Alligator River Story and the Wagon Wheel exercise. The "process of investigation and discovery" (Pompa, 2013c, p.275) begins at this point, and, as can be evidenced by the nature of the icebreaker exercises, students are encouraged to challenge their beliefs by listening to and critically engaging with others in their 'classroom'. The data presented in Chapter Five indicated that the nature of the icebreaker exercises and how they were facilitated played a role in creating a comfortable and productive learning space for participants. Encouraging a change in perception or a change in opinion by listening to the views of others through icebreakers is one of the ways in which Inside-Out could be said to foster a transformative learning experience.

Furthermore, in relation to group work, responses from 'inside' participants suggested notable personal benefits. The data showed that students benefited from group learning and this is one of the ways in which the programme could be said to foster a transformative experience. Additionally, comments from 'inside' participants relating to the weekly readings were significant as there is little published evaluation of Inside-Out in the U.K. That 'inside' participants in CS2

specified that the facilitators at this site were providing relevant materials relating to or resonating with inside student experiences and that the response was positive is an indication that this may be good practice for other U.K. based practitioners when determining how to foster transformative learning.

When discussing group exercises, student responses continued to resonate with claims made in the Inside-Out literature relating to student-empowerment. The data also highlighted that the impact of group exercises went beyond the claims of the literature with 'inside' participants describing marked improvements in their confidence and listening skills, feelings of comfort because of their inclusion and the ability to 'escape' prison-life during each class. However, positively impacting the self-narrative through circular learning and group work appeared again, dependent on the quality and style of facilitation.

Regarding the choice of reading materials given during the course, participants in CS2 responded positively to materials which specifically related to their own circumstances and indicated that it allowed them to engage more deeply with the course. This was not apparent in responses from CS1 or CS3. This suggests that, tailored readings may play an important role in supporting the transformative aims of Inside-Out.

Taken individually, these elements have proven to be beneficial to participants in this research and responses have clearly demonstrated how Inside-Out can encourage transformative learning. However, there are also noticeable connections with desistance theory. In promoting a shift in role from student to educator, Inside-Out provides conditions of support which are arguably needed in addition to one's will to desist (see Mulvey *et al.,* 2004). This act encourages participants to take on more responsibilities which has also been associated with desistance. As discussed in Chapter One (see 1.5), studies of desistance suggest that propensity to desist increases with responsibility and identification as an 'adult' (see Massoglia and Uggen, 2010). Furthermore, as Graham and McNeill (2017, p.438) argue, the adoption of "generative roles" such as peer mentor for example, "that involve altruistic helping and citizenship values can yield restorative benefits for individuals and their communities".

However, it is argued here that the critical thought element of Inside-Out which challenges pre-conceived notions and encourages participants to question their beliefs and in some instances, their identity, can be said to be the strongest link with desistance. The cognitive transformation (see Giordano *et al.*, 2002) or change in identity is central to studies of desistance which consider that it is a necessary part of the process to build a new, more positive self-narrative (see Maruna 2001; Farrall, 2005; and Vaughan, 2007) as part of the desistance journey. The practices of Inside-Out promote positivity and the space for critical thought and reflection thus, it can be said to support transformation and desistance.

8.6. Assessment

Reflective writing is the mode of assessment in Inside-Out. It is a method used to deepen each participant's understanding of their class experience. As Davis and Roswell (2013) comment, "the work of shared reflection … increases participants' capacity for critical inquiry", (Davis and Roswell, 2013, p.5). Inside-Out-related literature focuses on potential benefits of the reflective writing process (see Pompa, 2013a, p.21), in terms of challenging individuals to change how they think about certain subjects. However, less reported are the challenges faced by inside students during this process. The research found that in CS1 and CS3 the majority of participants expressed concern in relation to the reflective writing component of the course whereas none of the participants in CS2 reported the same concerns. While it could be argued that this related to access to resources which varied among 'inside' participants across all three sites based on the restrictions imposed by the category of establishment in which they were housed, it could also be argued that these results reflected the way in which Inside-Out has been facilitated. It is argued here that the nature of a reflective assessment and the corresponding feedback given to Inside-Out students can influence whether and to what extent transformative learning can occur; how this effects rehabilitation and desistance is then addressed.

Pompa (2013a) considers that the format of reflective writing "offers all participants the opportunity to use multiple dimensions of themselves in their papers, leading to a deeper understanding of both the issues and the overall experience of the course" (Pompa, 2013a, p.21). However, reflective writing may

also expose the fragility of the Inside-Out students who can find the process challenging and this may have an impact on the extent to which the programme can encourage transformation and interact with desistance processes. As chapter Five demonstrated, there are various types of reflective writing, levels of complexity and the way in which reflective writing is taught and assessed is variable (see Grossman, 2009; Finlay, 2008). It also drew attention to the emotional input required in reflective writing noting that it can differ significantly from other types of assignments (see Kirk, 2017; Moon, 2006; and, Lillis, 2001) and the possibility that this could be damaging for prison-based students.

The data also revealed that facilitators and TAs within the international sample had a split of opinion with regard to grading papers, whereas some inflated the results of 'inside' students, others did not. Aside from again highlighting that the delivery of the Inside-Out model can vary significantly between facilitators, there is an added impact on how transformative the programme may be and whether it can support desistance processes.

There is a body of research recognising the impact of feedback on students (see Brown *et al.*, 2016; Panadero *et al.*, 2014). For prison-based students, feedback has the potential to be even more impactful. When considering how positive or negative feedback may influence desistance processes, it is helpful to draw on LeBel *et al.* (2008, p.135-136) who suggest that there are four core areas within desistance literature which seek to understand "*how* desisting ex-prisoners think and how these thinking patters differ from those of active offenders". These are: hope and self-efficacy; shame and remorse; internalising stigma; and, alternative identities. Their research sought to establish the impact of both subjective and social factors in a sample of ex-prisoners, deemed to be "persistent or 'career' offenders", LeBel *et al*. (2008, p.140).

In relation to hope and self-efficacy, LeBel *et al.* (2008, p.136) consider that hope "requires both the will and the ways: the desire for a particular outcome and also the perceived ability and means of achieving the outcome. They also note the literature supporting the view that those engaging with desistance processes "maintain a distinctly optimistic sense of control over their future and strong

internal belief about their own self-worth and personal destinies" (LeBel *et al*., 2008, p.136). In relation to Inside-Out feedback, it could be argued that positive and constructive feedback provides students with motivation and the tools to achieve greater results in their reflective assignments. It could also be argued that feedback which is not constructive or supportive, could have an impact on would-be desisters and their ability to maintain a sense of optimism, self-belief and self-worth.

Regarding "shame and remorse" LeBel *et al.* (2008, p. 136) note the research supporting the claim that positive changes in moral beliefs effected patterns of desistance. In relation to the assessment of Inside-Out, it can be said that in challenging the views of participants and encouraging them to think differently through assessment feedback, the programme can support transformation and desistance processes. Furthermore, LeBel *et al.* (2008, p. 136) discuss the formation of alternative identities and the research supporting the view that the creation of a new prosocial identity was conducive to desistance pathways. However, sustaining this post-Inside-Out is arguably problematic where the structure and content of the class are no longer there as supporting mechanisms for would-be desisters. It could therefore be argued that through the sustained involvement with Inside-Out think tanks, there is a greater opportunity for participants to engage with desistance processes.

The findings of this research most closely align with the subjective-social model of desistance as described by LeBel *et al.* (2008). This model indicates that there is both a need for individuals to have the right frame of mind to engage with the desistance process, and that individuals must be supported by social events which "support and encourage desistance" (LeBel *et al.,* 2008, p.139). As the following section argues, a sustainable way of achieving such outcomes is through appropriately run Inside-Out think tanks.

8.7. Progression and Sustainability

Research not only demonstrates that desistance begins in prison (see McNeill and Schinkel, 2016) and that prison experiences can result in positive changes (see Schinkel, 2015) but that prison-university partnerships can also influence desistance (see Armstrong and Ludlow, 2016). However, if desistance is "best viewed as a process" (Maruna, 2017), then it is the *sustained* engagement with meaningful educational experiences which will support desisters. In prolonging exposure to Inside-Out through think tank participation, it is argued here that in instances where think tanks have a clearly defined purpose, objective and understanding of participants' roles, an 'environment' conducive to transformation and one which may support desistance processes can be created. Thus, drawing a nexus between Inside-Out and desistance theory.

The following sections present discussions of various desistance studies relating to: the role of the individual; creating positive connections through structured activities; and, the value of positive social relations. Each study is then connected to the research findings to highlight how Inside-Out think tanks can support desistance processes.

8.7.1. Desistance and the role of the individual

Giordano *et al.* (2002, p.990) considered data from the first detailed long-term follow-up of a sample of male and female serious adolescent offenders. They found that neither marital attachment nor employment, which are factors normally associated with desistance in males, were associated with desistance in either gender in the sample. Countering Sampson and Laub's theory of social control which purports that as people gain more social capital, and as they build stronger bonds of attachment, their propensity to recidivate decreases, the authors' argument adopted a symbolic interactionist approach, centred around the role of the individual in the desistance process and cognitive transformation. As they explain,

> "social control theory emphasizes the ways in which a close marital bond or stable job gradually exert a constraining influence on behaviour as – over a period of time – actors build up higher levels of commitment (capital) via the traditional institutional frameworks of family and work" (Giordano *et al.*, 2002, p.991).

Giordano *et al.* (2002, p.992) emphasised the individuals' role in the desistance process in "creatively and selectively" embracing positive influences, arguing that these "will serve well as catalysts for lasting change" even in the absence of traditional frameworks (such as marriage or employment). They establish four types of cognitive transformation: a shift in one's desire to change; exposure to a particular opportunity to change, that is, a "hook or set of hooks for change"(Giordano *et al.*, 2002, p.1001); one's ability to envision a new self in place of their former identity; and, "a transformation in the way the actor views the deviant behaviour or lifestyle itself" (Giordano *et al.*, 2002, p.1002). Furthermore, they suggest that "lasting changes will frequently need to be built upon processes that are ultimately more tangible than desire and good intentions", and that the likelihood of successful change would increase with engagement in "other experiences that have good conventionalizing potential" (Giordano *et al.*, 2002, p1032).

Drawing on the data presented in Chapter Six, it can be argued that think tank members have expressed numerous benefits of participation. These included: building and facilitating friendships; improved self-efficacy; humanisation; and, importantly, a space to observe different perspectives and achieve goals. It can be said that in instances where these benefits have been reported, members were aware of their role and had an understanding of the purpose of their think tank. It can therefore be said that when a think tank is appropriately operated, it can promote a positive learning culture (see Coates, 2016) and support the rehabilitative aims of prison. While it not possible to comment on whether participants in this research were actively engaging in desistance processes, it is possible to draw a connection with theories of desistance relating to embracing positive influences.

In this instance, considering Giordano *et al.* (2002) four types of cognitive transformation, one could argue that would-be desisters (i.e. those with a desire to change), engaging with an Inside-Out think tank (i.e. a hook for change) may have an opportunity, where the think tank has a purpose and where they have a defined role, to envision a new self in place of their former identity and, to transform the way they view specific behaviours or lifestyles. Additionally, where think tank

participation works alongside other rehabilitative measures, it could be said that Inside-Out think tanks, when operated appropriately (see Chapter Six) can complement desistance processes.

8.7.2. Desistance and identity theory

Paternoster and Bushway (2009, p.1105) present an identity theory of desistance commenting specifically on the difference between ones' current vision of themselves and the self they hope to be in the future. Building on the symbolic interactionist approach of Giordano *et al.* (2002), they consider that individuals have multiple versions of themselves: the working self, the possible self and the feared self (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009, p.1105). They consider that identity, or "a sense of who one is", can motivate and provide "a direction for behavior" (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009, p.1111) and argue that this means "that the self, which guides action toward some purposeful goal, being both very dynamic and reflective, is capable of change" (p.1112).

This research revealed that there was a connection between participation on Inside-Out and positive changes to the way in which participants viewed themselves at the point of interview thus demonstrating that participation on Inside-Out not only supported rehabilitation but could influence one's self-narrative. It is argued that through sustained interaction with appropriately operationalised think tanks, the effects of Inside-Out can be prolonged and support desistance processes. In this instance, it can be argued that in engaging in goal-oriented, purposeful work through Inside-Out think tanks and in adopting a role within a think tank, there is an opportunity to support desisting individuals and the version of the 'self' they wish to be.

8.7.3. Desistance and social relations

Weaver and McNeill's (2015) research, which considered that social relations were at the centre of the desistance process, analysed the life stories of six men in their forties who had previously offended together, known as "the Del" (p.98). Through the lens of Donati's relational theory of sociology, Weaver and McNeill (2015, p.95-96) considered that "social relations are those bonds maintained between people that constitute their reciprocal orientations toward each other" and put forward the view that to better understand the workings of social relations, the interplay

between those involved (actors) required examination. They emphasised that the exchange between actors "generates and regenerates the bond of the relationship" and suggested that products of social relations were ""relational goods" (such as trust, solidarity, loyalty, and mutual concern)" and ""relational bads" (such as domination, fear and mistrust)" (Weaver and McNeill, 2015, p.96). The authors also considered Donati's relational theory of reflexivity and posited that "social relations can motivate individuals to behave in a way that they might not otherwise have done" and ultimately, "influence both individuals and their actions, and social relations and their interactions" (Weaver and McNeill, 2015, p.96).

Weaver and McNeill (2015, p.104) examined the following social relations: friendship groups, intimate relations, and families of formation, employment, and faith communities. They explain,

> "What these social relations have in common is that they all incorporate shared expectations of reciprocity that imply degrees of interdependency. Those social relations that were most influential in supporting desistance were characterized by solidarity and subsidiarity or a sense of "we-ness"" (Weaver and McNeill 2015, p.104).

Positive interactions and positive outcomes can instil hope, the importance of which is discussed in past desistance studies (Farrall and Calverley, 2006; McNeill, 2012). However, it would appear that from the responses in this research, participation in well-operationalised think tanks (i.e. the think tank associated with CS3) could go a step further and foster good social relations with associated "relational goods" (Weaver and McNeill, 2015, p.96). Thus drawing another connection between Inside-Out and desistance. However, as Weaver and McNeill (2015, p.104) argue,

> "it is the meaning and significance of the social relation to individuals-in-relation, and the emergent effects of their interactions, that are critical to understanding their contributions to desistance."

It is therefore crucial that the nature and extent of the social relations made through Inside-Out and Inside-Out think tanks are evaluated if their contribution to supporting desistance processes is to be understood.

8.7.4. Desistance and structured activities

Creating and maintaining positive connections through structured activities has been shown to be effective in desistance studies, for example, Leverentz (2014) discusses the benefits of halfway houses, "transitional housing" designed to stabilise those recently released from prison by providing a place to stay and access to resources such as education and training programmes in preparation for employment (p.23). In particular, she refers to the Mercy Home, a women's facility "created out of recognition of the growing numbers of women being incarcerated and the need to provide services for them" (p.19). The Mercy Home was attended by women "immediately after their prison release" (p.21) and importantly, by choice. The significance of choice highlights the requirement for one to *want* to change. Leverentz (2014, p.19) notes,

> *"The halfway house, through its programming and informal interactions, provides a narrative framework in which the women understand their re-entry and construct their sense of self".*

Leverentz (2014), comments on the power of the connections developed through the Mercy Home, via structured activities in "safe spaces"(p.26) relating to education, employment and training and considered that positive connections through structured activities amounted to Giordano *et al.'s* (2002) "hooks for change" (p.25). Leverentz (2014, p.30) therefore considered how positive social interactions through structured activities can resonate with desistance literature in relation to role transition.

The responses from participants in this research have demonstrated that positive social interactions have been achieved though structured Inside-Out sessions and through attendance at associated think tanks. In this instance, it could be argued that the sustained involvement with Inside-Out via Inside-Out think tanks where the "hook for change" (Giordano *et al.*, 2002, p.25) is the opportunity to be a part of the think tank's mission (i.e. structured activity), is another way in which Inside-Out may contribute to desistance processes. This also resonates with desistance research relating to the value of engaging in pro-social networks and the improved likelihood of desistance (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009).

Whether think tanks have the potential to support desistance efforts is entirely dependent on how each think tank is run. Establishing roles, conduct and an

objective is fundamental to gaining an understanding of the potential Inside-Out think tanks may have. A leaderless think tank with no clearly defined objective is an unlikely environment to foster a transformation, impact self-narrative or have a meaningful or lasting effect on its members. Comparatively, a think tank with a clearly defined purpose, objective and understanding of participants roles makes for an 'environment' conducive to transformation and, as this section has argued, one which may support desistance processes. With only a cadre of Inside-Out facilitators in the U.K., at present, it is not possible to effect wide-spread change. However, this research sheds a light on the importance of Inside-Out and think tanks in terms of their place within the prison education landscape, rehabilitation and desistance, thus prompting further research into both the impact of prison-university partnerships, and the value of adopting alternative pedagogical approaches to prison learning.

8.8. Summarising discussion

Reports documenting the crisis state of prison education in the U.K. are interminable (see 3.3.1.); over the last three years alone, no significant improvements have been made to improve education in U.K. prisons despite successive damning independent inspections (see HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2018) Annual Report 2017–18; and, The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education, Children's Services and Skills 2018/19). The most recent 2018/2019 report (The Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education, Children's Services and Skills 2018/19) indicated that failures at a managerial level were pervasive in 114 prisons (p.110). Furthermore, as highlighted in the Coates' (2016) Review (see Chapter Three) there are significant barriers to accessing prison education which may factor in rehabilitation and desistance efforts.

In stark contrast with the prison education failings documented within the annual independent inspections are the Inside-Out student testimonies presented throughout this research (see Chapter Five); these clearly report the benefits of participation among those who have experienced both Inside-Out and standard models of prison education. However, Inside-Out does not exist within a vacuum; research has demonstrated the multiple benefits of other types of prison education

(see Champion and Nobel, 2017; Pike and Adams, 2012; Uggen, 2000; Duguid and Pawson, 1998) and diversity beyond literacy and numeracy courses has been shown to have a positive effect on prison learners (see Tett *et al.*, 2012, Bilby *et al.,* 2013; and, Digard and Liebling, 2012). Inside-Out fits and functions within prison education and is intended to provide an alternative to (rather than a replacement of) 'traditional' models of learning.

Yet, Inside-Out's claims of providing a "transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132) learning experience require a stronger evidence base. As this research has found, while participants cited the many benefits of the programme, the Inside-Out experience was not transformative for all. Furthermore, it could not be said that participation in Inside-Out alone could influence rehabilitation or desistance. This is partly due to the complexities of desistance and the reality that prison education is only one part of the rehabilitative and desistance processes, and the variable ways in which (and in where) the programme is operationalised. While prison education plays a role in laying the foundations for desistance to occur, it is not the only factor to consider in a desister's journey (see Farrall and Calverley, 2006; and Farrall *et al.*, 2014 in relation to obstacles in the way of desistance).

This chapter framed the Inside-Out experience using six core headings: preparation; selection and selection bias; facilitation; structure and content; assessment; and, progression and sustainability. The objective of this summarising discussion is to re-present the core argument of the thesis.

Beginning with a discussion of the preparation which takes place before an Inside-Out class, the Inside-Out Instructor Training and the preparatory steps taken prior to Inside-Out were discussed. It was argued that the Inside-Out training alone, is not enough to ensure that its aims of delivering a Freirean pedagogy are borne out in each iteration of the programme and, this could have an impact on the extent to which it can contribute to transformation and the desistance process. The preparatory steps taken prior to Inside-Out were then discussed and it was suggested that, the added step of creating an information session could capitalise on the benefits of Inside-Out by countering participant anxiety as reported in the research, at the earliest possible stage. It was argued that, in doing so, there was a

greater likelihood of supporting transformation and desistance. The chapter then turned to student selection and the potential for selection bias, asserting that facilitators and those involved in the selection process for choosing Inside-Out students could pre-select 'types' of people and characteristics. It was argued that this may have an impact on whether students are transformed and the extent to which the programme can support desistance.

The chapter then considered facilitation arguing that the opportunity for facilitators to build community and encourage meaningful relationships with peers, engenders equality, trust and improves self-efficacy all of which feature in desistance literature. It also drew a connection between tertiary desistance (see McNeill, 2016a) in terms of the importance of positive recognition from others – specifically those in different "social hierarchies" (Nugent and Schinkil, 2016, p.580) demonstrating that, when appropriately operated, Inside-Out can support desistance.

The structure and content of Inside-Out was then examined and it was argued that the way in which the elements of the course interact with each-other, can encourage transformative learning and support desistance processes. Specifically, that this research has shown that Inside-Out can: provide conditions of support which are arguably needed in addition to one's will to desist (see Mulvey *et al*., 2004); increase the responsibilities of students which can promote desistance (see Massoglia and Uggen, 2010); and, foster cognitive transformation which has been argued to be a central part of the desistance journey (see Giordano *et al*. 2002; Maruna 2001; Farrall, 2005; and Vaughan, 2007).

The final category of the chapter, 'progression and sustainability' (see 8.7) drew the strongest connections between Inside-Out and desistance theory, stating the varied and multiple ways in which Inside-Out think tanks can unequivocally support desistance processes when they are operated appropriately. It was argued that establishing roles, conduct and an objective is fundamental to gaining an understanding of the potential Inside-Out think tanks may have and the need for further research in this area was discussed.

Taking into account the limitations of this research (see Chapter Four), the following recommendations were made:

- ❖ Recommendation for facilitators to be regularly assessed and to attend either follow-up trainings, or Continuous Professional Development (CPD) to ensure best practice and safe practice in prison.

- ❖ Recommendation to include an information session for all potential Inside-Out students prior to the application process so that concerns can be addressed at an earlier stage and so that the mental health of all involved can be protected.

- ❖ Recommendation for universities to provide their selection criteria for both 'inside' and 'outside' students to ensure transparency and to better inform studies relating to the transformative claims of Inside-Out.

- ❖ Recommendation for a national 'communications policy' between U.K. Universities and partnering prisons with a view to publishing research in relation to best practice.

- ❖ Recommendation to extend the research to a longitudinal impact study inclusive of 'outside' students, released 'inside' students and those who had embarked on Inside-Out but 'dropped out' during the course.

The final section of this chapter concludes the thesis, summarising what has been achieved and clarifying its original contribution to knowledge.

8.9. Conclusion

The thesis began by introducing Inside-Out, its origins (see Pompa and Crabbe, 2004a and 2004b), international development (see King, Measham and O'Brien, 2019) and core claim, that it can provide "transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132) experiential learning. It then stated that the objectives of the research were: to interrogate the claim that the design of Inside-Out provides experiential learning (see Davis and Roswell, 2013 and Pompa, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) and has a transformative effect on students (see Crabbe, 2013 and Shay, 2013); and, to establish whether there is a nexus between Inside-Out and desistance theory. In highlighting the centrality of change to Inside-Out's ethos, it was hypothesised that there may be a connection with desistance theory and that Inside-Out may positively contribute to desistance processes.

The following questions were constructed to guide the research:

- What does identity mean to 'inside' participants? And, what influences one's self-narrative?

- How has participation in Inside-Out influenced 'Inside' participants' self-narratives?

- How does the design of Inside-Out encourage transformative learning?

- To what extent can it be said that Inside-Out effects a change in one's 'self-narrative' and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process?

A qualitative methodological approach was employed, and the limitations of the research were outlined in Chapter Four. Following the discussion of the significance of the delivery of Inside-Out, the elements of the programme and the benefits of participation reported across the three case studies, the data revealed that there is potential for Inside-Out to support those willing to engage with the desistance process. This is particularly significant in light of the Coates (2016) Review. Specifically, it can be said that Inside-Out fulfils the recommendations of the Coates' (2016) Review in terms of "encouraging a purposeful educational journey" (p.4) and thus supports the rehabilitative aims of prison education in the U.K.

The objective of the final chapter was to draw together the core findings of the research to establish how the design of Inside-Out can encourage transformative learning and establish to what extent it can be said that Inside-Out effects a change in one's 'self-narrative' and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process. It was established that participants not only considered the meaning of identity to encompass different physical and personality-based traits and features but also showed that identities could vary based on social situations. Furthermore, it was demonstrated how the content of the course, specifically the way in which the elements of the course interact with each-other, can influence participants, encourage transformative learning and support desistance processes.

It is unrealistic to stretch the parameters of Inside-Out's "transformative" (Pompa, 2013b, p.132) learning experience to amount to a tool for desistence, as the research has demonstrated, the Inside-Out experience was not transformative for

all students. However, there is evidence to suggest that the practices of facilitators and TAs play a crucial role in providing an opportunity to engage with the desistance pathways. The research highlighted the benefits of participation on Inside-Out across all three case studies and noted that sustained contact with Inside-Out think tanks was thought to be most beneficial in the long-term and to capitalise on the reported advantages of the programme.

To summarise, the extent to which Inside-Out can effect a change in one's self-narrative and provides an opportunity to engage with the desistance process has been found in this research to be dependent on the way in which facilitators deliver the programme. While the programme was found, across all three case studies, to be beneficial to participants on a personal level in terms of their self-confidence and self-belief, it was not deemed to be realistic to suggest Inside-Out participation could equate to desistance. Prison education, more generally, is part of a much bigger process and plays a role in desistance, but it is not the only factor to be considered in a desister's journey. However, it was found that the positive effects of Inside-Out could be prolonged through participation on Inside-Out think tanks when the purpose of the think tank and members' roles are made clear.

Given the dearth of studies of Inside-Out in the U.K. this research has provided an important contribution to knowledge in the fields of prison-university partnerships and prison education. It has laid the groundwork for future research in the area to build on the findings of the research and explore the connections between Inside-Out and its outcomes in a longitudinal study. This may help to inform desistance strategies. There have been clear limitations on the scope of the research given that it is a PhD study, it has provided a pin-hole view of the way the programme has been operated in the U.K. However, it has given an alternative qualitative perspective of the influence of prison-education, producing a contrast to the statistical research which does not take into account the personal impact on student prisoners (see Chapter Three). Demonstrating the positive influence of education on those who are most disadvantaged in prisons and in need of support, this research shines a light on the value of sound qualitative research to get a clearer picture of the state of prison education and its effect on those whom it serves. The strength of this research is the finding that sustained contact through

Inside-Out think tanks can produce the clearest links with desistance theory. Given the many ways in which outcomes of think tank participation have paralleled with that which is deemed to be important within desistance theory, this should be at the forefront of further research in the field.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Certificate of Recognition - Inside-Out Instructor Training

The Alligator River Story

Once upon a time there was a woman named Abigail who was in love with a man named Gregory. Gregory lived on the shore of a river. The river, which separated the two lovers, was teeming with man-eating alligators. Abigail wanted to cross the river to be with Gregory. Unfortunately, the bridge had been washed out. So she went to ask Sinbad, a riverboat captain, to take her across. He said he would be glad to if she would consent to go to bed with him preceding the voyage. She promptly refused and went to a friend named Ivan to explain her plight. Ivan did not want to be involved at all in the situation. Abigail felt her only alternative was to accept Sinbad's terms. Sinbad fulfilled his promise to Abigail and delivered her into the arms of Gregory.

When she told Gregory about her amorous escapade in order to cross the river, Gregory cast her aside with disdain. Heartsick and dejected, Abigail turned to Slug with her tale of woe. Slug, feeling compassion for Abigail, sought out Gregory and beat him brutally. Abigail was overjoyed at the sight of Gregory getting his due. As the sun sets on the horizon, we hear Abigail laughing at Gregory.

All five characters are listed below in alphabetical order. Rank each character (1-5) according to their behavior as well as their level of responsibility in this situation with 1 being the worse behavior and 1 being the most responsible. Your ranking on the same character will not necessarily match. For example, you might rank one character a 2 on behavior, but a 5 on responsibility. Justify your rankings in the spaces provided after each character.

Character	Behavior	Responsibility	Justification
Abigail	_____	_____	
Gregory	_____	_____	
Ivan	_____	_____	
Sinbad	_____	_____	
Slug	_____	_____	

Appendix 3 – Outcome of an application for ethical approval from the Department of Sociology, Durham University.

PART F: OUTCOME OF THE APPLICATION

Reject
The application is incomplete and/or cannot be assessed in its current format. Please complete the application fully.

Revise and Resubmit
The application cannot be approved in its current format. Please revise the application as per the comments below. Please complete the application fully.

Approved, with Set Date for Review
The application is approved and you may begin data collection.

A date for further review of the project as it develops has been set to take place on: _____

The anticipated nominated reviewer will be:_____

Approved
The application is approved and you may begin data collection.

Comments:
I approve this Ethics and Risk Assessment application and I have no conflict of interest to declare.

First Reviewer's Signature:
First Reviewer's Name: Dr Will Craige
First Reviewer's Role: Ethics Committee Member
Date:26/06/2017
If applicable:
I approve this Ethics and Risk Assessment application and I have no conflict of interest to declare.

Second Reviewer's Signature: Mehilot.
Second Reviewer's Name: Dr Martin Roderick
Second Reviewer's Role: PGR Director
Date: 28/06/2017

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Appendix 4 – National Offender Management Service – Approval for prison research

National Offender
Management Service

Miss Marianne Doherty
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National Offender Management Service
National Research Committee
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29th March 2017

APPROVED SUBJECT TO MODIFICATIONS – NOMS RESEARCH

Ref: 2016-417
Title: Establishing the impact of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme

Dear Miss Doherty,

Further to your application to undertake research across NOMS, the National Research Committee (NRC) is pleased to grant approval in principle for your research. The Committee has requested the following modifications:

- It should be made clear that the research cannot be defined as an impact evaluation as there is no comparison group or counterfactual. The Committee recommends that it is better to frame this research as a process evaluation.
- A clear process should be developed in order for details of prisoners who have been on the programme and who have now been released from prison to be shared for the purposes of this research project.
- Interviews with prisoners who have been released from custody should be arranged through the relevant probation provider and it is recommended are held on probation premises not in a public place. Cafes or university buildings are not suitable locations for conducting interviews, with participants' rights to privacy and confidentiality being compromised.
- Furthermore, for offenders under probation supervision, it should be ensured that the relevant community provider is aware of any follow-up contact, with the location of follow-up meetings being agreed. The community provider should be made aware immediately after the interviews have taken place that they have been completed, and any issues should be raised as this point, not within 24 hours.
- A clear sampling strategy should be set out in the final research reports with details on identification and recruitment of participants. To identify eligible respondents, clear inclusion and exclusion criteria should be established for all target groups.
- When sampling offenders, consideration should be given to the need for a minimum level of exposure to the interventions/services covered by the research (to ensure that sufficiently informed opinions can be provided).

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- The NRC was of the view that incorporating the Inside-Out programmes being run by two other universities would be of benefit to the research, and should be explored as far as practically possible within the confines of this research.
- It was felt that a precautionary second interview was not necessary and should be avoided if possible. If second interviews are required, it should be made clear to participants that there may be a follow-up interview.
- The following should be included in all participation information sheets/consent forms:
  - Participants should be asked for their consent to the use of audio-recording equipment.
  - Participants should be informed that there will be neither advantage nor disadvantage as a result of their decision to participate or not participate in the research.
  - It must be made clear to research participants that they can refuse to answer individual questions or withdraw from the research until a designated point, and that this will not compromise them in any way.
  - Participants should consent to any follow-up contact and the method of this contact.
  - Participants should be informed how their data will be used and for how long it will be held.
- The following should also be included in the participation information sheets/consent forms for offenders:
  - Access to any NOMS records for the participants should be explicitly covered.
  - It needs to be clear that the following information has to be disclosed: behaviour that is against prison rules and can be adjudicated against, illegal acts, and behaviour that is potentially harmful to the research participant (e.g. intention to self-harm or complete suicide) or others.
  - Potential avenues of support should be specified for those who are caused any distress or anxiety.
  - The respondent should be asked to direct any requests for information, complaints and queries through their prison establishment/community provider. Direct contact details should not be provided.
- When using recording devices, the recordings should be treated as potentially disclosive and it is recommended that devices with encryption technology are used. Recordings should be wiped once they have been transcribed and anonymised unless there are clear grounds for keeping them any longer.
- Research data should be kept no longer than necessary, e.g. when the research is to be published and the scientific journal requires the original data to be kept for a specified period
- In the final research reports, the limitations should be clearly set out (e.g. the samples may not be fully representative, analysis of impact limited to perceptions, causality cannot be established).

Before the research can commence you must agree formally by email to the NRC (National.Research@noms.gsi.gov.uk), confirming that you accept the modifications set out above and will comply with the terms and conditions outlined below and the expectations set out in the NOMS Research Instruction
(https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/national-offender-management-service/about/research).

Please note that unless the project is commissioned by MoJ/NOMS and signed off by Ministers, the decision to grant access to prison establishments, National Probation Service (NPS) divisions or Community Rehabilitation Company (CRC) areas (and the offenders and practitioners within these establishments/divisions/areas) ultimately lies with the Governing Governor/Director of the establishment or the Deputy Director/Chief Executive of the NPS division/CRC area concerned. If establishments/NPS divisions/CRC areas are to be approached as

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part of the research, a copy of this letter must be attached to the request to prove that the NRC has approved the study in principle. The decision to grant access to existing data lies with the Information Asset Owners (IAOs) for each data source and the researchers should abide by the data sharing conditions stipulated by each IAO.

Please quote your NRC reference number in all future correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

Graeme Hunter
On behalf of the National Research Committee

National Offender
Management Service

National Research Committee - Terms and Conditions

All research

- **Changes to study** - Informing and updating the NRC promptly of any changes made to the planned methodology. *This includes changes to the start and end date of the research.*
- **Dissemination of research** - The researcher will receive a research summary template and project review form template attached to the research approval email from NOMS. These two forms are for completion once the research project has ended (ideally within one month of the end date).The researcher should complete the research summary document for NOMS (approximately three pages; maximum of five pages) which (i) summaries the research aims and approach, (ii) highlights the key findings, and (iii) sets out the implications for NOMS decision-makers. The research summary should use language that an educated, but not research-trained person, would understand. It should be concise, well organised and self-contained. The conclusions should be impartial and adequately supported by the research findings. It should be submitted to the NRC alongside the completed project review form (which covers lessons learnt and asks for ratings on key questions). Provision of the research summary and project review form is essential if the research is to be of real use to NOMS.
- **Publications** - The NRC (National.Research@noms.gsi.gov.uk) receiving an electronic copy of any papers submitted for publication based on this research at the time of submission and at least one month in advance of the publication.
- **Data protection** - Researchers must comply with the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998 and any other applicable legislation. Data protection guidance can be found on the Information Commissioner's Office website: http://ico.org.uk. Researchers should store all data securely and ensure that information is coded in a way that maintains the confidentiality and anonymity of research participants. The researchers should abide by any data sharing conditions stipulated by the relevant data controllers.
- **Research participants** - Consent must be given freely. It will be made clear to participants verbally and in writing that they may withdraw from the research at any point and that this will not have adverse impact on them. If research is undertaken with vulnerable people – such as young offenders, offenders with learning difficulties or those who are vulnerable due to psychological, mental disorder or medical circumstances - then researchers should put special precautions in place to ensure that the participants understand the scope of their research and the role that they are being asked to undertake. Consent will usually be required from a parent or other responsible adult for children to take part in the research.
- **Termination** - NOMS reserves the right to halt research at any time. It will not always be possible to provide an explanation, but NOMS will undertake where possible to provide the research institution/sponsor with a covering statement to clarify that the decision to stop the research does not reflect on their capability or behaviour.

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Research requiring access to prison establishments, NPS divisions and/or CRCs

- **Access** – Approval from the Governing Governor/Director of the establishment or the Deputy Director/Chief Executive of the NPS division/CRC area you wish to research in. (Please note that NRC approval does not guarantee access to establishments, NPS divisions or CRC areas; access is at the discretion of the Governing Governor/Director or Deputy Director/Chief Executive and subject to local operational factors and pressures). This is subject to clearance of vetting procedures for each establishment/NPS division/CRC area.
- **Security** – Compliance with all security requirements.
- **Disclosure** – Researchers are under a duty to disclose certain information to prison establishments/probation provider. This includes behaviour that is against prison rules and can be adjudicated against, undisclosed illegal acts, and behaviour that is potentially harmful to the research participant (e.g. intention to self-harm or complete suicide) or others. Researchers should make research participants aware of this requirement. The Prison Rules can be accessed here and should be reviewed:

http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/offenders/psipso/pso/PSO_0100_the_prison_rules_1999.doc

Appendix 5 – Inside Student Participant Information Sheet

Study title: The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme - Considering the Programme, its relationship with 'role-transition' and the potential for desistance.

I am asking you to participate in an interview about your experiences of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme as part of a PhD research study. Before you decide if you want to take part, please read this information carefully. If you have any questions, feel free to ask them at any stage.

Why is this study being conducted?

I am interested to find out what impact the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme has had on you, whether it has had a life-changing effect on you, or whether it hasn't affected you at all. I want to know whether the Programme has encouraged better relations between staff and prisoners and whether it contributes to a person's identity and the way a person views themselves.

Why do I want you to take part in this study?

I want you to take part in this study because you have been involved in the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme. However, there will be neither advantage nor disadvantage as a result of your decision to participate or not participate in this research.

Do you have to take part?

No. Absolutely not. It is your decision to take part or not. If you decide to take part you will be asked to hold on to this participation sheet and to sign the 'Consent Form'. You are free to change your mind without giving a reason. If you wish to withdraw from this research project you can do so <u>within 4 weeks after the interview has taken place </u>by contacting your prison governor.

<u>Requests to withdraw after this timeframe has lapsed cannot be fully honoured where data has already been used in publications.</u>

What do you have to do?

You are asked to participate in a thirty-minute semi-structured interview which involves answering twenty questions regarding your experience of participating in the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme. You can refuse to answer individual questions.

Are there any risks from taking part?

Every study has associated risks, but every effort will be made to reduce risks to you if you choose to take part. Every measure will be taken to make you feel comfortable during the interview. However, while it is not intentional, some interview questions may make you think of personal matters such as your conviction and the impact it has had on your life. Talking about this may make you

feel uncomfortable. You will be free to say as much or as little as you wish during the interview. You may also withdraw from the study without giving a reason.

You must be aware that, if during your interview you disclose any behaviour that is against prison rules, illegal acts and/or behaviour that is potentially harmful to yourself or others (i.e. intention to self-harm or commit suicide), this has to be reported to the prison.

Will your taking part be kept confidential?

Yes. All information collected during this study will be kept strictly confidential. This means that if you agree to take part, your data will be stored securely, your name will never be released, and your personal information will remain anonymous.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The answers you give will be used to answer research questions relating to the impact of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme. The answers to the research questions will be reported in a PhD and compared with literature I have studied and other studies of a similar nature. The results may be used to help improve prison education programmes, current policy and desistance strategies.

Who has approved the study?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Sociology, Durham University and the Ministry of Justice.

Study title: *The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme - Considering the Programme, its relationship with 'role-transition' and the potential for desistance.*

I am asking you to participate in an interview about your experiences of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme as part of a PhD research study. Before you decide if you want to take part, please read this information carefully. If you have any questions, feel free to ask them at any stage.

Why is this study being conducted?

I am interested to find out what impact the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme has had on participants, whether it has had a life-changing effect, or whether it has not affected participants at all. I want to know whether the Programme has encouraged better relations between staff and prisoners and whether/how it contributes to a person's identity and the way a person views themselves.

Why do I want you to take part in this study?

I want you to take part in this study because you have been involved in the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme as a teacher or as a facilitator.

Do you have to take part?

No. Absolutely not. It is your decision to take part or not. If you decide to take part you will be asked to hold on to this participation sheet and to sign the 'Consent Form'. You are free to change your mind without giving a reason.

If you wish to withdraw from this research project you can do so within 4 weeks after the interview has taken place by contacting me at the following email address: Marianne.doherty@durham.ac.uk

Requests to withdraw after this timeframe has lapsed cannot be fully honoured where data has already been used in publications.

What do you have to do?

You are asked to participate in a sixty-minute semi-structured interview which involves answering fifteen core questions regarding your experience of teaching the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme. You are also asked to participate in a follow up interview for the opportunity to expand on your answers at a later date.

Are there any risks from taking part?

Every study has associated risks, but every effort will be made to reduce risks to you if you choose to take part. Every measure will be taken to make you feel comfortable during the interview. However, while it is not intentional, some interview questions may encourage you to discuss your personal experiences. You

will be free to say as much or as little as you wish during the interview. You may also withdraw from the study without giving a reason.

Will your taking part be kept confidential?

Yes. All information collected during this study will be kept strictly confidential. This means that if you agree to take part, your data will be stored securely, your name will never be released, and your personal information will remain anonymous.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The answers you give will be used to answer research questions relating to the impact of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme. The answers to the research questions will be reported in a PhD and compared with literature I have studied and studies of a similar nature. The results may help to improve prison education programmes, current policy and desistance strategies.

Who has approved the study?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the School of Applied Social Sciences, Durham University and by the Ministry of Justice in the U.K.

You will be advised of this information again if you agree to be interviewed. In addition, you will be given the opportunity to ask any further questions at that stage.

Appendix 7 – Consent form for 'inside' student interviews
Anonymous code:

CONSENT FORM - STUDENT INTERVIEW

Title of Project: '*The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme - Considering the Programme, its relationship with 'role-transition' and the potential for desistance.*

Name of Researcher: Marianne Doherty

Please tick all boxes

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without my legal rights being affected.

I understand that I am free to refuse to answer any question during the interview.

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information document for the above study and have been given the opportunity to ask questions

I agree to the use of audio equipment, to the interview being recorded and later transcribed.

I agree to take part in the above study.

If you wish to withdraw from this research project, please do so within four weeks after the interview has taken place by contacting your prison governor.

Requests to withdraw after this timeframe has lapsed cannot be fully honoured where data has already been used in publications.

_____   _____   _____

_____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

_____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 8 – Consent form for Facilitator and TA Interviews
Anonymous code:

CONSENT FORM - FACILITATOR/ TA INTERVIEW

Title of Project: '*The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Programme - Considering the Programme, its relationship with 'role-transition' and the potential for desistance.*

Name of Researcher: Marianne Doherty

Please tick all boxes

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without my legal rights being affected.

I understand that I am free to refuse to answer any question during the interview.

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information document for the above study and have been given the opportunity to ask questions

I agree to the interview being recorded and later transcribed.

I agree to take part in the above study.

If you wish to withdraw from this research project, please do so within four weeks after the interview has taken place by contacting me: Marianne.doherty@durham.ac.uk.

Requests to withdraw after this timeframe has lapsed cannot be fully honoured where data has already been used in publications.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix 9 – 'Inside' student Interview Schedule

Brainstorm exercise: (5mins)
1. How would you define 'Identity'?

2. How would you define 'change'?

3. What comes to mind when you think of the words 'transformative' and 'transformational'?

Background questions: (10 mins)
4. When did you take the Inside-Out class?

5. What were your experiences in education before you took Inside-Out?

6. What other courses have you taken while being in prison?

7. Have you ever been involved in any other prison-university partnerships?

8. Why did you sign up for Inside-Out?

9. What were your expectations of Inside-Out?

Questions relating to Inside-Out (20 mins)
10. Did you have any concerns about working with the university staff or students?

11. Did you have any concerns about the content of the course and what you might be learning and writing about?

12. How did you feel about learning as part of a group in a large circle?

13. What was the best part of the class for you? The icebreakers, the readings, the small group exercises? And why?

14. What was the greatest challenge for you in Inside-Out?

15. What do you think the benefits of Inside-Out are?

16. How did the Inside-Out experience differ from your previous educational experiences?

17. How did your experience of Inside-Out compare to your expectations?

18. What made you want to keep coming back to class?

19. What has been the biggest outcome of Inside-Out for you?

20. Sometimes people say Inside-Out is a 'transformative learning experience'. If you were to think about life before and life after Inside-Out, would you say you have experienced a transformation? If so, how?

Appendix 10 – Facilitator and Teaching Assistant Interview Schedule

Background Questions
1) What is your gender?
2) Can you tell me about your previous teaching experience?
3) Can you describe any previous experience you may have had of prisons?
4) Have you taken the Inside-Out Training Course?
5) What drew you to get involved in Inside-Out?
6) Have you been a Teaching Assistant or a Facilitator on Inside-Out?

Questions relating to former teaching experiences
7) Prior to Inside-Out, had you ever visited a prison?
8) Can you tell me about your previous teaching experience in relation to your role
   as a teacher?
-        What was your teaching method like?
-        What was the teaching/learning environment like?
-        What was the approach to assessment?
-        How did you encourage student participation?
9) Have you ever delivered or been involved in any other prison education courses?

Questions relating to expectations prior to teaching Inside-Out
10) Regarding your expectations before entering the prison, what did you expect
    the prison environment to be like?
11) What were your expectations of delivering a class in prison?
12) Were you concerned about teaching inside students?
13) Did you have concerns about how you would be received as an educator?
14) What were your expectations of managing the Inside-Out group and asserting
    your authority?
15) Did you have any concerns in relation to gender and race?
16) How has your experience of teaching Inside-Out differed from previous
    teaching experiences in relation to your role as a teacher and teaching
    methods?
17) How has your experience of teaching Inside-Out differed from previous
    teaching experiences in relation to encouraging the student participation and
    the learning environment?
18) How has your experience of teaching Inside-Out differed from previous
    teaching experiences in relation to the approach to assessment?
19) How has Inside Out influenced your teaching style if at all?
20) How did your experience of teaching Inside-Out compare to your
expectations?

Contact with students after the Inside-Out Course
21)   Is there any long-term contact with Inside-Out students after the course?
22)   Are you associated with any Inside-Out think tanks?
-        What is the purpose of the think tank?
-        What is your role whenever you attend?
23)   Would you be happy to do a follow up interview at a later date?

Appendix 11 – Extract from the author's example of student feedback

Your essay is well structured and you demonstrate your ability to write reflectively and integrate class discussions and readings into your work.

You begin by commenting on the first combined session, noting how you felt before entering the class and how you decided to use humour to help other classmates to relax. I would have liked you to elaborate on this point further, why do you think your other classmates were nervous? How do you think your attitude and actions may have relaxed them?

You then discuss your own background in education and your decision to take part in the class. You note that you felt you belonged after the first class – what was the turning point? Was there a point during the class, during a debate or an icebreaker where you felt differently/more included/less nervous? If so, how/why?

Your reflections on the Dostoevsky quotation were very good, you integrate your thoughts and opinions well at this stage and begin to think about the wider issues relating to the prison institution.

Over the next few weeks you will have a chance to further develop these views during class discussions and debates. How did the class react to the quote? Did they have any differing views? How did this make you feel? Did you change your opinion as a result of anything you heard/observed during class? If so, why do you think this might have been? Does this connect to your readings in anyway, if so, how? These are some of the questions you might consider when trying to develop your reflective writing.

Re referencing, if you are writing about an article you have read, remember to cite it correctly –

For example, *Pompa (2013) talks about the development of Inside-Out in her article.*

The authors name is followed by the year the article was written in brackets: Pompa (2013). Werts (2013)

Overall, this is a good reflective essay, well done.

Appendix 12 – Summary of research findings

Subject	Research Findings
Identity	❖ 'Inside' participants considered the meaning of identity to encompass different physical and personality-based traits and features. Comments related to, 'how you see yourself', 'the way you think', 'how you look and behave with others'. Furthermore, the data revealed that there was a connection between participation on Inside-Out and changes to the way in which participants viewed themselves at the point of interview, indicating that participation on Inside-Out influenced their self-narrative.
Inside-Out recruitment	❖ It was found that 'inside' participants self-reported levels of education prior to Inside-Out ranged from no educational achievement to Masters degrees. All but one 'inside' participant reported at least the Essential Skills level of education. ❖ It was found that only 'inside' participants in CS2 reported they had the opportunity to take part in an information session prior to the Inside-Out course.
The Inside-Out experience in the U.K. and the mental health of	❖ 'Inside' participants in CS1 and CS3 reported feelings of anxiety whereas 'inside' participants in CS2 did not. Similarly, five participants within the sample of seven U.K. facilitators and TAs associated with CS1 and CS3 reported they felt apprehensive prior to the course. ❖ Data from facilitators and TAs associated with two of the three sites indicated their awareness of student anxiety relating to reflective writing exercises.

'inside' participants.	
The Inside-Out experience in the U.K. and ice-breaker exercises	❖ Participants across all sites noted that any concerns prior to the course subsided after the course had begun and attributed this to the icebreaker exercises. Responses indicated student experiences aligned with literature in the field relating to the motivating effect of Icebreaker exercises and equality. ❖ Every participant in CS2 and CS3 commented on the effectiveness of the ice-breaker exercises in terms of creating equality and comfort in the group and deepening their understanding of subject matter, however, the majority of participants in CS1 did not. It can therefore be inferred from the data that the styles in facilitation varied considerably between CS1 when compared to responses in CS2 and CS3. It can also be said that responses from CS2 and CS3 upheld claims within the Inside-Out literature pertaining to the effectiveness of icebreaker exercises in relation to equality.
'Inside' participants' reflections on learning in a circular setting	❖ Responses from 'inside' participants across all three sites demonstrated that all participants across all case-studies benefited from an interactive, integrated and facilitated learning approach rather than the traditional model of teaching (i.e. lecture-based). ❖ Responses from participants across both samples indicated that the physicality of the classroom carried more significance than the Inside-Out literature hypothesised.

	❖ Responses from 'inside' participants reflected the quality of facilitation provided and indicated that facilitators were engendering feelings of comfort, equality and minimal pressure in their students. However, this was not the case for all participants, particularly in CS1. It was found, that while the programme aims to foster experiential learning, the variation in delivery can have an impact on the quality of the student experience and the educational value of the course.
Transformative learning	❖ Fourteen participants found Inside-Out to be a transformative experience but eight participants did not.
	❖ Responses from 'inside' participants indicated considerable differences in definitions of the term 'transformative'
	❖ The view that Inside-Out had provided a positive, meaningful or beneficial experience was prevalent in participant accounts where a transformation was not reported.
	❖ Responses from facilitators and TAs in the international sample indicated that participants were aware of the benefits of Inside-Out but in some instances, unconvinced of its branding as a "transformative" experience. Participants subsequently noted the lack of a robust method of evaluation for Inside-Out and the need to interrogate these claims.
	❖ Responses from facilitators and TAs in the international sample indicated that participants reported a change in themselves as a result of Inside-Out, indicating the programme may have been transformative for them.
Facilitation	❖ It was found that, over half of the research sample of facilitators and TAs had limited experience in prisons and that the majority of the sample had both limited experience in prisons and limited experience of Inside-Out delivery.
	❖ The data demonstrated environmental challenges to achieving an optimum teaching and learning environment with participants associated with CS1 commenting on the inappropriate use of prayer rooms and rooms next to workshops for the Inside-Out class.

	❖ The data from participants associated with CS1 and CS3 indicated a shift in the balance of power in the class. Participants in CS1 and CS3 commented that 'inside' students knew the environment better and noted that as they were not so familiar with the space, this may have affected the class dynamic and style of facilitation. ❖ The majority of 'inside' participants across all three case-studies reflected positively on the style of Inside-Out facilitation. However, 'inside' participants in CS2 provided an indicator that the facilitators at this site were providing relevant reading materials and students responded positively to them when readings related directly to their own circumstances.
Marking and critical feedback	❖ It was found that in CS1 nine of eleven 'inside' participants expressed concern in relation to the reflective writing component of the course, similarly, four of six participants in CS3 reported feelings of nerves, fear and apprehension but no participants in CS2 reported concerns relating to reflective writing. ❖ It was found that access to resources varied among 'inside' participants across all three sites based on the restrictions imposed by the category of establishment in which they were housed. ❖ All participants in CS3 commenting on the benefit of reflective writing provided responses that exceeded the claims made by Inside-Out practitioners. Comments broadly indicated that the exercise along with the feedback provided, significantly impacted

	levels of self-efficacy, inspiring students to overcome their fears and in some instances, progress on other educational courses in prison. ❖ It was found that there was no standardised model of marking/grading reflective writing exercises among those associated with the three case-studies.
Inside-Out think tank participation	❖ In relation to think tank members' roles, the majority of participants in the facilitator and T.A. sample described their role as being diverse with numerous duties indicating that they have no set role when they attend, rather, their role changed in line with the Think Tank needs, vision and mission statement. Where participants indicated they held a leadership role, there was a distinction between those who saw themselves as inadvertent leaders due to their assumed responsibilities as outside members with greater access to resources and those who had declared themselves 'the leader' without giving a rationale. ❖ There was also a notable difference in relation to participants' roles between UK-based and Internationally-based facilitators. With those indicating their role was unclear – all participants were UK-based. ❖ In relation to the perceived purpose of Think Tanks, participants reported they have been used as a gateway to engage in further education; policy making; and, educating the wider public on social justice issues. However, according to UK-based participants, purpose was largely undefined.

	❖ Think Tanks, according to the Inside-Out Center, should have a mission and vision statement – this was not commented on in the UK sample of facilitators and T.A.s but was by the rest of the international sample of facilitators and T.A.s which demonstrated the usage of the Think Tank as a platform for research, group projects, policy development, informing governmental officials, building alternative Inside-Out curricula and creating additional alumni opportunities. ❖ It was found that benefits were multiple and varied depending on the needs of those involved and the think-tanks mission and vision statement. While it was considered that two of the greatest benefits were improved self-efficacy and the humanisation of participants, the lack of evaluation diminishes any assumptions participants have made about the benefits of think-tanks.
Sampling and prison access for a PhD prison researchers and prison-based interviews	❖ In relation to the research sample of 'inside' participants, the researcher had no control over who was selected for interview. Sampling, dissemination of interview material and attendance at interviews was controlled by the prison and there was no way of assessing how this was done per institution. Therefore, selection bias could have occurred. ❖ It was found that even when NOMS access had been granted to conduct the research, not all universities running Inside-Out programmes were content to have former 'inside' students sampled or take part in the research. ❖ It was found that cultivating friendships with module leaders on Inside-Out was beneficial and in two of the three case-studies, this resulted in access to prison personnel and to research samples. It was also apparent that while access may have been granted by the prison regardless of the partnering university's involvement, cultivating relationships with the universities module leaders quickened access.

Findings in relation to the Inside-Out Closing Ceremony	❖ Data from 'inside' participants did not relate to the Closing Ceremony, this indicated that there could have been a difference in the way Inside-Out was delivered across the three sites in comparison to the way in which the programme was intended to be delivered.