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# **Creative Space – creating space – digital technology in a women's prison: A case study**

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## **Keywords**

Prison education, computer technology, resistance, female offender, women's prisons, educational assessments, prison induction, divilual, accountability, key performance targets and key performance indicators

## **Abstract**

Prison education has the potential to transforms offenders. It forms part of prison regimes for female offenders. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century prison education and basic skills development are at the centre of rehabilitation debates. Computer technology has transformed human communication and interactions rendering digital literacy a basic skill in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and part of the rehabilitation agenda. However, prison education is not just entangled within rehabilitation debates. It is also an economic and prison security debate. Computer technology is already in use to manage offenders in local institutions and within wider prison and probation networks. Its application in prison education has been slow due to security imperatives of prisons. However, it has great potential to, on one hand, enhance learning opportunities for prisoners and, on the other, create inclusive prison classrooms that account for the diversity of its learners.

The focus of this thesis is the application of computer technology in prison education for women. It, however, extends its view outside of ICT prison classrooms to account for the actors involved in shaping local classroom contexts. The thesis is not concerned with teaching techniques nor does it attempt to provide teaching guidelines. Using an actor-network-approach, it, however, analysis how groups such as the female offender are stabilised to inform local procedures. It understands prison induction as start points of (in)dividual prison learner journeys. It examines closely the technologies and procedures that create educational data fragments -

‘virtual’ educational risk and needs potentialities – used to allocate learner in classes, but, more importantly, to create tightly managed, pre-formatted learning spaces. It, further, analyses how tutors and women appropriate those pre-designed spaces and provides detailed recommendations for the implementation of computer technology in prison classrooms for women.

## Glossary of terms

ACCT or ‘orange’ book	Assessment, Care in custody and teamwork (ACCT) book refers to an orange logbook for vulnerable prisoners (e.g. in danger of self-harm or suicide) This book accompanies imprisoned woman to all activities and places in prison. Staff, responsible for the women in respective areas, add detailed observations and interactions in specific intervals. Details about the frequency and nature of prescribed interactions can be found on page one. The book cannot be left unsupervised. A prison officer carries the book and escorts the woman from one prison area to the next.
Association time	Usually in the afternoons: social free time
Basics	Changes to the IEP system were introduced after the research had taken place. Women entering the prison were automatically placed on basics (basic rights and privileges) during the research, later standard. Women on higher standards moved back to basics if they received three IEP warning within a month. See enhanced.
Bully or pink book	Women behaving aggressively or racist were placed on bully books for enhanced supervision. The rules for staff were similar to ACCT books in terms of interactions, observations, and escort.
CARAT	Substance abuse treatment program and advice
Classroom assistant CA	Are recruited from the prison population and help tutors to carry out teaching related activities.
Enhanced	Women were enhanced after three month if they displayed good behaviour. They needed two staff guarantors to be warranted this status. The status is allows for more privileges, e.g. women were able to rent DVD's from the library, receive more spending money for the canteen and could also shop from specific catalogues.
Freeze	No movement allowed in the corridors. A freeze was usually called out, when a dangerous prisoner had to be moved from one part of the prison to another or when a potentially harmful object (such as scissors) disappeared.
IEP system	Incentives and Earned privileges scheme used in prison to ‘aid’ prison discipline and good behaviour. There were three levels: basic, standard and enhanced. It was used to punish bad behaviour through the removal of privileges, but also rewarded compliance and good

	behaviour through added rights and privileges.
IEP warning	IEP warnings were issued when women break rules, misbehave, steal or display aggressive or racist behaviour.
Kleaning Academy	Industrial cleaning classes with low qualifications.
LINK centre	Part of the prison containing all prisoner advice services such as CARAT, Housing, benefits
Listener	Specially trained women (prisoners) assisting others, specifically new entries in periods of emotional distress or with advice on prison services.
Methadone call	Morning call for women with substance dependencies to get their methadone (opiate substitute to alleviate withdrawal symptoms and pains) from the health services. Also used to skip and return prematurely from education and work.
Movement	General movement of prisoners to get to or from work and/or education.
POD	Pods were installed on the wings to allow women to arrange doctor's appointments, view their finances, and apply for education and/or work. Individual records were activated via fingerprint.
Prison Green	Individual prisoner file held on the wing. It contained information on observed behaviour, incidences, but also records of IEP warnings and/or staff endorsements.
Suspension	Suspensions were issued in places of work, such as education. Either 3 IEP warnings or serious incidences warranted a suspension. Women were immediately removed and needed to attend an employment board to explain their behaviour and/or request new access to employment.
Toe-by-toe	Program, in which trained prisoners help women (prisoners) to gain reading and writing skills.

## List of abbreviations

BKS	Basic Key Skills Builder programme
CA	Classroom Assistant
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons
IBM	Independent monitor Board
ISPP	Indeterminate Sentence for Public Protection
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
MAPPA	Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements
NAO	National Audit Office
NIACE	The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education
NOMS	National Offender Management Service
OASys	Offender Assessment and Sentence Management
OLASS	Offender Learning and Skills Service
OLSU	Offender Learning and Skills Unit
PbR	Payment by results
PTTLS	Preparing to teach in the Lifelong Learning Sector
PPO	Prison & Probation Ombudsman
PET	Prison Education Trust
PRT	Prison Reform Trust
PRT	Prison Reform Trust
PLA	Prisoner Learning Alliance
PFI	Private Finance Initiative
SE	Social Enterprise

Ethnic groups	
A-B	Asian-British
A-FN	Asian-Foreign National
B-B	Black-British
B-FN	Black-Foreign National
W-FN	White-Foreign National
W-B	White-British

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## **1. Introduction**

After half an hour staring at a computer screen a women turned around.

She let out a long yawn and then said with little expression in her face:

'Miss, I just got my period, I am bleeding quite heavily, can I go back?'

[silence] I must have been staring at her in disbelief, so she added, 'You can

check if you want.' I started thinking, 'Really!?! Is she lying? What if I say

yes, just to see her face? What if this is true? Should I try to keep her here?'

However, after this short self-deliberation, I replied, 'Okay, let's see what we

can do about this! I'll go and speak to the admin.'

(ICT classroom, field notes, 26/02/2010)

The problem: I suspected she lied to get out of education. She had been complaining from the start. She knew I could not check if her statement was true. She knew this was one of the only punishment-friction-free ways to escape. But why did we have to play this charade with one another? Why did she want to leave? Education is a good thing! How did we get ourselves into this situation in the first place? Why did we find ourselves constrained to specific ways of action? Are there more actors than her and me?

The purpose of this ethnographic case study was to explore the application and creative potential of digital technology in prison education for female offenders in a local female prison. It connects local classroom interactions, such as the example above, with the development of educational spaces, prison management, wider global policies and the purpose of imprisonment for female offenders. The introduction comprises the background to the problem, the focus of this study, the research questions, the significance of this study, and an outline of the thesis.

## **1.1. Background to the problem**

On Friday 3rd November 2017, the female prison population stood at 4004 according to official Ministry of Justice, National Offender Management Service, the HM Prison Service and Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service figures.<sup>1</sup> Female prisoners are a minority group, making up about 5% of the overall prison population in the UK (MOJ, 2014a). This minority status has rendered criminal women at times invisible and a criminal afterthought (Heidensohn, 1996). The prison population had been increasing steadily since the war, however, its growth accelerated in the 1990s until 2012 (MOJ, 2016c). The female estate more than doubled during this period to reach a high of 4505 by 2008 despite marginal increases in crimes committed by women (Hedderman, 2010). Scholars attributed this ‘punitive turn’ (Gelsthorpe, 2007, p.48) to gender equality narratives (for instance Carlen, ed., 2002) leading to an ‘up-tariffing’ of sentencing for women offenders’ (Annison, et al, 2015, p.250). Female prisoner figures have since slightly decreased. However, women account for a disproportionately high amount of self-harm incidences in prisons and are often victims of crime themselves. Women, also, continue to serve short sentences of six months or less that severely disrupt their and their children’s lives (WIP, 2012).

Feminist researchers provided the first attempts to detach female offenders from dominant male offending frameworks (Naffine, 1987; Smart, 1976; Leonard, 1982). The, now widely accepted, gendered pathway perspective provides insight into specific characteristics of female offending emphasising women’s marginalisation, victimisation and their particular vulnerabilities in the criminal justice system (for instance Carlen, 1983; 1987). Gender considerations changed the policy context in the 21st century leading to improvements in women’s prisons (HMIP, 1997; Corston, 2007). The Corston report (2007) emphasised distinct gender differences for women

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/prison-population-figures-2017>

entering the criminal justice system, but also, their distinct experiences in the prison system. Desistance scholars also pointed at gender-specific ways to replace criminal identities (Giordano, et al., 2002; 2011). However, despite compelling evidence that alternatives to custody: community, women-centred and women-focused approaches, yield the best results for female offenders (for instance PRT, 2000; Sheehan, et al., eds., 2007; Corston, 2007; Worrall and Gelsthorpe, 2009; Annison, et al, 2015) ‘there are [still] too many women in prison who do not need to be there’ (Hardwick, 2012). They are also often held in high security regimes despite the predominantly non-violent nature of their offences (WIP, 2012).

A prison sentence incorporates deterrence and punishment, but also the reform and rehabilitation of offenders (Criminal Justice Act, 2003, paragraph 142). They have competed with each other; in, for instance, prison policies, public debates, but also local prison contexts, since the emergence of the prison as the primary method of punishment (Foucault, 1977). Re-offending rates and prison population figures, however, demonstrate that their impact on offending behaviour remains marginal.

Institutions, such as the prison, are at once local and global – contexts and expressions (Latour, 2005a; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Prisons are bound up in a network of semiotic-material actors, which include, for instance, shifting knowledge claims about offenders, whilst producing their own streams of data. Whilst the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw a deviant individual (Beccaria, 1764), the 21<sup>st</sup> century looks at criminogenic needs and risks of individual offenders (Hollin and Palmer, 2010; Franko Aas, 2004; 2005). Education and employment form one of 10 sub-scales, that now define an (in)individual’s criminal potentiality.

Whilst prison education has always been entangled in the prison’s rehabilitation narrative (Reuss, 1999; Bayliss, 2003b), it is the modern prison that clearly focuses on rehabilitation through skills acquisition and education (MOJ, 2010; BIS/MOJ,

2011; Stickland, 2016). This was a welcomed move, however, prison education means ‘different things to different people’ (Reuss, 1999, p. 113). Whilst prison educators focus on individual value and growth through adult education (Council of Europe, 1990; Bayliss, 2003a; 2003b; Davidson, ed., 1995; Duguid, 2000), policies and actual implementations direct it towards ‘employability and up-skilling the prisoner’ (Costelloe and Warner, 2014, p.177). Prison education became part of the ‘new punitiveness’ as an instrument of social control (Garland, 2001; Davidson ed., 1995) and ‘a means to keep prisoners occupied’ (Davidson, 1995, p.20). The shift towards tighter prison (rehabilitation) control had started with the prison in crisis and ‘nothing works’ agendas (Martinson, 1974). The shift, however, also related to wider New Public Management Initiatives (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2002), in the 1980s, that transformed the civic state into market flows (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) and initiated prison privatisation (Le Vay, 2016; James, et al., 1997).

The prison, despite its failure to reform, remained an integral part of the criminal justice system. It re-emerged within new accountability and efficiency frameworks. Technology, standardised forms of communication and measurements, allow for governmental action-at-a-distance, data transparency and accountability to be publically performed (Garland, 1997; Massumi, 1992). Accountability produced not only its own actors, such as KPTs and KPIs (Mennicken, 2014) but also standardised manuals and operational blueprints (PSOs and PSIs), database systems (OASys, LIDS/PNOMIS) and remuneration schemes for service providers, such as payment-by-results (Bardens and Grimwood, 2013). It shifted the focus from offender rehabilitation to its administration and management (Liebling, 2004) and profitability of services for offenders (Hedderman, 2013).

The prison’s ability to transform and rehabilitate offenders is predominantly measured in re-offending rates (MOJ, 2011a). ‘The central purpose of education in

prisons is [...] to prevent reoffending, and as a means to do this, to help prisoners into employment' (Stickland, 2016, p.9). Investment in prison education, therefore, pays off (SEU, 2002; Champion, 2013). The focus on outcome production in prison education emphasised economic over rehabilitative viability (Bayliss, 2003b; Ecclestone, 2000; Champion, 2013; Rogers, et al. 2014). Reviews of prison education, therefore, called for more holistic approaches in the provision (Coates, 2016; Stickland, 2016) and local responsibility for service provision (Coates, 2016). It needs to be seen, if those recommendations lead to more offender-centred approaches.

Educating female prisoners in prison classrooms has several challenges. Education and work are not prime factors in gendered desistance narratives (Bindel, et al., 2013; Giordano, et al., 2002; Blanchette and Brown, 2006). The female prison learner is not just defined through her low educational levels and qualifications (SEU, 2002), but also her gendered pathway into crime, mental and physical health problems and caring responsibilities (Corston, 2007), to name a few. Female prisons have also been criticised to reinforce gender norms, through disciplinary procedures (Carlen, 1985; Dobash, et al., 1986; Pollock, 2002; Zedner, 1991) but also through gendered education and prison employment (Smith, 1962; Dobash, et al., 1986).

Integrating digital technology into prison education has been very slow due its threat to prison security. Although, policies and reviews (Coates, 2016) indicate that a higher integration is planned and under way prisoners remain digitally excluded (Champion and Edgar, 2013). McDougall et.al. (2017) indicate positive outcomes for prisoner rehabilitation when enabled to use digital technologies to self-manage aspects of their prison life including education. However, it is important to analyse the contexts and the individuals within carefully as well as understanding the distinct affordances of digital artefacts as this thesis demonstrates.

## **1.2. Focus of this study**

I formulated the aims of this study after I had been working as BTEC tutor for media and technology in HMP Downview, a training prison for women. There, I experienced the creative potential of employing technological artefacts in prison education for women. It allowed for women to express themselves, whilst learning valuable social and technical skills. Despite challenges relating to the context, in which the classes took place, it was a rewarding teaching experience with an audience eager to learn. Technology helped to communicate, and to discuss issues through, for instance, a camera lens. It enabled us to overcome occasional frictions, and to temporarily escape the prison and its pains. However, I also experienced educational accountability frameworks. Individual learning and progress was measured in detailed technical skills acquisition whilst ignoring women's creativity and development of social skills. At that time, I did not think too much about the recording and experienced it more as a nuisance and inconvenience that diverted my attention away from the actual teaching.

The research itself took place in a local private women's prison. The change of location resulted in a change of research focus, due to distinct contextual differences. The women in HMP Downview wanted to participate in the program. The women I met in HMP Bronzefield resisted and complained about prison education. They seemed to have very different needs and learning abilities. Classes were shorter; and the population changed frequently. The Council of Europe (1990) recommended that prison education should mirror general adult education. The security imperatives of prisons and their budgets, however, provide specific challenges to this. In addition, the distinct characteristics of female prisoners render a simple copy and paste of outside provision into the prison inappropriate. Corston (2007) asserted that prison education for women lacked the necessary 'emotional literacy' (p.44). Observing

classes in HMP Bronzefield, I agreed, as did many of the tutors I met and interviewed. There seemed to be an overall sense of confusion:

- > Why did women attend specific classes?
- > How did they get there?
- > Which skills do they need to develop, which skills are taught?

Whilst the focus of the study remained on (digital) technologies in education, other aspects informing local prison education provision moved to the foreground. This subsequently changed the research questions. In light of the main issues outlined above and in the previous part, this thesis still focuses on women in the prison classroom and the use of technology. It, however, extended the view from inside the classroom to analysing the design and administration of prison education in a local female prison.

### **1.3. Research questions**

1. How do economic, security and rehabilitative trajectories shape and influence the management of local prison education and female prisoner learners?
2. How do local procedures and the employment of (digital) technological artefacts affect women's ability to form a prison learner identity?
3. How do local procedures and classroom interactions in different learning spaces affect women's ability to include education into their individual desistance narratives?
4. How can digital technology potentially be employed to create inclusive rehabilitative prison classrooms for female learners?

## **1.4. Significance**

Research studies into prison education in the UK are limited. This was even more true for studies that focus solely on education for women prisoner at the time the research took place (Walker, et al., 2006) and now (Dixon and Jones, 2013). Although the interest in female prisoners has heightened, most studies in female prisons providing a wider cultural view on female institutions were conducted in the US (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966; Heffernan, 1976; Owen, 1998; Pollock, 2002; exceptions are Carlen, 1983; Devlin, 1995). Those, however, rarely provide a detailed account of prison education (except Devlin, 1995). Whilst more technology has been implemented in prison education, studies assessing their impact are rare (Coates, 2016; Champion and Edgar, 2013). Coates' review (2016) discusses overall policy recommendations, whilst Champion and Edgar (2013) assess potential rehabilitative applications. Both studies were conducted after I had finished my research. However, they do not focus specifically on technology in female prisons, nor do they analyse the contextual consequences of its implementation. Coates (2016) and Stickland (2016) provide recommendations for the recording and documentation of learner journeys. Both reviews fail to take the materiality of technology into account and do not assess the impact that new recording and documentation technology has on local interactions and procedures. In addition, most research in UK prisons is controlled by the Home Office and therefore not independent (Raynor, 2008).

This thesis differs from previous studies in these important points:

- The research methodology for this independent research study was informed by the context following an Actor-Network-Approach (Latour, 2005a).

- This ethnographic study not only includes the views of teachers, managers and students but also accounts for non-human actors within social interactions in prison classrooms and personal experiences.
- It analyses the designed institutional processes and procedures that create and distribute distinct data virtualities within institutional networks and subsequently influence women's engagement with prison education and their ability to turn a virtual into an actual learner identity.
- It follows specific actors to trace relations between local context and global policies in relation to three main trajectories that inform prison education – rehabilitation, security and economy.

## **1.5. Outline of the thesis**

The introduction provided a brief overview of the background to the problem, the focus of this study, and research questions. It also discussed the significance of this ethnographic study. The thesis is organised in two parts – **part 1: the review of the literature and part 2: the case study.**

**Part 1 – the review of the literature** is organised in 3 chapters. The first chapter:

**2. Prison - Competing trajectories** provides an overview of the wider debates that have shaped the local context of prisons from its emergence as a method of punishment up to the beginning of the 21st century, deliberately looking at the prison as whole. It develops a theoretical analytical framework drawing out three distinct prison trajectories that have shaped the prison's gestation: security, rehabilitation and economy. This chapter continues by analysing how those three trajectories have shaped debates and policies concerning prison education, and how, as this thesis argues, they shape the local context of prison classrooms.

The second chapter: **3. Rehabilitating the female prisoner** is organised in two

parts. It firstly analyses female criminality drawing on essentialist and feminist debates. It examines how the female offender and her characteristics have been stabilised in a gendered pathway perspective, now widely adopted in prison policies for female offenders. It, further, draws attention to female desistance and desistance theories as an alternative way to construct the rehabilitation of female offenders. The second part discusses the female prisoner, starting with the policy context and her distinct characteristics. Notions of prison culture and women's adaptation to prison life are also analysed as they determine women's ability to become a prison learner. This section highlights the heterogeneity of this minority group of prisoner outlining possible problems and imperatives for women's rehabilitation through prison education.

The third chapter: 4. **Technologies of control** analyses the distinct characteristics of (new) technologies and the wider cultural and social implications of their implementation within prisons and prison education. It starts by examining and arguing that technology and objects employed within human interactions need to be understood as vital actors and mediators that transform, fragment and therefore, virtualise and disembody information creating individuals (Deleuze, 1990) or dataviduals (Franko Ass, 2005) due to their inherent characteristics and affordances. It further specifies the distinct affordances of digital media that inform how data and information are exchanged within information and communication networks; how virtual spaces are constructed; and how human competencies are delegated to expert systems. It analyses the differences between narrative and databases and demonstrates the effects on identity creation and transmission. Within systems of electronic communication, the actual human disappears and becomes substituted by sets of disembodied data and information (Lyon 2001) creating distinct gaps in knowledge vital for individual rehabilitation and assisting 'identity' and 'relational'

desistance, as argued in the findings section.

An **intermediary section** introduces HMP Bronzefield as research location providing some contextual information to situate the case study.

**Part 2 – the case study** is organised in 6 chapters. The first chapter: **5. Research Methodology** comprises of two parts. Part 1: research design discusses the reason for choosing an Actor-Network-approach. It, further discusses the researcher's positions and viewpoints, access to the field of study and field negotiations. Part 2: research methods, provides a detailed discussion of data gathering methods and data analysis. It accounts for contextual particularities; constraints and opportunities that have informed the approach before discussing research ethics.

The second chapter: **6. Pre-classroom interactions – reducing multiplicity into manageable fragments**, starts the analysis of the data and presentation of the findings. Prison education as the research highlighted starts in induction. The section, therefore, focuses on the various designed processes and interactions involved in the distribution of (in)dividuals in the institutional network. It highlights how individual complexity is reduced to data fragments that can then be transported and managed in the prison. It explains how educational fragments are transported through the institutional network to place women into purposeful activities.

The third chapter: **7. Classroom multiplicities**, provides an overview of the women held in the prison using statistical data. It introduces the diversity of women behind educational level indicators, their educational and technological backgrounds. It also introduces the tutors teaching prison classes, their educational and technological backgrounds. It highlights the distinct individual characteristics that determine women's engagement in prison education, but also the needs and strength, the individual complexity that is masked through this reduced view.

The fourth chapter: **8. Designing classroom interactions – managing budgets, the rehabilitation and security of multiplicities**, discusses the managerial objectives that informed the local prison education provision. It explains the accountability framework and design of two classrooms and the classes taught there, before analysing and comparing the designed classroom interactions in social enterprise (SE) and ICT classes.

The fifth chapter: **9. Interactional spaces – virtualities and realities**, discusses the interactional spaces of tutors and prison learners. It starts by analysing the interactional spaces tutors have and create within tightly managed accountability frameworks. The second part highlights how learners appropriate prison education for their needs focusing on their own security, economic and rehabilitative trajectories.

The sixth section: **10. Creative spaces in prison education – conclusions and recommendations**, draws together the main themes explored in the thesis. It revisits the main research questions to highlight the central issues informing classroom realities resulting from the empirical research. The section then focuses on digital technology in prison education, with a list of recommendations to inform future developments and implementations of digital technology for female prison learners accounting for their diverse characteristics.

## **Part 1 – Review of the literature**

## ***2. Prison education - competing trajectories***

Prisons are enclosed and secured physical spaces but also tightly managed social and cultural spaces holding offenders over a discreet period of time. Furthermore, they are political, economic and social ideas manifested in government policies, prison key performance targets (KPIs), prison service orders (PSOs) that transform into and re-emerge in local artefacts such as educational assessment tools and attendance sheets shaping interactions in the prison classroom.

The first chapter of the literature review provides an overview of the wider debates connected with the institution prison and its rehabilitative purpose. It develops a theoretical analytical framework drawing out three distinct trajectories informing local contexts of prisons - rehabilitative, security and economic. It highlights the connection between those trajectories but also between global (ideas) and local spaces (practice) – the network of actors that pre-format the local contexts of prisons. This chapter does not attempt to provide a chronological review of the literature but rather focuses on specific themes emerging at specific periods of time that have shaped the rehabilitative, security and economic trajectories of prisons.

The first part of this chapter provides a brief historical overview of the developments of prison as the institutionalised solution to dealing with criminality and disorder as emerging from policies and knowledge claims over the deviant other. Specific attention is paid to prison rehabilitation and the control of prisons - a state service - ‘from a distance’ (Massumi, 2003). The second part concentrates on prison education as a distinct form of social control within prisons (Duguid, 2000; Davidson, ed., 1995). The ‘gender-neutral’ position of this chapter is deliberate in order to enable the focus on wider management and technologies of prisons and offender rehabilitation.

## **2.1. Controlling prisoner rehabilitation**

The purpose of sentencing incorporates deterrence and punishment but also the reform and rehabilitation of offenders (Criminal Justice Act, 2003, paragraph 142). The deprivation of liberty was and is still seen as the main instrument of punishment and deterrence to others (*ibid*). Prisons therefore secure and incapacitate offenders within their walls over discreet periods of time. However, they were and are also constructed as places of offender reform and rehabilitation. The prison's reformative and rehabilitative character shifted with disciplinary knowledge claims over human behaviour (Foucault, 1977), their capacity to change and crime causation. It also shifted with professional practices and technologies of measurement involved in offender rehabilitation.

'The prison has had a troubled reputation over the last two hundred years' (Smith, 2008, p.61) due to its inability to deter but equally reform offenders. Public protection and rehabilitation, according to Cohen (1983), are discursive artefacts, forming part of wider social-control talks (p.129). They additionally underpin the prison's public legitimacy as an instrument of crime control (Smith, 2008, p.94). The political and ideological purpose of the prison therefore shifts between eliminative and constructional re-offending strategies (McGuire, 2002) - being tough on crime or revolutionising rehabilitation agendas. Policies emerging in the beginning of the twenty-first century render prison education an integral part of prisoner rehabilitation (MOJ, 2010). Rehabilitative practices within institutions, such as prisons, are always directed towards changing and adjusting individuals and their deviant characteristics for re-integration – a controlled moving toward an idealised state of affairs. With reoffending strategies focusing on prison education, the

reduction of employment and education deficits of offenders and their skills development (MOJ, 2013a) moved into the centre of the rehabilitative debate. Before highlighting the shifts from disciplinary spaces to controlled institutions, it is necessary to define the purpose of imprisonment starting with its emergence as an instrument of social control.

### ***2.1.1. The emergence of the prison***

According to Mathiesen (2006), 'the prior development of Western penal institutions and the growth of such institutions, may be viewed in terms of two major stages' (p.18). The first stage - 'the great confinement' (Foucault, 1977), starting at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Western Europe - sees a first rise in institutions attempting to spatially seclude, separate and manage 'problem populations' (Matthews, 1999) after the breakdown of the feudal social order. 'The disciplining of new and highly disturbing groups of people' (Mathiesen, 2006, p.21) added forced labour to older forms of public corporal punishment 'in line with mercantilist economic philosophy' (ibid). The second stage marks the change from public spectacle of punishment to state administered institutionalised punishment through the taxations of offender guilt (Beccaria, 1764; Bentham, 1789). The criminal other as a distinct group became stabilised through legislations and institutionalisation and their corrective treatment defined in state institutions such as the prison.

The emergence of the prison as a state institution has been widely attributed to changing social order in Western Europe in the 18th century (Rusche and Kirchheimer 1939). However, institutional developments and punishment cannot be assigned to class domination and economic factors alone (Garland 1990, p.108). Ignatieff's work (1978) highlighted, that the prison became, at once, a rational state response to social control issues experienced in the 18th century, but also, more

importantly, an ideologically driven reformative project to control the morality of the wider population, specifically working class morality.

Foucault's work extended those various arguments. He argued the shift of Western penal systems and correctional administration from historico-ritual mechanism to scientifico-disciplinary mechanism (e.g. public torture and execution to imprisonment) responded to the instrumentalisation of the knowledge and discourses derived in the emerging human and social sciences (Foucault, 1969). Those included criminological discourses and knowledge claims stabilising groups as the criminal class or criminal other and rationalised their treatment within institutions. However, the new 'egalitarian' democratic social systems required methods of control that differed from the overt domination of former absolute feudal systems to achieve public legitimacy. Using the example of Bentham's Panopticon, Foucault illustrated the emphasis on efficient and anonymous observations of an individual's space, time, and activities through the internalisation of hierarchical structures and subsequent regulation and/or correction of individual behaviour (Foucault, 1977). The panoptic prison as an instrument of social control in Foucault's eyes became the blueprint for wider emerging technologies of social control within what he termed *disciplinary society* (ibid, p.193). As Hardt and Negri (2000) explain:

'Disciplinary society is that society in which social command is constructed through a diffuse network of dispositifs or apparatuses that produce and regulate costumes, habits, and productive practices. [...] Disciplinary power rules in effect by structuring the parameters and limits of thought and practice, sanctioning and prescribing normal and/or deviant behaviours'

(p.23).

Therefore, the *normal* created simultaneously the ‘other’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) the deviation from set norms and rules. The criminally ‘other’ became managed in institutions, such as the prison.

Deleuze has argued that Foucault’s disciplinary societies and its institutions expired in the first half of the 20th century. He asserted ‘it’s only a matter of administering their last rites [...] until the installation of [...] the *societies of control* [original emphasis]’ (Deleuze, 1992, p.4). Deleuze saw control societies advanced by decoding the panoptic deterritorialization - the enclosure of institutions such as the prison - and its reterritorialisation through different social control mechanisms. The prison therefore became a ‘set of statements arising in the social field [...] a complex state of things [such as delinquency], as a formation of power (architecture, regimentation, etc.)’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.74).

Prison as an institution became part of social control mechanisms extending into all aspects of human life. It was specially addressed to conform and reform the poor (Garland, 2001) the social and economic inadequate and precarious (Young, 1995) and extended its power through a hybrid penal-welfare state (Garland, 2001). Prisons entered the wider network of state governance (Garland, 2001) as the following sections demonstrate. However, the next section returns to the prison outlining the emergence of its function as correctional institution.

### **2.1.2. Prison as correctional institution**

Crime is a deviation from desirable human behaviour. As acts of criminal behaviour were and are understood to differ in their severity, they require a measured and just ‘corresponding scale of punishment’ (Beccaria, 1778, p.11). As freedom is an egalitarian right in modern societies imprisonment becomes the egalitarian punishment combined with the quantification of time (Foucault, 1977, p.232). ‘Time

and liberty [...] were commodities which all citizens possessed in equal amounts and could dispose of freely' (Matthews, 1999, p.39). As already stated the deprivation of liberty was and is still seen as the main instrument of punishment and eliminative deterrence a prison sentence carries (Criminal Justice Act, 2003, paragraph 142). Whilst offender punishment, through spatial and temporal separation, has always been central to the prison idea, it is the prison's virtual and actual potential to change or restore an offender that increasingly entered public debate. With the prospect of return to *outside* communities, the reform of individuals to an acceptable normative outside state became increasingly important (Departmental Committee on Prisons, 1895). Structured activities and prison regimes – the organisation of prisoner life within the institution - have been central in transforming the carceral complex into the modern disciplinary prison (Foucault, 1977, p.7).

Early Houses of Correction in England in the 16<sup>th</sup> century already focused on three main tasks: deterrence, reformation and self-support through work and skills acquisition (Smith 1962, p.74). With ideas of offender reformation (re)emerging at end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century through influential prison reformers such as Howard, Fry and Martin, prison time became redefined as offender reform time (for instance Peel Parliamentary Gaol Act, 1823). The religious-moral correction in the early penitentiary, for instance, created distinct spaces for atonement and redemption, through work, worship and reflection within silent and/or separate systems to regain full citizenship (Auburn and Philadelphia model). As crime causation was understood to reside in the individual, prisoners were responsible for their own rehabilitation.

A prisoner classification system and Jebb's progressive stage system (McConville, 1981) introduced a rehabilitative measurement system within the institution. It focused on the observance of individual institutional behaviour attempting to incentivise or coerce positive behavioural changes (Dobash, et al., 1986). The

psychological discourses of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century (Foucault, 1977; Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) transformed offender correction into scientific ‘treatment’. The evolving psychiatric and medico-legal framework introduced more refined prisoner classifications and the clinical assessments of offenders. As biological, physiological and psychological defects were understood to contribute to individual criminal behaviour, crime became a medical condition and remained unrelated to the law or the system of criminal justice (Heffernan, 1972). Reform remained similarly measured through individual behavioural changes, assessed by prison professionals such as prison medical officers.

With the development of correctional strategies, prison space and time allocations not only carried the weight of punishment for an offence committed but also its treatment. Prison regimes incorporate the reform and rehabilitation that sentencing strives to address through distinct reform technologies and prisoner assessments. This included the adjustment of prison time depending on individual behaviour (Matthews, 1999, p.39). Criminal behaviour, as a departure from normal reference points, created distinct *correctional trajectories* with individuals becoming the object of such correction in the prison (Foucault, 1977, p.178). However, prisons also serve public protection and have responsibilities toward communities to keep prisoners in but also the responsibility to keep prisoners safe within the institution. This is not a new idea. However, as the next section highlights the perception of institutional failure to rehabilitate transformed public protection into security concerns for the offender within affecting the rehabilitative provisions in the prison.

#### **2.1.4. Connecting rehabilitation with prison security**

Post War Britain saw a reduction in the prisoner population, which some observers attributed to a developing Welfare state (Garland 2001; Young, 1995).

However, increasing crime rates by the 1970s and early 1980s resulted in higher prison population numbers. Severe overcrowding worsened prison conditions and the ability of prisoners to participate in rehabilitative programmes. Critiques emerged questioning the penal progress of Post War Britain (Hudson, 2003) and the rehabilitative potential of the prison. The prison's institutional legitimacy and its corrective practices came under threat in the 1970s and 1980s as 'nothing worked' in offender reform (Martinson, 1974). Whilst prisons had become the institutionalised solution for dealing with criminality and disorder, it also became equally seen as its source, 'an expensive way of making bad people worse' (Home Office, 1990, p.6). Prisons became also more importantly seen as places inflicting damage, through the institutionalisation and stigmatisation of offenders and ex-offenders (Sykes, 1958; Goffman, 1961; Becker, 1963).

Whilst the rehabilitative ideal demonstrated theoretical failure (McNeill, 2012; Hollin and Palmer, 2006; Bottoms, 1980), prisons remained a substantial part of crime control, group exclusion and 'rehabilitation'. It was rather crime that transformed into a 'normal' aspect of modern societies (Garland, 2001). The 'nothing works' agenda was closely followed by a review of correctional practice and the development of new principles of effective practice to determine 'what works' in offender rehabilitation (Hollin and Palmer, 2006, p.5). Manualised cognitive-behavioural accredited programmes (*ibid*, p.6) became the new currency in offender treatment and were instrumentalised in prisons in England and Wales in the 1990s, targeting interventions at specific offence groups (e.g. drug offence, violence) and/or specific offender characteristics or fragments of an individual (e.g. drug abuse).

A Conservative government in the 1980s responded to rising crime rates with 'tough on crime' and 'prison works' agendas (Howard, 1993). Those were re-iterated under consecutive Labour governments 'as tough on crime and tough on the causes

of crime' (Tony Blair, 1993), which saw a return to earlier eliminative strategies of crime prevention. As Robinson (2008) highlighted, policy in England and Wales reintroduced the more correctional forms of rehabilitation, significantly influenced by public protection agendas and risk reduction through incarceration (Home Office, 1990 and 1996). Prison population figures subsequently rose significantly from the mid 1990s onwards. Tougher sentencing, legislative changes, prisoner recalls and greater use of custody for breach of community sentences are widely attributed to this drastic increase (MOJ, 2013b).

The Woolf report (MOJ, 1991), following the serious disturbances in the male estate, had highlighted that deterrence and incapacitation were not enough. However, the Report also emphasised that training, education and work strengthen prison security and should form part of constructive regimes, placing rehabilitative strategies firmly into the *security trajectory* of prisons. Equally, the government white paper, 'Custody, Care and Justice: The way ahead for the prison service in England and Wales' (1991), concluded that prison education should be provided in prisons.

The rehabilitative prison might have failed in the 1970s and 1980s. It, however, re-emerged under new conditions, reinserting new flows, objectives into its operations. Safeguarding standards, to protect individuals within (MOJ, 1991) criminogenic risks and needs of offenders, created new *rehabilitative* and *security trajectories*. Those sustain the prison's promise of rehabilitation but also the protection of the public from criminal damage and risks posed through offenders (*ibid*). They however, needed to be managed but also prove the legitimacy of the prison as rehabilitative agent strengthened through new transparent methods as the next section highlights.

### ***2.1.5. From correctional strategies to the management of rehabilitation***

As prisons are public institutions, they depend on public spending and legitimacy – the economic viability of their operations but also their moral performance. Capitalism is driven by profitability and investments are dictated by market flows (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984). What became referred to as New Public Management (Osborne and McLaughlin, 2002), transformed the civic state in the 1980s, adding neo-liberal ideas, such as market regulation through competition to neo-conservative ideas of moral and social responsibilities of the state and its institutions. Such ideas were pioneered by successive Conservative governments under Margaret Thatcher and subsequently adopted, indeed embraced, by Tony Blair's New Labour in the 1990s and early 2000s. Public spending of state institutions was placed at the heart of the debate, with the market testing of 'failing' public institutions (Le Vay, 2016; James, et al., 1997). This followed a Home Office inquiry into the state of the entire prison system (Home Office, 1979) and the aforementioned Woolf report investigating prison riots and state of public prisons in the UK (MOJ, 1991). It initiated the introduction of three new procurement strategies for prisons: management only, market testing and Private Finance Initiative (PFI now PF2) prison contracts in the UK (LeVay, 2016, p.14). Rising crime rates in the 1980s and rising prisoner numbers in the 1990s (up to 2010) placed significant strain on existing institutions, providing momentum for the government's introduction of PFI solutions and attractive investment opportunities for private companies (*ibid*, p.20). Between 1992 and 2005 privately financed prison building programs overtook public funding.

The Carter Review (2003) had initiated the establishment of a National Offender Management Service (NOMS) ‘set up to bring prisons and probation together’ (LeVay, 2016, p.31). It, therefore, concentrated on developing a joint-up, end-to-end management of individual offenders from conviction and sentencing to reintegration (Home Office, 2004a; DfES, 2003a). The report, however, also recommended further competition between the private and public sector emphasising ‘contestability’ - the targeting of resources to create a cost-effective and affordable system (Carter, 2003, p.13). This included the creation of evidence to determine the effectiveness of and ‘what works’ in offender reform (*ibid*, p.31). A prison rating system was shortly introduced to enable measuring the performance of private and public institutions for public protection, reducing re-offending, decency and resource management and operational effectiveness. The performance rating system (1-4) introduced in 2003 was heavily criticised as furthering a focus on efficient structures and processes in prisons rather than the individual transformation of prisoners (PRT, 2004, p.4). It equally shifted emphasis to the recording and evidencing of transformation, through numbers and ‘box ticking’, rather than developing appropriate processes and social relations within institutions (Liebling, 2004). A recurring focus on reducing re-offending rates individual prison ratings, according to Matthews (2003), became even more complicated through the continual flow of offenders through custodial and non-custodial agencies and institutions (p.244). He argued that it might favour measurable short-term interventions.

However, according to Le Vay (2016) the design of NOMS had several flaws. ‘More than half of the programmes in prisons were funded by bodies outside NOMS, and that government had no legal power to compete probation’ (*ibid*, p.31). Therefore, different measures needed to be introduced to control public spending. ‘A system built on commissioning services’ and ‘a phased programme of contestability’

were seen to lead to ‘services provided by the best possible partnerships and providers’ (Home Office, 2006, p.8). Social Impact bonds initiated by then Justice Secretary Jack Straw in 2010 extended this system of privatisation and market testing to public funding of voluntary, private and community engagement in prisons invigorating the private prison market at the end of the decade. Funding for services provided in prisons became increasingly dependent on measurable outcomes through payment-by-results models (MOJ, 2010), measuring service and prison regime effectiveness through reductions of re-offending rates. A Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government (2010 – 2015) outlined new strategies to improve service delivery, innovative practices and affordability in offender rehabilitation through PbR and competition (MOJ 2011c). However, a fiscal crisis placed emphasis on managing public spending rather than offender and their rehabilitation (see for instance NOMS’ decreased budget in 2014-15).

A new public sector operating model was introduced outlining the contracting out of all but core custody services and detailed service specifications. Spending cuts affected not only service delivery but also increased staff-prisoner-ratios in private as well as public institutions (Le Vay, 2016, p.185) leading to deteriorating prison conditions. Additional cuts to services delivered in prisons such as education led to prison riots in the male estate in 2016 and 2017 (see for instance Johnston, 2016; 2017) but also increased suicide rates and violent incidences in prisons. The Prisons and Courts Reform Bill 2016-17 (House of Commons, 2017) outlined new prison reforms emphasising again on prisons as places for offender reform and rehabilitation. Prison ‘governors will take control of budget for education, employment and health and they will be held accountable for getting people off drugs, into jobs and learning English and maths’ (MOJ/NOMS/HM Courts & Tribunal Services, 2017). However, with the dissolution of parliament in May 2017 following

the general election, the bill and prison reforms were placed on hold and then dropped despite wide initial cross-parliamentary support. Although, a new Conservative government had since been formed there seems to be no change to investments in rehabilitation. Crook stated (2018) ‘the new team at the Ministry of Justice [...] will concentrate on cleaning up jails [...] not system change’.

However, it is important to understand how privatisation and tendering techniques affected the management of rehabilitation in prisons.

### ***Managerial Technologies***

The results of contracting out public services - the measurement of prison performance against set goals and objectives created distinct managerial technologies for the management of offender rehabilitation including education.

Privatisation furthered an opening of market flows and the deterritorialisation of an institution into streams of code and procedures (Prison Service Orders (PSOs), prison rules, key performance indicators (KPIs) and targets) for the management of offenders responding to the seven pathways into crime perspective of which education and employment is one (NOMS, 2009). The introduction of KPIs and targets was and is instrumental for the institutional management of public accountability and legitimacy (Harding, 1997; Gaes, et al., 2004). They are non-material actors reflecting the changing prison values and priorities (Mennicken, 2014, p.34). They were designed to transport moral values, prison purpose, criminogenic needs, risks, and reformative thinking into prison administration and operation. They equally transport results back into wider policy thinking to determine ‘what works’, which created a distinct economic argument for prison education (as discussed in this chapter).

KPIs and targets are manifested in specifically private but also public prison contracts to measure the efficiency and accountability of individual prisons (*ibid*) their reformative potential and adherence to standards. Payment-by-results schemes (MOJ, 2010) highlight the continuation of market testing solutions for offender rehabilitation and management, executed by diverse agencies such as educational providers producing data streams to substantiate their existence in individual institutions, but also to substantiate the management of individual institutions (as PFI prisons). Performance measures were reformed to account for prisoner experiences (such as Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MPQL tool) Liebling, et al. 2011; Liebling, 2012), quantifying softer prison values as staff-prisoner relations in new prison evaluations (NOMS, 2015). It remains to be seen how these will affect prison operations and aid prisoner rehabilitation.

Whilst performance measures introduced through prison privatisation have initially shifted the debate to prison values, purpose and public accountability, the resulting decentralisation of the prison system reduced those debates to accountability and performance of individually managed institutions rather than the overall system itself. Additionally, as evident from the conflicting status of the prison, ‘institutions are refractory [...] they do not perform as society would like them to [...] and officials develop ways both of denying the failure of the institution to perform as it should and explaining those failures which cannot be hidden’ (Becker, 1967, pp.242/43). Therefore, the institutional local management of offender rehabilitation is indistinctly linked with the global management of public perception and accountability. It transformed offender rehabilitation into KPIs and targets measuring effectiveness of privatised service operations. Although changes initially promised service improvements, re-offending rates remained at similar levels (MOJ, 2016e).

KPIs and targets place an emphasis on the investment in prisons in terms of positive outcomes –as places for offender rehabilitation through effective time and space management within, but also public protection. Whilst some observers welcomed and reported positive changes through the competition introduced via privatisation (Le Vay, 2016), others noted that the widening of the prison-industrial complex to private business interests led to ‘developing low-cost, ‘no frills’ prisons, which rely on increasingly automated and impersonal systems of control’ (Matthews, 2003, p.244) aided through information and communication systems. This includes prison education and its management and the tools used and developed to measure efficiencies and impact, which are now analysed in more detail.

## **2.2. Controlling prison education**

As outlined above, a transforming rehabilitation agenda (MOJ, 2010) continued the managerialism that had started in the 1980s. It incorporates the idea of effective offender management in prisons and beyond (see for instance Offender Rehabilitation Bill 2013-14) ensuring the administration of both punishment and rehabilitation: the controlling and monitoring of individual offender behaviour (MOJ, 2010, p. 25). It transforms the ultimate purpose of imprisonment or DeJulio’s four civic ideals ‘doing justice, promoting secure communities, restoring crime victims, and promoting non-criminal options’ (cited in Gaes, et al., 2004, p.3) into missions, objectives, performance indicators and measurement methods (Gaes, et al., 2004, p.19). ‘Managing offenders means striking the right balance between controlling them to protect communities and requiring them to take the action needed to change their criminal lifestyle’ through the employment of multiple agencies (MOJ 2010, p.25). ‘Offenders are monitored and their behaviour controlled at the same time as

services are provided to support their rehabilitation' (ibid). Prison education transformed from marginal provision into a key economic argument in reversing re-offending numbers (SEU, 2002).

Duguid (2000) identified three general types of prisoner rehabilitation programmes to address recidivism rates. Those, according to Duguid, compete for access to funds, staff positions and prisoners (ibid, p.77) within individual institutions. Offending behaviour programmes, the first type, are assigned to the risk resulting from the offence committed and attempt to mitigate the risk resulting from cognitive deficits through psychological re-programming. Vocational training and education, the second and third type, are based on needs perceptions and the risk attached to employment and educational deficiencies of offenders (SEU, 2002; BIS/MOJ, 2011). Whilst all three form part of prisoner education and risk reduction debates, the following part concentrates primarily on educational provision. It starts with an outline of structure, contracts and responsibilities before analysing the various trajectories informing the instrumentalisation of prison education.

### ***2.2.1. Structure, contracts, responsibilities***

Education also underwent processes of privatisation. The Education Reform Act in 1988 and the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 started a process of education commodification in the UK, removing the responsibility for further and higher education, including prison education, from local authorities. The funding of prison education became part of the overall funding of individual institutions in 1991. This moved responsibility for educational provision from the Home office to local prison governors. In 1993 five-year tendering processes were introduced and prison education contracted out to colleges and external providers.

With the development of the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) in 2004, following the Carter report (2003), the responsibility for planning and funding offender learning and training provision has been transferred in 2005/06 to the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) to ensure more integrated and systematically managed approaches. It has since been moved to the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) now replaced by the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy. The Offender Learning and Skills Service (OLASS) oversees the education of offenders in custody and in the community. It is responsible for tendering and assigning 4-year prison education contracts to providers but also to monitor and manage performance in line with the payment-by-result model (Skills Funding Agency SFA, 2015<sup>2</sup>; NAO, 2015a; 2015b). Heads of Learning and Skills (HoLS) oversee the educational contracts in their respective institutions as part of the prisons management team. Tutors are employed directly by the provider rather than the prison and/or a local authority. There are, nevertheless, differences between private and public institutions in contracting out specific prison services. Private prisons are usually paid either per prison place available or for each prisoner in the institution, including budgets for educational or other rehabilitative work. Ofsted, the Adult Learning Inspectorate and Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons carry out all educational inspections in prisons. In addition, the Independent Monitoring Board (IMB) also inspects prison education. Inspections, contracts and targets are important to ensure provisional standards are met. However, they also create rehabilitative virtualities and further aspects of rehabilitative anti-production as this thesis outlines in the findings section.

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<sup>2</sup> The SFA has since been replaced by the Education and Skills Funding Agency and the document had been withdrawn and replaced by new funding rules available at <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/sfa-funding-rules>.

### **2.2.1. Prison education - rehabilitative trajectories**

Educational programs have formed part of various prison regimes over time in the UK and have been continuously articulated and promoted to achieve behavioural change and crime desistance (SEU, 2002). ‘Education programmes in prisons are [...] at least expected to form part of a constructive prison regime [...] [placing] a degree of responsibility and pressure on those involved [...] to [the] correcting [of] any social and/or deviant problems’ of individual prisoners (Reuss, 1999, p.114). Prison education formed and forms part of humane containment and human rights debates (Council of Europe, 1950; 1989; Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2012) as an ‘environment [...] that enables positive change and human capacity’ (Munoz, 2009).

Prisoners have been continuously identified to possess educational disadvantages and low employment opportunities, compared to the normal population, leading to social exclusion, economic marginalisation and stigmatisation (SEU, 2002; Flynn and Price, 1995; Talbot, 2007). In 1991, the UK white paper, Custody, Care and Justice, emphasised prison education as essential to ‘provide opportunities for prisoners to [...] improve their prospects on release’ (Home Office, 1991, p.2). Policy papers, such as ‘Making prisons work: skills for rehabilitation’ (BIS/MOJ, 2011), reiterated offender’s lack of skills including their educational skills. Educational progression and employment outcomes became recurring key actors in policy documents (MOJ, 2016b), transforming offender rehabilitation into mandatory skills development through education and work; a return to old and more pragmatic reformist ideas that saw offender rehabilitation in hard work, structured days and purposeful activities (MOJ, 2010, p.14).

The Offender Learning and Skills Unit (OLSU) had set out the policy contexts for educational provision in prisons with an emphasis on access to learning and the development of employment skills, ideally aligned with comparable outside provision in the adult learning sector (DfES, 2004). It acknowledged the benefits of prison education for personal development and the importance of individualised approaches and matching learner's needs with provision (DfES/DWP, 2005 and 2006). A prison core curriculum had already been devised in 1997 before educational provision became mandatory within prison regimes (Prison Rules, 1999; Loucks, 2000). The core curriculum devised in 2010 is made up of 80% accredited provision for functional skills (literacy, numeracy, ICT), employability skills (social and work skills), ESOL and approved vocational qualifications, leaving 20% for all other educational provision (BIS/MOJ, 2011).

As Bayliss (2003b) for the UK and Duguid (2000) for Canada and the US demonstrated, the pragmatic focus on core skills resulted in funding cuts for other more liberal educational provision, thus contradicting OLSU's initial policy aims. Critiques were also raised that prison education now predominantly focused on 'employability and up-skilling the prisoner' (Costelloe and Warner, 2014, p.177) rather than responding to individual needs. The 17 recommendations of the Prisoner Learning Alliance's (PLA) Report Smart Rehabilitation highlighted prisoner learning should be outcome-based, joined-up and value-driven (2013, pp.6/7). Prison education values, such as safety, personal development, inclusivity and empowerment outlined in the report, were seen as important factors for successful prisoner rehabilitation. Additionally, the lack of educational coordination between prisons, and prisons and community, were areas identified as affecting individual learners. Coates called for more holistic approaches to prison education (Coates, 2016). Her recommendations included new funding considerations, allowing for

more freedom in planning education in individual prisons and the accommodation of individual learner needs, including learning difficulties and disabilities, but also learning at level 3 and above (*ibid*, pp.6/7). Despite the acceptance of Coates' recommendations major educational reforms in prisons are yet to be implemented. However, managerial demands, staff shortages (Alexander, 2016) and narrow outcomes focusing on prisoner employability skills and basic skills enhancements as specified in prison contracts remain the reality of education in prisons.

### ***2.2.2. The economic argument for prison education***

'The central purpose of education in prisons is [...] to prevent reoffending, and as a means to do this, to help prisoners into employment' (Stickland, 2016, p.9). Prisons are expensive institutions. The UK has the highest rates of imprisonment in Europe (Grimood and Berman, 2012). A place for a female prisoner in a public local prison costs more than £45 000/ a year (MOJ, 2015a, table 1). The cost for a place in HMP Bronzefield (private local female) are more than £67 000/ a year (MOJ, 2017). Reoffending rates have therefore always played the most important role in judging prison performance and purpose. The reoffending of released prisoners cost the UK economy an estimated £9.5- £13 billion in 2007-08 with around three quarters having served a short sentence (NAO, 2010, p.4). Evidence suggests a strong link between prison education and a reduction of reoffending (SEU, 2002), gaining qualifications in prison and decreased reconvictions (Champion, 2013). A study commissioned by NIACE in 2009 further concluded 'that educational and vocational interventions in prisons are an economically efficient investment in the UK' (IFLL, 2009, p.15) whilst also acknowledging limitations due to data and time constraints, but also limited understanding and incorporation of the dynamics of offending. But there are problems establishing prison education as key factor in re-offending, as long-term studies are rare (exceptions are studies from the US), educational

provisions vary between establishments and the quality of participation depends on individual motivation. Other factors, such as maturity, additionally influence the likelihood of reoffending or crime distance (see desistance). Educators and academics have also been pointing out that for prison education to be effective, it needs certain autonomy in the prison and the right conditions that are often contradictory to prison regimes (Davidson, ed., 1995; Duguid, 2000; Reuss, 1999) but also managerial demands.

Nevertheless, prison education has been firmly established as integral part of prison regimes, with a specific emphasis on prisoners working (making prisons work) and getting ex-prisoners into work (MOJ, 2013). The right to education, however, does not equal the right to a specific quality or level of education (Czernaiwski, 2016). Nevertheless, constructing prison education as rehabilitative and cost saving is vital for the legitimacy of public prisons. It creates virtual and actual possibilities of normative pathways for ex-offenders and ex-prisoners through constructive prison regimes. Steurer, et al. (2001) concluded their three-state recidivism study in the US with ‘education provides a real payoff to the public in terms of crime reduction and improved employment for ex-offenders’ (p.49). However, the authors could not ascertain which kind of education was the most effective in achieving long-term recidivism reductions. Effectiveness and accountability as previously described are, however, important to sustain prison operations. The next section, therefore, investigates the economic side of prison education.

### ***2.2.3. Economic trajectories in prison education***

Adult education provision, including prison education, has traditionally been a strong sector in the UK. However, as Reuss stated, prison education means ‘different

things to different people' (1999, p.113) it is at once an economic and rehabilitative debate. 'The primary task expected of prison education [by the government] is to increase the chances of employment by ex-offenders and hence reduce recidivism' (Bayliss, 2003a). However, adult and higher education, including prison education, is also a business (Ainley and Canaan, 2005) with its own economic trajectories that inform possibilities of rehabilitative trajectories. The economics of prison education are not just informed by the costs of the teaching provision; it extends into selecting exam boards and accreditation frameworks, specifically after the introduction of prison education contracts and targets. This saw a significant shift to funding accredited courses and qualifications to produce measurable and quantifiable outcomes e.g. numbers of qualifications (NOMS, 2009, p.23). It also resulted in funding cuts for other more liberal educational provision, such as arts and crafts (Duguid, 2000; Bayliss, 2003b), without formal accreditation, but often requiring specific more cost-intensive resources. Performance measures (Coates, 2016, p.14) created economic-rehabilitative trajectories that determined payments for providers (Bardens and Grimwood, 2013).

The formalisation of education responded to the problematisation and articulation of offender risks and needs: the virtual educational deficits of offenders. It also echoed the wider accountability and efficiency measures introduced into prison regimes. KPIs and prison targets carry the virtual potentialities/deficits of offenders and corresponding rehabilitative trajectories into the prison.<sup>3</sup> Education/employment is one of the 10 criminogenic needs subscales that define an offender's reoffending risk-score, irrespective of sex (for a more detailed account of the LSI-R – level of service inventory revised by Andrews and Bonta see Ward and Maruna, 2007; Hollin

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<sup>3</sup> OLASS provision for instance requires institutions to provide initial assessment records, the creation of individual learning plans and education and employment records, transforming prisoners into generic learning objectives and achievements to be monitored.

and Palmer, 2010). The logic is that, as education levels go up, the likelihood of reoffending goes down. This virtual potentiality then informs further funding. The introduction of KPIs and targets and payment-by-result schemes transformed prison education into a numbers game of achieved qualifications for further budget allocations (NOMS, 2009).

KPIs and KPTs focus on numbers of prisoners being assessed within specific time frames, attending educational classes or purposeful activities, to achieving specifically set educational levels from entry level to level 2 (SEU, 2002), with each based on virtualities (i.e. generic educational profiles of offender). As Bayliss (2003b) observed, the introduction of a core curriculum in prisons in 1997 and attachment to a Key performance target, placed ‘an ambiguous significance on target achievements’ and instigated fear in contractors for future tendering. The exclusion of higher educational levels but also the targeting of efficiency and low-level accreditations has been highly critiqued (Wilson and Reuss, 2000; Hughes, 2012) and substantiated, as leading to local abuses to gain further funding (Bayliss, 2003b; Rogers, et al. 2014). It has been described as ‘meeting the targets, but missing the point’ (Champion, 2013, p.17). It diverts the focus from individual value and growth through adult education (Council of Europe, 1990) to its administration and management (Liebling, 2004). Hedderman (2013) additionally asserted that outcome focus also means a focus on profits for service providers.

This created a paradox. As Hughes (2012) explains whilst funding increased at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in support of the rehabilitation agenda, the variety of provision remained low in response to KPTs for education. It is the emphasis on educational evidence and teaching virtualities, achievements and attendance that favours ‘bureaucratic and epistemologically closed’ and ‘minimum of fuss’ educational provision (Ecclestone, 2000, p.158). However, as Bayliss (2003a; 2003b)

suggests, prison education can foster attitudinal and behavioural changes, but it needs to be inclusive, encompassing formal and informal learning. Further inspections of prison education quality have rarely identified outstanding practices, but more consistently assign adequate or in need of improvement labels (Champion, 2013; Ofsted, 2016). Ofsted describes ‘the overall effectiveness of learning and skills and work activities in prisons [...] [as] poor in comparison with the rest of the education and skills sector’ (*ibid*, p.103) despite rises in below level 2 qualification and some examples of innovative practice in individual prisons (Nashashibi, et al., 2006).

Those results can, on the one hand, be ascribed to the failure of prison governors and offender’s learning and skills service managers to work with the National Careers Service and local employers (Ofsted, 2016, p.105), but also to the failure to facilitate prisoner attendance at classes (Coates 2016, p.12). More importantly they should be seen in the social and managerial context in which prison education is embedded. Narrowing educational provision to functional or basic skills development deviates from adult education approaches and policies promoting creative and critical thinking (Hawley, et al., 2012; Davidson, ed., 1995; Duguid, 2000); ‘the full development of the human personality’ (United Nations, 1990) and learning for pleasure (Bayliss, 2003b). It removes the provision of economic ‘risky’ adult education. ‘Risky’, as its results cannot easily be measured through certificates and levels, impacting on funding reliant on measurable results, but also possibly ‘risky’ through its potentially unpredictable outcomes in developing creative critical thinking and self-assessment (Hawley, et al. 2012; Davidson, ed., 1995; Duguid, 2000) that extends from the committed offence and/or assigned employment potentialities. Whilst the involuntary nature of incarceration already limits the rehabilitative potential of interventions, the often-mandatory nature of participation

and offender coercion into prison rehabilitation renders it part of prison punishment (McNeill, 2014).

The prison's competing functions and purposes, KPIs and targets, payment-by-result schemes, but also the offender deficit model that reduces educational complexity and possible aspiration into numeracy and literacy levels, narrows educational rehabilitative trajectories to their 'outcomes': the possibilities of re-offending reduction (*ibid*, p.176). Although recidivism is linked to several factors (McNeill, 2012), we are experiencing an over-emphasis on educational basic skills deficits that, as this thesis demonstrates, might exclude not only the higher achievers from gaining value from educational provision but also more importantly the low achievers, the target group of this mandatory education, due to their complex backgrounds, needs and aspirations. Additionally, KPIs and targets - the assessing, auditing and measuring of education - creates designed artefacts and interactions with questionable virtualities that, as Champion (2013) asserts, often miss the point of education. Whilst the effects of KPIs and targets have been discussed, there is little research into the (technological) objects and artefacts employed in prison education (Champion and Edgar, 2013). The thesis scrutinises their design and the effects of their implementation in producing new enforced virtual becomings (prison learner) and subsequent social interactions (in classrooms).

#### ***2.2.4. Security trajectories in prison education***

Rehabilitative agendas demonstrate a focus on prison time spent positively and constructively. At a minimum, prison education keeps prisoners busy and distracted, helping to maintain prison order mitigating the negative prison effects (Liebling and Maruna, eds., 2005). At its best it liberates the minds of prisoners and aids individual

rehabilitation (Reuss, 1999). KPTs, such as attendance targets, transform prison education into a management tool providing calm environments and ‘purposeful’ activities (Wilson, 2001). ‘Along with forced labor, schooling is a principal method for controlling prisoners and for their "rehabilitation'" (Davidson ed., 1995, p.1) with prison ‘schools [providing] a means to keep prisoners occupied’ (*ibid*, p.20). The organisation of prison education within local regimes is therefore a means of social control (Garland, 2001; Davidson ed., 1995) controlling prisoner time and access to particular knowledge. The mandatory nature of ‘purposeful activity’ devalues education and educational ideals. As Garland asserted, it renders it part of the ‘new punitiveness’ (Garland, 2001). However, it is an effective management tool ensuring prisoner safety through occupation. It also transforms prison learner into prison worker. This, as this thesis demonstrates in the findings section, has implications on performance expectations and outcome creation.

But prison education faces additional challenges. One is marked by ‘*everything* must be done to maintain order and control [my emphasis]’ (PSO 1810, 2005, p.2). Security staff as officers might perceive of education as a risk (Wilson and Reuss, 2000, p.173). Risks to prison security and order arise not only from individuals to be managed but also objects employed in prison education. Problematic for prison education has always been the risks assigned to objects needed to carry out specific learning activities. This ranges from art education materials and tools needed to IT education and access to computational technology and networks. Therefore, educational content and the delivery of is additionally constrained through security and risks assessments and risk potentialities assigned to specific objects. It is specifically the risk adversity in implementing digital technologies in classrooms that have been criticised in narrowing not only the curriculum but also the availability of teaching resources in classrooms (for instance Rogers, et al., 2014) and availability

of higher-level education (Pike and Adams, 2012; Coates, 2016). It affects the very aim of current policymaking: employability (Champion and Edgar, 2013). The digital exclusion of prisoners ‘means that a vital requirement for most jobs in the community is prohibited’ (Costelloe and Warner, 2014, p.179). Although there are initiatives such as Virtual Campus (implemented in 105 prisons) and Prison ICT Academies, predominantly in the male estate and within public institutions, there are still problems with overall access to workstations, outdated equipment and content provision (Coates, 2016). Prison security trajectories effectively ban the Internet in prisons (Coates, 2016, p.48) although changes are in site. Prisons, however, need to be based ‘on the minimum appropriate level of security combined with maximum community involvement [...] [maximising] staff-prisoner interactions’ (Bayliss, 2003b, p.170) to create effective educational engagements. As the findings demonstrate prison security provides challenges for all educational provision affecting the tutors ability to respond to individual learning needs.

### **2.3. Summary**

Prisons are institutions of social control, combining offender punishment and correction through competing *security and rehabilitative trajectories*. Those have shifted over time reflecting on contemporary knowledge claims and discourses about the deviant *other*. Prisons are also public, state funded institutions and, as such, accountable for their operations and results – the measurements of their economic viability. The prison’s ability to transform and rehabilitate offenders is now predominantly measured in crime and re-offending rates (MOJ, 2011a) and the efficient management of offenders (MOJ, 2013b) within. It also depends on public perception of its effective operations in society at large (Young, 2008; Jewkes, 2015).

The production of ‘dividual’ behaviour patterns and data sets (Deleuze, 1992) stratify offenders into assemblages of risk and needs, such as educational needs, that are problematised and emphasised in rehabilitation policies (MOJ, 2013a; BIS/MOJ, 2011). Needs and risks become at once strata of crime causation and re-offending virtualities informing the rehabilitative trajectories of prisons. But ‘each stratum is a double articulation of content and expression’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.80). There is a real situation or context (content) and a desired or ideal state of affairs (expression). Rehabilitation therefore ‘operates on the field of possibilities [-] a set of actions on possible actions’ rendering the exercise of power a ‘management of possibilities’ (Foucault, 1994, p.341) inside but also outside of institutional enclosures.

Those, however, are based on the virtuality of offender’s educational needs (Duguid, 2000) and management of risks (Giddens, 1990). Risks turned security trajectories into a management of virtual risk possibilities as abstracted from criminal behaviour, such as the potential for violence or self-harm. Within prisons, additional risk possibilities derive from the state’s responsibility to secure but also humanely contain individuals. The involuntary nature of correctional confinement results in risks associated to individual adaptation to prison life (Liebling and Maruna, eds., 2005; Matthews, 1999). The virtual experiencing prison is moved toward an ideal state of affairs through security trajectories that include the provision of purposeful activities such as education. Payment-by-results models (NAO, 2015a; 2015b), ‘revolutionising’ offender rehabilitation (MOJ, 2013a), entangle virtual rehabilitative and security trajectories within spaces of economic information flow (Castells, 1996) as discussed in chapter 4. Standardised forms of communication and measurements allow for governmental action-at-a-distance, data transparency and accountability to be performed (Garland, 1997). They create forms of standardised inscriptions

‘enumerating, stabilizing and transmitting knowledge in regularised ways’ (*ibid*, pp.182/83). The state is a regulator of its own state services (Massumi, 1992) monitoring, auditing and assessing its operators and their efficiencies through information and communication systems.

‘Once information technologies [discussed in chapter 4] and management practices were put in place, reflexivity and self-monitoring became standard parts of the system’s operation. Martinson’s question – ‘what works?’ – has come to haunt the practices of criminal justice, not as a critique of rehabilitative treatment, but as a routine feature of every aspect of criminal justice’

(Garland 2001, p.116).

Economic trajectories become the instruments of state control over its operations, concentrating on ‘what works’ through the production of measurable evidence. Artefacts, such as KPTs and prison ratings, virtually represent idealised rehabilitative and security trajectories and affect the funding of prison operations. Institutions such as prisons form a network of global and local actors (Latour, 2005a) that connect criminal law, criminological research, global policies with local procedures and interactions. Prisons, as this thesis demonstrates, are designed environments and (in)dividuals enter a pre-formatted world (*ibid*) with anticipated risks and needs extracted from policy documents and data sets, such as offence types, educational levels, and housing. However, there are tensions and discrepancies between the ideas of education as rehabilitation and the actual management of education. Therefore, the thesis extends from reform time and space to reform technologies, objects and designed interactions (from assessment to education), analysing tensions between

virtual and actual reform, placeless power (information and data) and powerless places (prison classrooms) (Castells, 1996).

### **3. *Rehabilitating the female prisoner***

Prison rehabilitation, although a contested topic, refers to the reintegration of offenders after their punishment, whilst the punishment is designed to assist in this process and ‘take away the desire to offend’ (Hudson, 2003, p.26). Whilst this statement is controversial, it reflects continuous rehabilitative practice in prisons attempting to restore, normalise and to some extend re-programme individuals through institutional corrections. Re-offending statistics continuously highlight this positivist idea of rehabilitation as a problematic enterprise. The additional use of reconviction rates to determine rehabilitative strategies is in itself flawed as a measure for behavioural change, as it neglects the complexity of individuals (including gender considerations) and the various factors influencing behavioural change (McNeill, 2012). Nevertheless, it is used as a measure to determine the effectiveness of rehabilitative interventions, such as prison education, becoming valid currency in the current transforming rehabilitation agenda and the use of payment-by-result schemes. However, as the previous section has highlighted, prison policies and KPIs are virtualities transported into the prison to inform regime activities such as educational provision. Critiques raised question the appropriateness and ability of such virtualities to respond to learner needs in the prison (for instance Bayliss, 2003a, 2003b; Costelloe and Warner, 2014). Female prisoners, as this chapter demonstrates, are a distinct group with distinct needs including learning needs. Women’s particular confinement and reform has undergone various changes over time reflecting on the shifting knowledge about female offending.

This chapter is organised in two parts. The first part analyses female criminality, the characteristics of female offenders and female desistance. The second part

discusses the female prisoner, her adaptation to prison life and the female prison learner.

### **3.1. The female offender**

It is nearly impossible to create a ‘typical criminal woman’ (Carlen, et al., 1983, p.10). Women have traditionally committed less and less severe offences than men. Criminological research traditionally focused on male offenders and their criminal careers. The female offender subsequently has been a minority, rendering her at times invisible and a criminological ‘afterthought’ (Heidensohn, 1996) yet nevertheless distinct from the ‘typical’ male offender. Gender ideas are constant actors in characterising her as a distinct offender group. She existed and exists in direct comparison to the male criminal, analysing her performance of criminal acts (for instance Cressey and Sutherland, 1960; but also PRT 2017). However, she has also been compared to the ‘*normal*’ female in wider society (Zedner, 1991) to establish specific reform trajectories in institutions such as the prison. Female offenders have, therefore, been characterised as a group not only performing outside of social norms like the male offender, but also as performing outside of acceptable boundaries of dominant gender-specific social roles and expectations (Weeks, 1989; Zedner, 1991; Grosz, 1995). This rendered her at times ‘doubly deviant’ (Worrall, 2002a).

#### **3.1.1. Gender and criminality**

Early attempts to rationalise female criminal behaviour (e.g. Lombroso and Ferrero, 1893; Thomas, 1923; Pollak, 1950) have been highly contested. Those have been critiqued for providing very narrow and distorted viewpoints, trying to fit female criminality into frameworks created for male offenders, whilst trivialising

women's lived experiences and neglecting the gendered social control of women and girls within patriarchal systems (Carlen, 1983; Smart, 1976; Edwards, 1985; Naffine, 1987; Heidensohn, 1996).

Since the emergence of feminist criminal research in the 1980s, the 'othering' of the female offender made way for research focusing on gendered pathways in and out of crime, as distinct from male criminal behaviour and male criminal careers. Feminist researchers provided the first attempts to understand female criminal behaviour as rational behaviour (Carlen, 1984; Heidensohn, 1996; Naffine, 1987), questioning the frameworks developed for predominantly male offenders (Naffine, 1987; Smart, 1976; Leonard, 1982). The work demonstrated that 'existing theories will not do' (Leonard 1982, p.184) as they do not sufficiently explain women's criminal behaviour (Naffine, 1987; Carlen and Worrall, eds., 1987; Smart, 1976; Heidensohn, 1996; Leonard, 1982). It highlighted the patriarchal structures in e.g. law (Smart, 1976), and institutions (Dobash, et al., 1986) placing an emphasis on female criminal behaviour as a product of society, culture and history (Rafter, 2006, p.212) rather than women's biological make-up. Feminist criminology placed gender back into penal discussions (Worrall, 2002b) and developed theories that assumed women's oppression as central factor in female offending. Two distinct ideas characterise feminist criminology; childhood victimisation as a primary factor for female criminal trajectories but also the use of qualitative approaches and life histories to ensure the presence of criminal women and girls in research (Belknap, 2001). This perspective placed an emphasis on women's marginalisation, victimisation and the particular vulnerabilities of women in the criminal justice system (for instance Carlen, 1983; 1987) that are reflected in their criminal behaviour but also its absence discussed in the next sections.

### **3.1.3. The absence of female criminality**

The female offender has always existed alongside her criminal male counterpart. Women have always participated in criminal behaviour, including ‘typical’ male offences (Walker, 1994; Heidensohn, 1996). The traditionally small number of crimes committed by women, but also the social, economic and political invisibility of women, contributed to the relative absence of female criminality from criminological literature and debates (Heidensohn, 1996; Naffine, 1987) until the 1970s and 1980s. The female offender has always been defined through the stratification of gender in wider economic, social and political debates as Smart, for instance, highlighted, analysing English law geared toward social engineering leading to female dependence within patriarchal social systems (Smart, 1976).

Whilst on one hand invisible the particularity of women’s assigned social roles and moral expectations, normal gendered social performance, at particular times in history, also created distinct gendered deviations and highly specialised criminalized behaviour for women, such as prostitution and infanticide (Smart, 1976; Zedner, 1991; Heidensohn, 1996). The relative absence of female criminal behaviour, but also the othering of women’s lived experiences (Thomas, 1923; Pollak, 1950), additionally furthered explanations and constructions of female criminals as abnormal and pathological (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1893) or driven and motivated by social-relational, rather than economic factors (Thomas, 1923; Cohen, 1955; Cowie, et al., 1968; Cloward and Ohlin, 1979), thus trivialising female criminality. 'Sex delinquency is *one* [original emphasis] kind of meaningful response to the most characteristic, most central and most ego-involved problems of the female role: the establishment of satisfying relationships with the opposite sex' (Cohen, 1955, p.147). But it also led to claims of hidden female criminality and chivalry – the reluctance of male law officials to sentence female offender (Pollak, 1950).

Critiques on the gestation of the female offender through sex-specific criminal stereotypes, using and extending biological frameworks into legal and political discourses, have been extensively rehearsed (Smart, 1976; Heidensohn, 1996, Dobash, et al. 1986; Carlen, 1987; Naffine, 1987; Leonard, 1982; Worrall, 2002) and need not to be repeated here. Nevertheless, frameworks for specific sexed offence categorisation, definitions and respective sanctions and interactions with law enforcement and welfare agencies, remain specifically punitive for women and girls (see, for instance, Carlen, 2003; Carlen, 1988; Hutter and Williams, eds., 1981). They additionally created specific gendered criminal stereotypes— the benefit fraud, the bad mother and the sexual deviant.

According to Heidensohn (1996), if women's marginalisation and powerlessness equals female crime, the numbers should be high (p.195). The relative absence of female offending must therefore be explained through sex-specific, formal and informal, control mechanisms – the gendered boundaries for group behaviour and individual performance. Gendered socialisation processes were seen to set those boundaries differently for women and girls (Morris, 1964; 1965; Sutherland and Cressey, 1960; Chesney-Lind, 1996; Covington, 1998). According to these authors, women experience more rigid formal and informal social control mechanisms throughout their lifetime. Women and girls were also understood to possess more legitimate means to reach their culturally defined relational goals (a becoming mother and wife) and have less access to illegitimate means in comparison to boys (Morris, 1964, p.83), due to stricter supervision. The limitations arising from women's social roles, but also lower peer acceptance of female deviance, were seen to function as a deterrent factor for criminal behaviour. 'Gender determines the way social control is transformed into self-control in delinquent situations' (Heimer, 1996, p.43).

The literature additionally suggests that women place more emphasis on healthy relationships with significant others and might be, therefore, less willing to engage in crime, but also that loss, on the other hand, might be a trigger for criminal behaviour (Bloom, et. al., 2003). Whilst gendered socialisation processes have been critiqued as too narrow to explain low female participation (for instance Campbell, et al., 2007), relational theories have been highlighted to provide some explanations for female desistance and to rationalise intervention programs for women. They, nevertheless, do not explain the reasons for women's engagement in criminal behaviour. Overall, research suggests that women need a stronger push toward breaking the law than men, due to specific gendered factors and group boundaries.

### ***3.1.4. Gendered pathways into crime***

Criminal behaviour is difficult to define. Female pathways into crime are a complex interplay of economic and social factors, stigmatisation and marginalisation, often starting in childhood. They are also individual, and their complexity is not an easy fit for frameworks, assessments and subsequent prison interventions specifically for female offender as a minority group. Nevertheless, categorisations of criminogenic risks and needs - the absences of specific important characteristics- are dominant in the current offender management discourse.

#### ***Economic marginalisation***

Early writers had already referred to the economic deprivation of women (such as Lombroso and Ferrero, 1893; Thomas, 1923). They failed, however, to understand women's economically motivated criminal behaviour as survival or resistance strategy. Carlen's work, from the 1980s, highlighted experiences of economic deprivation as just one of many background characteristics of female offenders. Using control theory as developed by Hirschi (1969), Carlen (1987) demonstrated

that economic marginalisation, but also histories of sexual and physical abuse and experiences of growing up in the care system, led women to break the law. The women lacked the necessary education and 'good' character for employment, but also the feminine essence 'demanded of women without men who seek to claim in full statutory welfare rights' (*ibid*, p.136). They made rational decisions to refuse class and gender deals of 'normal' working-class women. Similarly, Crites assessed the female criminal as predominantly poor and from minority backgrounds (Crites, ed. 1976). This is still echoed in contemporary research: 'rather than equality between the sexes leading to more female crime, it is female inequality and economic vulnerability that are more likely to shape female offending patterns' (Schwartz and Steffensmeier, 2008, p.49). This is specifically evident in women's engagement with prostitution as a matter of economic survival (Phoenix, 1999). According to Moe and Ferraro (2006), incarcerated mothers often explain their motivations for economically based offences through their responsibility to provide for their children. They, however, additionally cite factors as abusive partners and the inability to find employment (p.9). Whilst women lead around 90% of single households in the UK (Office of National Statistics, 2015) with one in ten struggling with their finances, due to unemployment, under-employment and/or low pay (Gingerbread, 2014), it is only a minority that will offend. Despite the overrepresentation of single mothers in the prison system, other factors might be more prevalent adding specific gendered vulnerabilities (Nuytiens and Christiaens, 2015).

One of the two main features of the feminist pathway is the belief that female criminal behaviour is a direct result of childhood victimisation, such as abuse and neglect (Belknap, 2001). Earlier work (Thomas, 1924; Cowie, et al., 1968; Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Morris, 1964; 1965) had also pointed at dysfunctional family backgrounds of criminal women and delinquent girls, but had dismissed those as mostly irrelevant. The introduction of socialisation, relational, power-control theories contributed to the understanding of the female offender as somehow out of control but also out of normative environments that ensured the development of specific moral and social skills at particular times in life (see developmental psychology of Rousseau, Watson later Freud, Kohlberg, Erickson), enabling individuals, for instance, to form positive social relations in adulthood that were seen as instrumental in preventing criminal behaviour.

Gender-specific socialisation processes (Chesney-Lind, 1997; Covington, 1998) are central to the idea of female non-participation in criminal behaviour. However, the traditional emphasises on developing and maintaining dependable interpersonal networks, including strong bonds with dependable children, are also seen as adding particular gendered strains (Broidy and Agnew, 1997; Giordano, et. al., 2002) leading to the possibility of criminal behaviour. Appropriating Merton's strain theory, Broidy and Agnew (1997, p.3) concluded that females at least experience the same amount of strain as men, but 'experience more network strains, gender-based discrimination, excessive demands from others, and low prestige in their work and family roles' (*ibid*, p.16). Women differ, however, in their reactions to strains and coping mechanisms, as they are more likely to simultaneously experience 'emotions such as depression, guilt, anxiety, and shame'. The authors assert that women's lower self-

esteem and mastery to effectively cope with strain (*ibid*, p.9) can lead to 'self-destructive forms of deviance, such as drug use and eating disorders' (*ibid*, p.17). Whilst contested and not conclusively proven, it provides some explanation for women's low criminal behaviour, but also links to research, such as Ussher's (2011), into women's appropriation of medical frameworks, the role of loss of significant relationships in female criminality (Bloom, et al., 2003), the high and complex demands placed on women (Worrall, 2002) but also high drug dependencies of female prisoners.

Deviations from normative human developments are also seen as creating social deficits carried over into later life. The idea of social deficits due to childhood neglect, experiences with the care system (Caddle and Crisp, 1997; Summerfield, 2011), trauma and victimisation (Williams, et. al., 2012) and the connection to female offending behaviour, have been widely established. Blanchette and Brown (2006), for instance, highlighted the high levels of victimisation amongst women offenders, often starting in childhood. The consequences of childhood abuse, neglect and trauma can lead to what is now termed complex mental health problems affecting her ability to maintain and develop 'healthy' relationships with others, and her self-regulation (Stathopoulos and Quadara, 2014, p.8). This potentially leads to problems in adolescence and adulthood (substance abuse, continuing victimisation, prostitution, aggression and violence against others and the self). Drug dependencies are higher amongst female prisoners than male prisoners, suggesting a stronger link to adverse childhood experiences than for men (Hollin and Palmer, 2006). Drug use and abuse can also equally be linked to mental health issues, such as anxiety and depression, with the latter leading to higher reconviction rates for women in connection with drug-related offences (Cunniffe, et al., 2012). Light et al. (2013), additionally, demonstrate female prisoners were more likely to associate drug use

with their offending than male prisoners including a higher proportion supporting a partner's drug use (p.16). Similarly, Uggen and Kruttschnitt (1998) highlighted relationships with male offenders or drug users increased the likelihood of women's engagement with criminal behaviour and/or coercion into criminal behaviour within abusive relationships.

### ***Victimisation and violence***

However, the literature also suggests that individual women react differently to victimisation, with some becoming perpetrators themselves. Batchelor (2005) and Henriksen and Miller (2012) highlight how childhood victimisation, experiences of state care and abuse led to aggressive and violent behaviour and participation in gang-related activities to mitigate and escape marginalisation and victimisation. Lloyd (1995), looking specifically at violent women, highlighted their often-difficult childhood experiences and family backgrounds as contributing to their violent criminal behaviour. McAra and McVie (2010) further demonstrated that adolescents, 'involved in serious offending are among the most victimised and vulnerable people in our society' (p.202) but also develop an offender identity transported into adulthood that might affect their behaviour in prisons. Girls, as this study suggests, were more likely to develop behavioural patterns of self-harm, substance misuse, depression and under-age sexual intercourse at the age of 15 than boys. They also had more peers involved in offending behaviour, supporting some earlier studies (*ibid*, p.188), such as Heimer's (1996). Although lower in numbers, they also committed and participated in serious crimes. It needs to be noted however that violent offences committed by women often differ from male violence in severity and events leading up to the offence committed. Women's violent offences are classed as less culpable, less harmful and serious compared to male offences (MOJ, 2013, p.58).

There is some overall consensus in attributing female criminal behaviour, through risks and complex criminogenic needs, to both her social and economic marginalisation and victimisation in policy documents (MOJ, 2012b). It needs to be noted, however, that not all female prisoners are characterised by those complex needs. As Nuytiens' and Christiaens' (2015) study of adult on-set offenders in Belgium highlighted, not all female prisoners fit the typical gendered pathway perspective of childhood victimisation and marginalisation. Whilst gendered vulnerabilities (individual, relational, societal) were consistent with other studies, they require, according to the authors, a different gendered pathway perspective (*ibid*, p.207). And, in a minority, incarcerated women also participate in white-collar crime (Schwartz and Steffensmeier, 2008), protests, violate immigration rules and commit driving offences.

Additionally, those rare instances of female violence are also not easily explained through this risk/needs framework. Murdering one's children (Donnison case in 2010) or rare female serial killers (Dennehy case in 2014) sit uneasy in feminist frameworks. Occasional female career criminals, excluding prolific offenders with substance abuse issues, also 'do not appear to fit theoretical trajectories of offending' (DeLisi 2002, p.41). Research, such as Henriksen's and Miller's (2012), also highlight that criminal behaviour, but also victimisation and violence, extends from physical environments more and more into social media networks. This needs further investigation to understand the underlying reasons, but also formation of a possible criminal identity.

Nevertheless, gender remains a social container and actor, encapsulating not only economic, social and political inequalities but also gender-specific ideas that affect

the self, women's life histories, experiences and assemblages. Therefore, gendered pathways into crime seem to be useful in defining most female criminal behaviour but attention has to be paid to particular women that escape the boundaries of that perspective, and to the fluidity of the gender idea itself in individual narratives. Whilst women-centred approaches and theories have identified gender-specific causalities, further comparative studies might be needed to test their overall validity (Blanchette and Brown, 2006, p.40).

### **3.2.5. Gendered pathways out of crime – female desistance**

Research into female offending highlighted distinct gendered differences in crime patterns and pathways into crime. The context, roles and motives of women engaged in criminal behaviour, linked to gendered experiences of victimisation and marginalisation, were prime factors in female offending (Chesney-Lind, 1997; Daly, 1994), but also highlighted that women commit less serious offences, predominantly act in mixed gender groups (Czernkovich and Giordano, 1979) and are more often coerced into criminal behaviour by male peers (Light, et al., 2013; Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998). Whilst there are similarities between male and female offenders' desistance patterns and narratives, women's pathways out of crime show differences that relate to their overall offending behaviour, ideas of informal social control and gendered narratives. There is still a lack of research into female criminal careers and therefore, some caution is necessary to generalise research findings.

Research into crime desistance, in comparison to other crime causation theories, establishes offenders' reasons to terminate individual offending behaviour (McNeill, 2006; McNeill, et al. 2012; Ward and Maturana, 2007). As chapter 2 highlighted re-offending rates are a key measurement and their reduction a key outcome for prison

performance. Rehabilitative interventions such as prison education, therefore, could benefit from desistance theories as they encourage strength-based approaches rather than deficit models. However, the debates of how to define and measure desistance are ongoing.

Maruna and Farrall (2004) established the concepts of primary and secondary desistance. Primary desistance is defined as periods of non-offending: the maintaining of crime desistance. Secondary desistance, however, refers to individual identity shifts and an adaptation of non-criminal identities. McNeill (2016) added the concept of tertiary desistance. He highlighted the importance of recognised change by significant others and of social belonging. Desistance, therefore, is ‘more than a linear process’ (Nugent and Schinkel 2016, p.570). It entails individual journeys, positive factors, the accumulation of social and economic capital (Barry, 2007; Ward and Maruna, 2007) as well as cognitive transformation (Giordano, et al., 2002). Therefore, Nugent and Schinkels (2016) terminology of ‘act-desistance’ for non-offending, ‘identity desistance’ for the internalisation of a non-offending identity and ‘relational desistance’ for recognition of change by others’ (p.570) are better suited, ‘as it does not suggest sequencing in time or importance (ibid).

### **Female desistance**

Age and maturation were the first factors established in crime desistance (Glueck and Glueck 1937): a growing out of a criminal career. Evidence suggests young women desist sooner than men (Graham and Bowling, 1995; Jamieson, et al 1999). But, maturation, as Shapland and Bottoms (2011) asserted, is active: ‘animated by the impetus of offenders themselves’ (p.277). Aging and maturation are, therefore,

not just biological but also include social and economic factors that inform individual life experiences as women's pathways into crime highlighted.

Desistance also entails the relationship or bond between individuals and social institutions (Laub and Sampson, 1997). This refers to an individual's emotional attachments to or internalisation of societal goals. Bonds between individual and society are strengthened or weakened through formal and informal institutions including family, school, work over a lifetime. Therefore, relationships and key events can foster conformity or trigger offending behaviour as previously analysed. Graham and Bowling (1995) and Giordano et al. (2011) established links between desistance and childbirth for female offenders. Barry (2007) also demonstrated that the transition into 'normality' and 'adult' status seemed to be enhanced for young women, through the development of significant relationships and caring responsibilities, once adverse relationships had been removed and drug use ceased (Barry 2007, p.33). The role of imprisonment is specifically important as social bonds are weakened through incarceration as discussed in female adaptation to prison life.

However, 'identity desistance' not only entails shifts in relations to social institutions but also significant changes to self-identity. As Maruna (2001) highlighted, to become an ex-offender individuals 'need to develop a coherent, pro-social identity for themselves' (p.7). Analysing the narrative construction of persistent offenders and desisters, he drew out important differences in their narrative construction. Whilst persistent offenders identified themselves predominantly through negative characteristics and focused on the past, desisters showed a higher degree of agency and autonomy in decision-making; looked forward and wanted to make amends, but also had a significant person in their lives believing in their ability

to change. This process of cognitive transformation could be summarised using Giordano et. al.'s (2002) four parts:

1. Being ready for change - the 'general cognitive openness to change'
2. The availability and recognition of opportunities for change or 'hooks for change'
3. The ability to conceptualise a robust and suitable 'replacement self'
4. Significant shifts in value placed on deviant behaviour

(p.999-1002).

Desistance, therefore, requires the individual offender understands that change is desirable and necessary. This includes an initial reflection and assessment of important aspects within an individual's life (Farrall and Bowling, 1999). However, it also requires available opportunities for change, an individual's ability to recognise those opportunities and to implement a suitable 'replacement self'.

Uggen and Kruttschnitt (1998), but also McIvor et al. (2000), pointed at the influence of readily available and socially acceptable narratives of normative gender roles on official desistance ideas of female offenders. Rumgay (2004) equally asserted that women seek common gendered identity scripts, leading to socially approved alternative identities. McIvor et al. (2009) and Barry (2007), additionally, highlighted the importance of dealing with drug addictions for female offenders as a determining factor in their ability to desist from crime. Giordano et al.'s (2002) sample of serious male and female adult offenders drew on similar narratives for change (p.1052). However, women in this sample emphasised the role of 'religious affiliation', parenthood and stability in dependent relationships, rather than economic

independence and skills development. Hence, women do not necessarily integrate education into their ideas of desistance but also emphasise on ‘relational desistance’ as equally important.

‘Relational desistance [...] is within the control of others’ (Nugent and Schinkel 2016, p.570). Sharp (2015) and Rumbay (2004) highlighted the problems and demands in maintaining pro-social identities and the importance of support and social networks in becoming resilient. Sharp (2015) stressed the importance of understanding how increased informal social control, in addition to formal control, impacts on the ability of young mothers with a criminal past to go straight. They produce ‘enduring judgement of maternal deficiencies’ (*ibid*, p.418). Giordano et al. (2002) additionally stressed that normative gender roles potentially lead to economic dependence through a lack of skills development and greater marginalisation of criminal women (p.1053). They also consider gender-specific strains arising from social roles (Giordano, et al., 2011), as previously discussed. Not all female offenders are able or want to follow gendered identity scripts. Ebaugh (1988) demonstrated that criminal roles and identities differ, with some being harder to exit than others, due to their higher social visibility and lower social acceptability. Bindel et al. (2013), investigating women’s exit from prostitution, identified several barriers to developing conventional identities for this particular group. Similarly, Worrall (2002) suggested that female offenders see limited opportunities for change, but also have few positive options available. There is also little research into desistance of offenders with alternative sexual orientations, for which gendered scripts might be also less appropriate.

Gendered desistance theories, however, also include other aspects that need to be taken into consideration. Bui and Morash (2010), Cobbina (2010) and Singh et.al. (2018) outlined additional gendered needs, such as receiving support for practical

problems facing female offenders, specifically when released from prison, such as housing and finances, finding employment and childcare but also being able to sever ties with abusive or criminal partners and family members. It might be, therefore, useful to understand desistance as series of structural breaks ‘where different causal factors [such as named above] have different impacts on offending before and after the structural break’ (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009, p.1156). This emphasises changes to non-criminal identities ‘initiate other changes such as shifts in preference and social realignment that reorder the importance of or weight attributed to causal factors before and after the structural break’ (*ibid*). Desistance theories are relatively new and their potential application within criminal justice settings are yet to be seen as discussed in the next section.

### **Desistance and criminal justice practice**

Desistance theorists highlighted ‘that very few people actually desist as a result of intervention on the part of the criminal justice system’ (Farrall, 1995, p.56). ‘Identity desistance’ relies on subjective changes, identity shifts, individual agency and processes of change: individual restoration but also the opportunities for change and redemption (Maruna, 2001; Giordano, et al., 2002; McNeill, et al., 2012). It is a complex process and an individual and subjective journey (Maruna and Farrall, 2004; Giordano, et al., 2002). It is likely to include relapses specifically for repeat offenders such as drug users that rehabilitative practices in prisons need to take into account. Therefore, as Weaver and McNeill (2010) highlighted one-size-fits-all interventions are inappropriate in institutionally ‘assisted crime desistance’.

Rehabilitation should emphasise the positive factors that predict desistance and strength-based approaches (Maruna and LeBel, 2003; Ward and Maruna, 2007 and Farrall and Calverley, 2006) rather than needs and risks. Those include individual

personal and social strength and resources that need to be identified as potentialities for change. Rehabilitative management, as the previous chapter has highlighted, concentrates on the eradication of deficits, risks and needs of offenders, including education and employment. However, as a personal project (McNeill, 2012; Maruna, 2001) desistance requires active participation, individual agency and motivation for change (Maruna and Farrall, 2004; Giordano, et al., 2002). ‘Professional assessments of risk and need governed by structured assessment instruments the offender was less and less an active participant [but] [...] an object to be assessed through technologies’ and to be engaged, without consent, in rehabilitative programming (McNeill, 2014) such as education. Additionally, desistance includes the development of social skills, and for new skills (i.e., employment or educational skills) to be applied and practiced in social contexts. ‘The new identity [requires an acting] out and [affirmation] by a wider audience’ (Nugent and Schinkel 2016, p.580). Desistance has a distinct relational dimension and more so for female offender as highlighted above. Therefore, desistance depends on the kinds social interactions experienced and human relationships formed and maintained inside (see women as prison learner) and outside of institutions (McNeill 2006).

### 3.2. Women in prison

Women account for about 5% of the overall prison population in the UK (MOJ, 2014a). Custody more than doubled in the 1990s and reached 4505 by 2008 despite marginal increases in crimes committed by women (Hedderman, 2010). The increase has been attributed largely to changes in sentencing practices, especially the administration of short sentences for minor repeat offences that have affected female offenders in particular (Halliday, et al., 2001; PRT, 2000; for more information on

changes to penal policies see Hudson, 2002). But also gender equality narratives have been cited as influential in the remanding of more women into custody (Carlen, ed., 2002) creating a ‘punitive turn toward women’ (Gelsthorpe, 2007, p.48). ‘The ‘punitive turn’ saw a general ‘up-tariffing’ of sentencing for women offenders’ (Annison, et al, 2015, p.250) despite ‘what works’ evidence demonstrating that community, women-centred and women-focused approaches, yielded the best results (for instance PRT, 2000). Prison population projections for the years 2019 to 2024 show no expectations of changes to female incarceration figures standing at about 3700 in July 2019 (MOJ, 2019). Whilst incarceration numbers have slightly decreased ‘there are [still] too many women in prison who do not need to be there’ (Hardwick, 2012).<sup>4</sup>

Institutions such as the prison developed for the female offender historically and firmly re-established social boundaries and marked political power over women’s bodies (Dobash, et al., 1986, p.18). But regime focus and rehabilitative trajectories for female prisoners have undergone changes in relation to contemporary gender ideas, ideas of female criminality and its causes. As the previous section outlined, women pose a significantly lower risk than male offenders (Gelsthorpe and Morris, 2002) but also have particular pathways in and out of crime. Moreover, these distinct pathways lead to specific vulnerabilities in the prisons (Corston, 2007). The punitive nature and specific effects of imprisonment on women require consideration of more appropriate alternatives to prisons (Carlen, ed., 2002; Gelsthorpe, et al., 2007; Corston, 2007; Worrall and Gelsthorpe, 2009). Whilst policy recommendations and service changes for female offenders are important, specifically in relation to alternatives to imprisonment (recent examples are discussed in Annison, et al., 2015), it is female imprisonment and prison education that this thesis focuses on.

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<sup>4</sup> HM Chief Inspector of Prisons 2010-2016

### **3.2.1. The female prisoner in the policy context**

'Prison is disproportionately harsher for women because prisons and the practices within them have for the most part been designed for men'

(Corston, 2007, p.3).

Feminist researchers highlighted the distinct gendered pathways into crime. In addition campaigning groups such as Women in Prison and Prison Reform Trust (PRT, 2000) have advocated for changes in penal services for women, and continue to do so. Significant policy changes to improve female confinement, however, started after an unannounced visit of HMP Holloway in 1996 by the then HM Chief Inspector of Prisons David Ramsbotham. His subsequent report not only highlighted the appalling conditions in female prisons (HMIP, 1997), but also initiated a systematic review of female confinement and provisions for female offender and the later formation of an All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Women in the Penal System in 2009.

The most influential and comprehensive review to date was undertaken by Baroness Jean Corston after the death of six women in HMP Styal between 2002 and 2003. Her report *Review of Women with Particular Vulnerabilities in the Criminal Justice System* – the Corston Report - was published in 2007 (Corston, 2007). It highlighted not only the distinct gender differences for women entering the criminal justice system, but also their distinct experiences in the prison system (*ibid*, p.3). However, despite Corston's criticism on penal practice in sending women to prison for safety and for her own good (*ibid*, p.9), imprisonment remains an integral part in female corrections that needs to ensure the safety of the confined. The Report clearly demonstrated equal treatment of offenders does not necessarily mean equal outcomes for men and women (*ibid*, p.3). Corston provided detailed recommendations, of

which many had been initially accepted by the then Labour government. However, sentencing practices still require improvements and more alternatives to imprisonment need to be provided (Annison, et al., 2015; Corston, 2011).

The gendered pathways perspective and the Corston report (2007) represented a shift from othering criminal women to outlining the particularities of female criminal behaviour that placed the female offender and prisoner firmly into policy context (MOJ, 2012c). Regime manuals were developed accounting for women's specific vulnerabilities and needs (PSO 4800, 2008). The review of the women's custodial estate highlighted three recurring key priorities for women:

- 'Proximity to family to maintain family ties'
- Ability to access interventions to reduce risk of reoffending and meet women's needs
- Opportunity for meaningful resettlement which can continue on release'

(NOMS, 2013, p.2)

The recommendations, additionally, account for the variety of women held in prisons (groups, needs), the need to implement whole system approaches, to create gender-responsive prisons but also the importance of positive staff-prisoner relationships (*ibid*, p.28). However, the small number of female prisoners means female prisoners are often imprisoned at considerable distance from their families and the communities they will return to (WIP, 2012). Additionally, 30% lose their accommodation whilst imprisoned (Corston, 2007, p.3).

The rise in self-inflicted deaths between 2013 and 2016 (PPO, 2017a; 2017b) not only demonstrate women's vulnerabilities, but also the very particular risks

associated with her confinement that prisons need to respond to. The White Paper Prison Safety and Reform (2016a) highlighted the need for reform to create safe and secure prisons. Specific threats to security and safety were seen in substance misuse in prisons, mental health problems and criminal attitudes resulting in both self-harm and violence (*ibid*, p.41). Unfortunately, many reforms, such as the aforementioned, but also the policies concerning prison education and work, are gender-neutral and their implications for the female estate are not fully investigated.

### ***3.2.2. Profile of female prisoners***

Women are more likely to be arrested for ‘acquisitive crime and have a lower involvement in serious violence, criminal damage and professional crime’ (Corston 2007, p. 18). Although violence against a person and theft accounted for the highest numbers of arrests for both male and female offenders (MOJ, 2016b, p.48; MOJ, 2014, p.35), overall 84% of women are sentenced for non-violent offences (PRT, 2016). Additionally, women’s violent offences are classed as less culpable, less harmful and serious compared to male offences (MOJ, 2014, p.58) with many having experienced intimate violence prior to the offence (*ibid*, p.26). Reports on women in the criminal justice system also repeatedly highlight the higher proportion and over representation of women with histories of sexual and physical abuse within families or through intimate partners (MOJ, 2014; Corston, 2007; MOJ, 2016b).

In 2013 and 2015, theft accounted for almost a quarter of female indictable offences (MOJ, 2014; MOJ, 2016b) shoplifting making up 45% in 2013 (MOJ 2014, p.14) and 80% in 2015 (MOJ 2016b, p.139) According to Hedderman (2012), breaches of court orders make up 60% of other offences for women (p.6), the third highest offence group for women. The failure to comply with non-custodial penalties

includes community orders and the payment of fines. The number of women sentenced for drug-related offences decreased to 13.8% in 2013. Nevertheless, histories of drug abuse are more common among female offenders and prisoners as around ‘70% of women coming into custody require clinical detoxification [...] [from often] complex poly substance misuse’ (Corston, 2007, p.19). Whilst some women with substance abuse issues are also involved in drug-related offences, many more are sentenced and held for other crimes such as fraud or theft.

‘Female offenders were less likely than male offenders to have any previous cautions or convictions throughout the ten years from 2003 to 2013, with a third of females [...] being first-time offenders in 2013’ (MOJ, 2014, p.13). Women receive, overall, shorter sentences than men (MOJ, 2016b, p. 51) and their re-offending rates are usually lower with 18.5% compared to 27.7% for men (MOJ, 2014, p.16). Female criminal careers are rare (Block, et al., 2010; DeLisi, 2002) and decline faster with age than male careers (Belknap, 2001; Blanchette and Brown, 2006). 16% of the female prison population are remand prisoners (WIP, 2012) and usually spend between 4-6 weeks in prison with less than half being given a prison sentence after being found guilty (Hedderman, 2012).

Corston (2007) asserted that up to 80% of women in prison have diagnosable mental health problems. Mental health problems are significantly higher amongst prisoners, and specifically female prisoners, than in the general population with about 6% of adults contacting mental health and learning disability services (NHS, 2016). A short study by the Social Exclusion Task Force highlighted that about 80% of female prisoners have diagnosable mental health problems and drug dependencies are high on entry (MOJ, 2009). Borrill et al. (2003) found 59% of women in their sample had visited a GP for mental health problems prior to incarceration with white women being more likely (66%) than black and mixed raced women (47%) to seek

help. 82% stated depression as the main reason, and almost half had been prescribed medication (*ibid*, p.28). Often drug and alcohol problems are linked to women's victimisation, offending history and mental health issues (Corston, 2007). Borrill et al.'s (2003) study established 49% of their respondents were dependent on at least one drug. They also demonstrated significant ethnic differences in regards to drug dependencies so that 60% of white women and only 29% of black or mixed race women were recorded as having substance abuse issues (*ibid*, p.12). Overall drug dependency levels are higher for female than male prisoners (Borrill, et al., 2003; Hollin and Palmer, 2006). They are also more likely to progress faster into the use of hard, class A drugs (Borrill, et al., 2003).

Around 66% of female prisoners have dependent children (Epstein, 2014) whilst the MOJ estimates the numbers between 21% and 31% (MOJ, 2015b) based on child benefit claims data. Additionally, female prisoners also often have caring responsibilities for other family members. About 600 women receive antenatal care in prison each year and over 100 give birth whilst incarcerated (North, 2013, p.1).

There are also a significant number of foreign national women held in prisons in England and Wales. The Prison Reform Trust's Briefing Paper indicated that about 13% of female prisoners are foreign national women (PRT, 2012). Many serve sentences for drug offences (46% mostly importation of class A drugs), fraud and forgery (16%) (*ibid*, p.3). Foreign national women have significant lower rates of violence, recidivism and substance misuse (*ibid*).

The Corston report (2007) also stated that female prisoners have lower educational and employment levels than men. It claimed: 'The chaotic lifestyles and backgrounds of many women result in their having very little employment experience or grasp of some very basic life skills' (*ibid*, p.7). Only 19% of the

women in the sample have been in paid employment prior to custody, and 13% never had a job (MOJ, 2012a, p.7). Further, 54% of female offenders were on out-of-work benefits one month before their sentence, which rose to 61% one month after release (MOJ, 2014, p.61), higher than for male offenders and contrary to the general population where men ‘slightly more likely’ (*ibid*, p.60).

Loucks (2007) estimated 20-30% of offenders had learning difficulties or learning disabilities – a ‘hidden disability’ affecting their performance in education and at work (Rack, 2005). The Social Exclusion Unit (2002), additionally, outlined that half the people leaving prisons have reading abilities below the age of 11. Although most studies concentrate on offenders in general, Mottram’s (2007) research in HMP Styal established that 8% of the sampled women had an IQ below 70% and an additional 32% were borderline learning disability.

Overall women’s needs in prisons arise from a complex interplay of imported but also context-specific social, economic, mental and physical health issues that affect their ability to adapt to prison life and subsequently to becoming a prison learner.

### **3.2.2. Prison culture - institutional identities**

Prisons are purposeful designed institutions with three distinct trajectories defining the virtual processes within as discussed in chapter 2. They are, however also social spaces produced through distinct social practices (Lefebvre 1974): physical and embodied spaces produced through a network of social interactions experienced over distinct periods by individuals held (offenders) and working (prison staff) within. Adaptation to prison life has been identified as an important aspect in

women's ability to engage with prison education (Walker, et al., 2006). It, therefore, requires further investigation before analysing women as prison learners.

As Garland (2006) asserted, the term culture is 'an analytical abstraction artificially separated from the other motivations and constraints that shape social action' (p.437) with cultural forms existing 'in their social context of use and the practices of interpretation' (ibid, p.439). Those practices define individual embodied experiences of imprisonment and abilities to form or conform to institutional identities. To simplify the argument, I focus here on cultural aspects informing experiences and social interactions that affect women's engagement with prison education whilst acknowledging that embodied experiences entail sensory experiences and emotions within confined spaces (Moran 2015).

The idea of a distinct prison culture emerged from the analysis of unequal power distributions, enforced group binaries or institutional identities (Foucault, 1977) within 'total institutions' (Goffman, 1961). It, more importantly, analysed the reactions of inmates to penal deprivations and surveillance – the pains of imprisonment. It additionally drew attention to the importation of distinct male behaviour and criminal identities (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes, 1958; Irwin and Cressey, 1962). Studies of female inmate culture have highlighted distinct gender differences in how women import and create inmate identities, adjust to and organise their time in prison and interact with prison staff (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966; Heffernan, 1976; Owen, 1998; Pollock, 2002).

According to Matthews (1999), prisoners utilise three distinct adaptation types. Cooperation and colonisation includes the keeping out of trouble and doing time with minimal stress and conflict. Withdrawal is seen as removing oneself from communications, depression and/or self-harm. Rebellion and resistance such as riots,

hunger strikes and violence are largely ignored here, as they are not as common in female prisons. More common forms are non-cooperation and refusal to take part in normal regime activities (*ibid*, p.55). The form of and events triggering resistance are dependent on offender's backgrounds, past experiences and perception of fair and just treatment (*ibid*), which is particularly important when analysing resistance to regime activities such as prison education. Rubin (2014) however stressed the term resistance should be understood as 'consciously disruptive, intentionally political actions' (*ibid*, p.24). He asserted that most acts of resistance are rather frictions – 'reactive behaviours that occur when people find themselves in highly controlled environments' (*ibid*).

Aforementioned research into prison culture has predominantly reflected on the social practices and experiences of inmate groups. Only, more recently, the interest in prison culture extended to prison staff and their distinct experiences within UK institutions (for a detailed discussion see Liebling, et al., 2010; Crawley, 2004; Bennett, et al., eds. 2008). The introduction of targets to measure softer prison values furthered the focus on 'humane containment', 'safe, decent and healthy regimes' (PSO 7100, 2007, p.11) but more importantly positive staff-prisoner relationships were seen as vital for prisoner rehabilitation. Whilst acknowledging the importance of these discussions, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse them in more detail. However, women's adaptation to prison life, as the following section highlights, is a complex interplay of imported characteristics and institutional realities, including interactions with staff and regime procedures. Research into female prison culture is limited and the studies discussed here have been primarily undertaken in the US.

### **3.2.3. Gendered adaptation to prison life**

Prison culture has been widely understood as a sub-culture formed by prisoners as a response to an oppressive institution (Sykes, 1958; Clemmer, 1940). Prison culture has been constructed as a form of covert resistance or ‘secondary adjustment’ (Goffman, 1961), highlighting prisoner’s agency and expressions of free will in a system designed to suppress individuality and regulate daily activities. It relates to structural imperatives of the institution and the importation of specific social and cultural values and characteristics of individual prisoners. As specifically US studies of female prison culture have highlighted, women adapt differently to prison life than men (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Heffernan, 1976; Owen, 1998; Pollock, 2002).

Ward and Kassebaum (1965) highlighted the significant impact of imprisonment on women through the loss of family relations and children, around which their social and cultural identities had previously been constructed (Goffman, 1961). However, severed social relations led to greater experiences of isolation and difficulties to adapt and adopt an institutional identity. Ward and Kassebaum, additionally, noted less evidence for inmate solidarity and loyalty in female prisons, arguing researchers investigating male prison culture had overemphasised on prisoners as a homogenous group. The variation of roles occupied by women also differed from typical male roles due to women’s specific gendered adaptation: ‘they react as women’ (1965, p.58). Pollock (2002) observed that women imitate intimate family relations in prisons, creating substitute prison families. This highlights the distinct social needs of women in prison.

Heffernan (1972) established that specific groups of prisoners adapted differently to prison life, such as the square, the cool and the life. Adaptation, she asserted, relates to importations of specific outside behaviour, including gendered scripts and

behaviour. The reasons leading to imprisonment, are also a factor in women's pro-criminal or non-criminal identities inside and outside, but also her needs and subsequent individual perception of deprivation. The nature and number of offences became an important indicator for women's inside adaptations and behaviour. 'The life' (prolific offender, drug-related offences) imported a criminal identity and continued committing criminal acts in prison – they resisted and rebelled. 'The square' and 'the cool' cooperated and colonised. She also asserted that different prison spaces create different interaction possibilities, such as work and education spaces, in which inmates are viewed through competencies (*ibid*, p.180) and which are less restrictive. Therefore, adaptations in those spaces differed. But as Heffernan (1972) demonstrated, adaptations are also dynamic and dependent on sentence time and time served in the institution.

Owen's (1998) work demonstrated a more fluid, dynamic and often situational participation, particularly in resistance (p.167). She identified three critical areas that are important in understanding women's participation in prison culture: 'negotiating the prison world, which involves dimensions of juice<sup>5</sup>, respect, and reputation; styles of doing time which include a commitment to the prison code; and one's involvement in trouble, hustles, conflicts and drugs' (*ibid*, p.167). Owen asserted that time spent in prison, pre-prison experiences, previous incarcerations, and relationships formed in the prison, were important factors in women's participation in forms of resistance. But also age, educational levels, commitment to a deviant identity, sentence status, time left to serve and maintenance of relationships outside such as with children determined some involvement.

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<sup>5</sup> Owen (1998) referred here to women's 'informal pull with staff or increased status or maneuverability' (p.96).

Additionally, women's mental and physical health issues and drug dependencies need to be considered as contributing to adverse behaviour as outlined in the previous section. Sim (1990) and Liebling (1994) highlighted the practice of over-medicalisation to control 'challenging' female prisoners. The general profile of female prisoners already pointed to the distinct, imported needs of female prisoners. But frictions and resistance cannot just be linked to individually imported problems, but also the prison's ability to provide safe and respectful environments that allow prisoners to engage in purposeful activities and prepare for resettlement (Howard League, 2016). It is, therefore, also prison staff and institutional structures that affect social practices or better create the conditions for specific forms of resistance to the overall regime. Prison-staff relations were identified as being important in managing suicide risks (MOJ, 2015c). Equally, assaults and violence are seen as a result of both personal and situational factors (MOJ, 2016a, p.40), with the planning and sequencing of activities but also lower staff-prisoner-ratios, amongst others, seen as important steps forward to support engagement with regime activities lowering security risk (*ibid*, p.42).

Imprisonment, itself, leads to the development of a variety of mental health problems due to, for instance, isolation, loss of control, dependence and family separation, specifically the separation from dependable children for many female prisoners (Liebling, 1994): the pains of imprisonment. Other important aspects in prison adaptation are, therefore, specific events outside of women's control that happen whilst imprisoned, such as children being placed into care or loss of significant outside relations. Those trigger 'reactive behaviours' (Rubin 2014, p.24) rather than pre-planned and organised resistances.

Women's prisons have traditionally higher rates of self-harm, indicating possibly greater problems in women's adaptation to prison life (Voelm and Dolan, 2014), due

to the issues mentioned above but also their complex mental and physical health needs. Criminological research has also emphasised on ‘regimes of femininity’ that regulate and control appearances, work and behaviour of female prisoners (Carlen, 1983; Dobash, et al., 1986; Smith, 1962). MOJ statistics demonstrate a traditionally higher rate of disciplinary sanctions in female prisons for disobedience and disrespect (MOJ, 2014), which would indicate higher rates of resistance/frictions in female prisons. As Dobash et al (1986) asserted, ‘women in prison are more closely observed and controlled, more often punished, and punished for more trivial offences than are men in prison’ (p.207). The IEP system currently used to control prisoner behaviour, through coercion, has been criticised for leading to prisoner frustration, defiance and withdrawal (Liebling, 2008). The overestimation of a prisoner’s ability to always choose rationally in often-unfamiliar environments, but also the relationship between legitimacy and compliance, can lead to a prisoner’s inability to maintain agency, trust and normative mechanisms (*ibid*, p.39) important factors for female desistance. Frictions might therefore arise from women’s individual perception of respect and fair treatment (Hulley, et al., 2011).

Female prisoners have been continuously described as ‘needy and challenging’ (HMI, 2011), difficult to handle and irrational in their behaviour (Dobash, et al., 1986; Smith, 1962; Fry, 1858). But as women’s experiences differ prior to incarceration, their experiences in custody subsequently differ from male experiences (Carlen, 1993; 1998; Dobash, et al., 1986) requiring gender-specific regimes and procedures. This, as this thesis will demonstrate, should also include a thorough analysis of displaced social interactions through technological artefacts, a revision of staff responsibilities and educational targets.

### **3.2.4. Women as prison learner**

‘Women perceive institutional control [...] [as in prisons] as a replication of many of the institutional controls found in larger society, thus creating discomfort for them in jail or prison classrooms’

(Mageehon, 2003, p.191).

Contemporary studies of prison education for female offenders in the UK are rare. I have, therefore, also included, in addition to the relevant UK studies identified, research studies undertaken in the US, noting that there are differences in prison population, provision and size.

Mageehon’s small-scale study in a US detention centre (2003) investigated the links between prior educational experiences and women’s engagement in prison education. Three central themes emerged; the importance of early learning experiences on engagement in the prison classroom, the role of teachers shaping those experiences in early life, and later in the prison, and the individuality of learning styles. Although the sample was very limited in scope, it highlighted that individual prior experiences of education, in addition to the needs arising from women’s pathways into crime, ‘mediate who they are as students’ (*ibid*, p.197). This was echoed in a research study undertaken by Walker et al. (2006) for the Learning and Skills Development Agency (LSC). Their conclusions and recommendations drew particular attention to the distinct gendered issues and needs of female offenders that determine participation and ability to engage in educational activities. They additionally determined specific group characteristics affecting classroom behaviour and learning differences. ‘Juveniles and young female offenders are likely to have high rates of self-harming, and their behaviour, throughout any custodial sentence, is likely to be more unpredictable than that of older women’ (*ibid*, p.13).

Negative experiences with compulsory education and peer pressure in prisons (specific aspects of prison culture) also negatively affected their engagement with education. Although not gender-specific, Rogers et al. (2014b) affirmed the age-related needs of younger offenders (under the age of 25) that are often neglected in policies concerning prison education and in educational provision, such as length of stay, but also their distinct behaviour. Older women were seen to be either less interested in education but also ‘less likely to see employment as a realistic option for the future’ (Walker, et al., 2006, p.15). Another key issue ‘for priorities and participation in the offender’s learning journey was the difference between UK nationals and foreign nationals’ (*ibid*). Foreign national women were perceived of as overall more interested in education, but also prison employment. Walker et al. (2006) also established priorities and issues arising from individual sentence status and length. Women in the early stages of their sentence and, specifically, first time offenders, experience high levels of stress. ‘Women often have immediate priorities related to addiction and detoxification, and to other pressing physical health problems’ (*ibid*, p.19). Contact with family and children were also high priorities. Women serving short sentences were also more concerned about securing accommodation on release, and harder to engage in learning activities (*ibid*). They conclude gendered approaches to learning and teaching women in prisons are needed to meet the ‘social and emotional needs of women offenders’ (*ibid*, p.44). Braggins’ and Talbot’s research study for the Prison Reform Trust (2003) in England, additionally highlighted the importance of personal health and women-centred educational provision.

Rose (2004) and Rose and Roses’ (2014) studies from the US, investigated female prisoner participation in prison education programmes. The first study connects shifting trends in participation in official prison culture, such as wider policy

changes, incarceration numbers, changes in institutional procedures and women-centred program developments. The review also links considerations of prison culture to an understanding of individual motivation and adaptations to prison life, the development of social bonds in (with children) and with the institution as important factors to determine participation. The research in 2014 established that child visits, time served, participation in other programs such as employment counselling, community adjustment programmes, life skills and parenting classes, were influential gender factors in post-secondary education engagement for women.

A study by Dixon and Jones (2013) for NIACE focused on the ‘challenges faced by staff and learners’ (p.14). The study linked individual embodied experiences with prison education to institutional procedures. Educational experience starts in induction and with learner assessments, continue with access and choices available and end on release. They are also informed by prior experiences of education and prison-staff relations in the prison. The researchers particularly highlighted the importance of women-centred provision in this establishment, focusing on positive factors and the future of women. Overall, they concluded that learning plans and progression routes need to be created in dialogue with individual women, disruptions from other services need to be limited, employment opportunities enhanced inside and outside and peer support and partnerships with community and voluntary sector organisation developed. Williams’s (2003) recollections of her work as theatre practitioner in HMP Holloway, also pointed at that the stress women experience in prisons determine their participation. However, she also commented how work and education provide normalcy and ‘an outlet for developing an identity within the prison’ (*ibid*, p.182).

### 3.3. Summary

Gender considerations have entered the penal and rehabilitative discourse, outlining the distinct needs of female offenders arising from their complex pathways into crime (MOJ, 2012c). Women offenders have similar educational needs to those of male offenders but their embodied experiences and often-limited ability to adapt to prison life demonstrate different approaches are needed to engage women in prison education. With higher problems in finding employment than men, prison education should form an important aspect of female rehabilitation and needs reduction. However, education and work feature little in gendered desistance narratives (Bindel, et al., 2013; Giordano, et al., 2002). Blanchette and Brown (2006) also noted a weaker association between employment histories and recidivism for female offender (p.104). Similarly, they suggested ‘study results are equivocal in regards to whether this domain [education and skills levels] is truly criminogenic for women’ (*ibid*, p.89). This is not a critique of prison education *per se*, but raises some valid concerns about the validity as a criminogenic need for women.

Desistance narratives might reflect to some extent the very traditional views and ideas of offending women (Heidensohn, 1996; Carlen, 1987). But, as the gendered pathway’s perspective, the distinct learner characteristics and this thesis suggest, a consideration of the complexity and life histories of women is essential in the delivery and planning of an inclusive female-centred educational provision. The Home office research study on women prisoners’ work and training experiences in custody highlighted the additional needs and difficulties faced by women in the institution, and on release, but also the limitations of prison skills provision in female prisons (Hamlyn and Lewis, 2000). It also demonstrated that ‘women without any pre-sentence qualifications [with criminogenic need] were significantly less likely to

be aiming toward a qualification compared to women that had an educational track record' (ibid: xii).

With increased demands on women's economic independence and participation in the job market, the development of educational and employment skills are important. Blanchette and Brown (2006) equally suggest equipping women with practical skills is the best course of action for correctional services (p.111). But, it seems many female offenders are somehow reluctant or unable to create a different more economic 'empowered' replacement self. This, therefore, suggests a gap and tension between the dominant rehabilitation trajectory of prisons and individual needs perceptions of female offenders. It further suggests imprisonment and prison education might be able to provide the necessary structural breaks, however, neglects the importance of subjectivity and individual agency in initiating rehabilitation (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009). Thus, mandatory administration of prison education might create the perception of rehabilitative punishment (McNeill, 2014). Additionally, managerialism and prison targets focus on outcomes 'act desistance' rather than the processes of 'identity' and 'relational desistance' (Nugent and Schinkel, 2016). Additionally, the pathway perspective, women prisoner profiles and adaptations to prison life highlighted distinct vulnerabilities of female offenders that might be escalated in prisons, but also affect her behaviour and create frictions in mandatory regime activities, such as prison education. Corston referred to the lack of 'emotional literacy' in prison education. She stated 'simply getting along with people without conflict must come before numeracy and literacy skills' (Corston 2007, p.44). This aligns to necessary relational aspects of desistance but also highlights the conflicts between virtual rehabilitation with 'act desistance' – the reduction of re-offending rates – as ultimate goal as outlined in chapter 2 and the actual processes and subtle shifts that make up an offenders desistance journey but also underpin the

ideas of prison education as rehabilitative space. Those are, however, hard to enumerate. It also highlights the necessity of space for reflection and self-assessment to enable women to include education and employment into their individual desistance narratives.

#### ***4. Technologies of control***

The concluding chapter of the literature review analyses in detail the implications of the managerial turn. It pays particular attention to the cultural and social implications of information and communication technologies that have been implemented within institutional settings such as the prison. Communication and information technologies have become vital in contemporary state governance (Garland 2001, Franko-Aas, 2005). They, however, also shape our everyday lives and the production of knowledge, which, as this chapter demonstrates, has significant impact on the assessment and treatment of the female prison learner. The cultural and social significance of technological changes have been discussed by a variety of authors (Gere, 2002; Hayles, 2012; Manovich, 2001). Franko-Aas (2005) pointed out that ‘criminologists have not been overly eager to join the discussion’ (p.37), however, there are shifts.

However, as outlined in chapter 2, the managerial turn furthered what Garland called a ‘governing at a distance’ (Garland, 1990) with the creation of accountability and efficiency frameworks and the implementation of wider institutional information networks. Chapter 3 outlined the shifting knowledge about female prisoners, female criminality and crime desistance, essential in the development and justification of standardised rehabilitation models and standards for prison administration and the treatment of female prisoners. The subsequent development of prison policies, prison service orders as virtual blueprints of action inform economic, rehabilitative, and security trajectories of individual prisons including the management of prison education as one part of the rehabilitation agenda that inform the design of contextual prison spaces. They reflect contemporary knowledge of criminality and prevalent ideas of rehabilitation whilst also outlining reporting and information exchange structures within the institution and the wider penal network. As Franko-Aas (2005)

asserted “the new information and communication technologies are transforming the nature of penal knowledge itself, and thereby also the discursive parameters in which penal policies are discussed and implemented” (p.4). However, they are not completely new forms of communication and knowledge transmission but rather refashioning older forms of technologies whilst bringing new distinct characteristics (Bolter and Grusin, 1999) and affordances (Gibson, 1979) into local interactions. Those characteristics and the shaping of social actions and interactions, therefore, need to be examined in more detail because, as this thesis argues, these particular characteristics shape local interactions within institutional settings such as the prison and specifically the prison classroom. Further, a thorough analysis of contextual changes to prison education through the introduction of technological artefacts have not been undertaken in this form.

This chapter analyses, therefore, the distinct characteristics of (new) technologies and the wider cultural and social implications of their implementation within prisons and prison education. It starts by examining and arguing that technology and objects employed within human interactions need to be understood as vital actors and mediators that transform, fragment and therefore, virtualise and disembody information creating individuals (Deleuze, 1992) or dataviduals (Franko Aas, 2005) due to their inherent characteristics and affordances.

#### **4.1. Technology and action**

The debate about the influence of communication and information technology on wider social and cultural changes is ongoing and issues such as globalisation and social networks are of little relevance to and beyond the scope of this thesis. Digital or new technologies are however, not to be understood as a revolution (Castells 1996) and/or technological changes as indeed the determining factor of social and

cultural change (McLuhan). Technologies are rather continuous in their development as MacKenzie & Wajcman, eds. (1999) point out: “New technology, then, typically emerges not from flashes of disembodied inspiration but from existing technology, by a process of gradual change to, and new combinations of, that existing technology” (p.12). Therefore, on one hand they incorporate and refashion older forms of communication and information transmission (Bolter and Grusin, 1999). On the other, they reflect, transform and shape contemporary discourse and objects of knowledge that possess their own history of emergence (Foucault, 1989). Each technology introduces distinct affordances (Gibson, 1979) that stabilise contemporary knowledge, rendering ‘technology [...] knowledge as well as artifacts’ (MacKenzie and Wajcman, eds., 1994, p.9). This is particularly important as prison assessment instruments reflect contemporary knowledge claims of female offenders whilst introducing specific forms of recording the needs and risks associated with offending behaviour.

Technology and technological objects can also not be seen as residing outside of society or being neutral in their application and implementation. Technologies are shaped by social and economic factors. For instance, ‘the economic shaping of technology would still be its social shaping’ as economic laws/markets emerge within specific forms of society (MacKenzie and Wajcman eds, 1994, p.22). The state forms part of technological developments as digital networks, for instance, emerged with military needs to facilitate decentralised information storage and exchange (*ibid*, p.27). As Garland (2001) observed ‘the most fundamental lesson of the twentieth century is not a political one but a structural one’ (p.205). As political power is devolved not at least through the privatisation of state institutions such as the prison and further education, an effective and legitimate government needed to introduce technological systems to control the structural changes, on one hand, but

also to produce a transparent governmentality (Garland, 2001). Those changes as discussed in chapter 2 developed with ‘the new infrastructure of computers, information technology, and detailed information gathering’ (*ibid*, p. 116).

Technology and technological artefacts are also cultural products and objects (Shedroff, 2003; Poster, 2006) where cultural and technical dimensions are inseparably linked together (Bolter, 2001, p.9). New communication systems, for instance, transform space and time: fundamental aspects of human life (Castells, 2010, p.406). However, even mundane artefacts, such as a front door key or an electronic door closer have cultural implications (Latour, 1992). As Latour rightfully observed, human competencies are delegated to the artefact, which takes over specific human tasks. It allows a human to act-at-a-distance and subsequently changes social interactions and work relations (Latour, 1992). ‘Material resources – artifacts and technologies, such as walls, prisons, weapons, writing, agriculture – are part of what makes large-scale society feasible. The technological, instead of being a sphere separate from society, is part of what makes society possible, in other words is constitutive of society’ (MacKenzie and Wajcman eds, 1994, p.42). Social relations are not independent of technology – artefacts are involved in most ways humans interact with each other. They shape social interactions and consequently human behaviour. Technologies can, therefore, not be separated from economic, cultural and social dimensions or the social contexts in which they are shaped and which they subsequently shape through their implementation and use.

#### ***4.1.1. Technological interfaces***

Sociologists such as Latour (2005), therefore, eradicated the distinction between human and non-human actors. They understand tools and technologies as active

agents with agency inscribed into them through their design and distinct affordances (Gibson). Those incorporate social and cultural dimensions that define and shape interactions via distinct interfaces. In Human-Computer-Interaction HCI interfaces are commonly reduced to computer screens (mobile, PC, etc.) but interfaces are points enabling two systems, subjects, organisations to meet and interact with each other. As Galloway (2012) explained ‘the interface becomes the point of transition between different mediatic layers within a nested system [...] an ‘agitation’ or generative friction between different formats’ (p.31). It is important to stress that interfaces are not just of digital nature, however, the focal point of this chapter is the digital realm and therefore, predominantly analyses its specificity. ‘In computer science, this happens very literally; an ‘interface’ is the name given to the way in which one glob of code can interact with another’ (ibid). However, the observations undertaken for this thesis concentrated primarily on interfaces as points of contact between designed objects such as information technology and humans such as the digital assessment instruments. To understand those points of contact it is, therefore necessary to highlight the distinct affordances of digital technologies or defining principles that accentuate the cultural and social shifts and interactions.

#### **4.1.2. Affordances of digital artefacts**

Manovich (2001) pointed at some of the defining principles of new media: numeric representation, modularity, automation, variability and transcoding. I return to these properties in the section on data and information. Murray (2012) similarly defined four distinct affordances of the digital medium that shape the design and subsequently the interactions with and via digital interfaces.

Firstly, the procedural property enables representation but also the execution of conditional behaviour. This includes the mastering of complexity ‘by creating

abstract representations that describe elements of systems in the most general terms that most accurately describe their most salient features' (Murray, 2012, p.52). Therefore, standards and categories are necessary to order and reduce complexity. However, additionally 'programmers abstract behaviours' to create algorithms that define the processes a computer, program or similar will be executing (ibid, p.53) when interacted with. Procedural power also defines how objects and processes are represented or simulated. 'Simulations [are] working models of complex systems [...] that aspire to reproduce the complexity we recognise in natural and social systems' (ibid, p.53). Whether, this is an assessment tool such as the virtual prison tour simulating an introduction to the complexity of prison services and procedures through a test processing individual inputs into test scores or the prisoner database (PNomis) transforming complex life histories of offenders into manageable needs and risk scores. Procedural power is often invisible to the normal user inputting information into digital systems and automated outputs become, therefore, opaque in their creation leading to possible gaps in understanding the connection between inserted information and output.

Secondly, the computer is a participatory medium enabling users to manipulate digital artefacts such as databases via input devices such as keyboards and mouse (ibid: 55). Increasingly participation also means social participation and network activities (ibid: 56). Although, social networks are not used in prison environments, network activities: the sharing of data and information via database systems such as LIDS or PrisonNomis connects different users within institutions and across different agencies: communities of practice. They need to be able to input and read data at different sites, hence require the storage and transmission of distinct data and information. However, they also require a standardised system of recording and reading data (so-called boundary objects as discussed below) to enable interagency

communication. Bijker and Pinch (1984) highlighted the possibility of an ‘interpretative flexibility’ of technology. They asserted that different groups of people involved with a technology could have different understandings of that technology, its characteristics and arrive at different judgements of its appropriateness and working (*ibid*). Users are, however, not only influenced by their use of technology but also the social environments that use takes place in and the actions of others within the digital but also physical realm (Dourish, 2001 and Suchman, 2007). This is specifically relevant in institutions such as the prison with unequal power relations that are inscribed into the technological artefacts but also the processes and procedures as for instance in prisoner induction.

Thirdly, the computer is an encyclopaedic medium as it ‘can contain and transmit more information in humanly accessible form than all previous media combined [original emphasis]’ (Murray 2012, p. 66). Therefore, the storage of data is no longer an issue of data selection processes and the amount of data to be used and stored. However, distinct use environments such as the prison with its security, data acquisition and transmission requirements form part of the decision-making processes to restrict and limit its encyclopaedic possibilities to distinct objects of knowledge, forms of data, data storage and access to data and information.

Fourthly, the computer is a spatial medium. It ‘constructs space in a different way from other media: it creates virtual spaces that are also navigable by the interactor’ (Murray 2012, p. 70). Computer sciences, engineering and the emerging field of new media studies in the 1990s perceived of interfaces including computer screens as ‘being transparent membranes or reflective surfaces, downplaying their mediating function in co-producing spatial formations’ (Lammas 2017, p.1021). As Galloway (2012) pointed out ‘the more intuitive a device becomes, the more it risks falling out of media altogether, becoming as naturalized as air or as common as dirt’ (p.25).

However, ‘the objects and the space that make up the computer desktop – the file folders, windows, manipulable icons, and menus – were developed over time [...] as abstractions that include only those spatial properties that reinforce their functions as chunks of information and programming code’ (Murray 2012, p. 71). Whilst interface design aims to construct experiences of uninterrupted ‘flow’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997), interfaces represent reality within constructed virtual spaces. It is, therefore, necessary to understand ‘how this reality is reconfigured through the computer’ (Pold 2005, n.p.) and view interfaces as an assemblage of actors in ever-shifting relations (Latour 2005, p. 43), as made by humans and things in use. Spatial representation systems use abstractions necessary for standardised communication that make the navigation of and interaction with virtual spaces possible. Interfaces therefore, visualise the very structure of knowledge or information and connect different spaces of practice. However, they are also the representation that provide the structure for so-called expert systems. Those structure and simulate embodied human expertise to act-at-a-distance. This is particularly important, when looking at educational artefacts such as assessment instruments employed in prisoner induction. It is also important for distance learning technologies.

This part highlighted the distinct affordances of information and communication technologies. ‘The matter at hand is not that of coming to know a world, but rather that of how specific, abstract definitions are executed to form a world’ (Galloway 2012, p.23). Additionally, Michael (2006) noted ‘the norms, expectations, conventions of social interactions are in part enacted with, and mediated through, all manners of mundane technologies’ (p. 37). Therefore, technologies such as computers but also other tools employed are shaped within social contexts and through distinct objects of knowledge. They formalise interactions through specific

tool affordances (Gibson, 1979 and Latour, 1992) and characteristics. Hence, they are to be considered when analysing social contexts and interactions. As Suchmann (2007) rightfully claimed, actions and interactions are context specific: they are framed through the context in which they take place and the actors (including technologies) employed in those contexts. New communication technologies change not only access to information but also the kind of information shared and with whom. With more and more technological artefacts being introduced into prison education and shaping educational interactions considering the distinct characteristics and affordances of digital technology within the analysis of local contexts is paramount to understanding the institutional reality of prison education.

## **4.2. Virtual spaces of governance/institutional communication - networks**

As the previous part highlighted, digital technologies such as computers are a spatial medium. They construct virtual spaces. Unlike physical spaces, they are not defined through tangible objects such as walls, fences or similar but through distinct characteristics (Manovich, 2001 and Murray, 2012) that define their design but also subsequently user interactions. Scripted objects commonly experienced as graphical representations on digital interface allow a user to navigate space, access information but also input and create information. They are, therefore, distinct from physical spaces, which are produced and modified by specific culture of individuals and groups sharing physical contexts such as prison classrooms. Virtual and physical interactional spaces subsequently differ.

### ***4.2.1. The virtual and the real***

The idea of the virtual, however, is far more than a technological or communicational term. Deleuze defined the virtual an aspect of reality that is ideal but nonetheless real. Therefore, prison service orders and instructions are

idealisations of prison reality. Similarly, Berthier (2004) argued the virtual is an ‘ideal-real’ referring predominantly to digital objects and spaces such as virtual reality and databases. It is not necessarily real (material) but possesses actual not potential qualities. Therefore, digital spaces are idealisations or as Baudrillard (1994) argued substitutions and simulations of physical reality a hyper-reality or simulacrum that we are in danger to take as reality. For Poster (1995) virtual reality is a “dangerous term as it suggests that reality may be multiple or take many forms”. Most importantly, “it changes the things that it treats, transforming the identity of originals and referentialities” (p.30). According to this, reality takes on multiple forms (reduction and use in different spaces) with virtual entities or virtualities representing idealised realities often through processes of reduction.

#### ***4.2.1. Virtual spaces of communication***

Virtual spaces of communication are not an invention of the 20th century nor do they exist primarily in the digital realm. They came into being with the emergence of writing and inscription technologies as a medium of communication and have changed over time. As McLuhan (1964) pointed out man adapted to ‘the line, the continuum... [as] the organizing principle of life’. However, writing is more than the extension of the human eye (ibid). It creates its own (virtual) spaces defined through the rules of writing itself (alphabets, language, standards), the inscription technologies used but also the rules, standards and measurements of reporting and manifesting the social in for instance static documents before the introduction of digital technologies and communication structures in the 20th century. Hence, as Bolter (2001) argued cultural and technical dimensions cannot be separated, they constitute technology together (p. 19). Postman (1993) furthered this argument, suggesting that each communication technology (including digital communication technologies) has altered human reality in a specific way. As outlined above

computer technology possesses distinct affordances and characteristics that shape interactions and human reality by transforming, altering and even overtaking human actions and relations. The emergence of digital technologies and specifically digital networks shape and characterise society in the information age (Castells, 1996). Those technologies as McLuhan (1964) and Castells (1996) argued affected specifically space, time and structure of human activities.

Digital networks enable the flow of information between spaces in real time through formatted communication tools such as databases or websites that can be accessed through electronic interfaces at any time and any place. ‘Relationships no longer depend on embodied persons being co-present with each other’ (Lyon in Lyon, ed. P.18) but being connected through digital networks. Castells (1996) defined ‘a network [as] a set of interconnected nodes’ (ibid, p. 470). Nodes are points of intersections depending on the concrete network that range from stock exchange markets to councils of ministers and television systems (ibid) but also include the penal justice system (Franko-Aas, 2005) and its various administration networks and educational provisions in settings such as the prison. ‘Networks are open structures, able to expand without limits, integrating new nodes as able as they are able to communicate within the network, namely as long as they share the same communication codes (for example, values or performance goals)’ (Castells 1996, p.470). According to McLuhan (1964) ‘both time (as measured visually and segmentally) and space (as uniform, pictorial, and enclosed) disappear in the electronic age of instant information’ (p. 152) ending ‘space as the as the main factor in social arrangements’ (p.94). Poster (2006) argued that ‘society is a now a double movement: one of individuals and institutions, another of information flows’ (p.65). Therefore, prisons are material reality and context for embodied experiences of individuals but also consist of virtual spaces allowing interactions with immaterial

information flows to monitor and control its interconnected trajectories (security, rehabilitation and economy).

However, as Franko-Aas (2005) argued, ‘information is not simply, not even primarily an objectivated piece of scientific knowledge, but rather a tool for governance’ (p.50). Garland (2001) pointed at the ‘systemisation of criminal justice – using information technology, operational models, and computerised data processing’ (p.115) starting in the 1980s and 1990s in the UK. ‘This systemisation has allowed a greater measure of central planning and control to occur, and has enhanced government’s capacity to pursue system-wide policy objectives’ (*ibid*). ‘New information, and especially communication technologies and improved transportation, have enabled many things to be done at a distance in the past half century’ (Lyon in Lyon, ed., 2003, p.18). This governing-at-a-distance (Garland, 2001) as discussed in chapter 2 uses distinct virtual spaces of communication to monitor, assess and account for prison performances but also to control the individuals within: prisoners and prison staff ‘to focus decision-making and target interventions’ (p.116). For that, ‘contemporary governmental strategies are intricately connected with various knowledge systems [...] [and] the need to know the objects that are being governed’ (Franko-Aas, 2005, p.50-51). Within prison education the objects to be controlled include educational levels but also attendance records. Although Franko-Aas (2005) analysed sentencing information systems similarities can be drawn to any other information systems. Firstly, the choice of information is a political decision. As chapter 2 highlighted, criminogenic needs are the very problems to be addressed to rehabilitate offenders. Secondly, the methods to collect and circulate information are of utmost importance. ‘Information needs to be produced and circulated; it needs a technological, organisational and economic infrastructure that enables its survival’ (*ibid*, p.51). As discussed in chapter 2 prisons

have three distinct trajectories that intertwine. The economic, security and rehabilitative trajectories require and produce specific information flows ensuring the survival of an individual prison, its services and provision. Those information flows are captured and disseminated in distinct technological artefacts. The next section, therefore, discusses the very distinct characteristics of databases as ‘the key category of culture’ (Manovich, 2001) that shape the production and circulation of information via information networks.

### **4.3. Procedural technologies**

Computer technology including digital communication technologies are procedural. This means they depend on specific software, protocols, scripting languages and codes to assume functionality. ‘Codes [...] are part of every communication technology, every transmission medium’ (Kittler in Fuller, ed. 2008, p. 40). As Galloway (2012), Hayles (2012), Manovich (2001) and others highlighted those are distinct from human language and follow precise rules and structures rooted in ‘deterministic mathematical language’ (Galloway, 2012, p.74). Franko-Aas (2005) analysing sentencing in a computer-mediated age discerned that the communication tools and codes used within penal practice favour ‘abstract factors amendable by the technological framework at hand’ (p. 158). ‘Code [...] lays down the law for one and all’ (Kittler in Fuller, ed. 2008 p. 45). Computer users experience representations via graphical interfaces that assume the figurations of social and cultural entities. However, as Lessig (2006) stressed, ‘[computer] code is technical’ (p.324) in comparison to for instance legal and moral codes we experience in real space. Within digital spaces ‘we must understand how a different ‘code’ regulates - how the software and hardware (i.e., the code of cyberspace) that make cyberspace [digital space] what it is also regulate cyberspace as it is’ (p.5). Digital communication follows precise rules and procedures that affect the representations

experienced by users. Meaning is produced through specifically coded software interfacing with other computer software and hardware via (for the user) invisible networks. ‘Software concatenates every single value, no matter how trivial, in relationships that are essentially social, communicative, and corporeal or living’ (Mackenzie, A. in Fuller, M. ed. 2008, p. 157). In essence, the computer’s logic and hence, digital communication are based on programmed data structures and algorithms eliminating the ambiguity inherent of human language but also the contextual spaces of knowledge creation. Therefore, they are distinct from human sense-making and rationalisation processes that are embedded in language and contexts as highlighted in chapter 3 and are specifically important for desistance and actual rehabilitation. This, as the subsequent section comparing database and narrative discusses, creates information structures that are distinct from knowledge systems.

#### **4.3.1. Databases**

Manovich asserted, that ‘the computer age brought with it a new cultural algorithm: reality -> media -> data -> database’ (2001, p.225). He argued, that databases are ‘the key category of culture’ (*ibid*, p.217). According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica online:

‘Database, also called electronic database, any collection of data, or information, that is specially organized for rapid search and retrieval by a computer. Databases are structured to facilitate the storage, retrieval, modification, and deletion of data in conjunction with various data-processing operations. A database management system (DBMS) extracts information in response to queries’ ([www.britannica.com/technology/database](http://www.britannica.com/technology/database))’.

Therefore,

‘a computer database is quite different from a traditional collection of documents: It allows one to quickly access, sort, and reorganize millions of records; it can contain different media types, and it assumes multiple indexing of data, since each record besides the data itself contains a number of fields with user-defined values’

(Manovich, 2001, p. 214).

It is not constrained to one place but can be shared over various sites. In the UK databases of offenders are shared by multiple agencies (prison, probation) to ensure a joint-up, end-to-end management of individual offenders from conviction and sentencing to reintegration (Home Office, 2004a; DfES, 2003a). However, other databases are also of importance such as used in a variety of educational settings (see educational assessments). Therefore, they not only connect different sites of access but also in some instances different communities of practice. ‘As a cultural form, the database represents the world as a list of items, and it refuses to order this list’ (*ibid.*, p.225). Database designers fulfil the difficult task to, on one hand, construct the right interfaces for navigation and interaction (*ibid.*, p. 215). On the other hand, they have to negotiate between two sets of language – the arbitrary language of humans and the precise language of computer code. In addition, they decide how datasets are being processed, connected and analysed. In detail, input and search fields need to be defined according to the data and media that can be filled into and form part of the database’s functionality.

Digital information and communications system consist of programmed data structures. Data are discreet entities that differ from information and more so knowledge. To further highlight the distinct differences and possible discrepancies between the virtualities, the ‘ideal-real’ rehabilitation influencing institutional procedures and the local context of prison education and the ideas of crime

desistance, it is important to assess the very distinct differences between data and information. Before analysing the details, it is, however, important to briefly outline standards, categories and classification systems that underpin contemporary knowledge systems and affect institutional processes and communication systems and data creation.

#### **4.3.2. Categories, Standards and classifications**

Standards and classifications form an integral part of human history. They are artefacts designed to create order and make sense of phenomena within a complex world of objects, animals, weather conditions, and so forth. ‘To classify is [therefore] human’ (Bowker and Leigh Star, 1999, p.1). Standards and classifications are powerful technologies (ibid, p.320) embedded into every economic, social and political structure, knowledge and information and communication system as evident from the previous chapters.

Foucault (1989), therefore, argued for a thorough examination of the origins of social categories and practices. He drew particular attention to an emerging writing apparatus within disciplinary societies and the emergence of the human sciences during the Enlightenment period. He asserted that each period brought with it their own acceptability of truth and language changing the very conditions in which discourse occurs and its objects of knowledge are developed. He asserted that the emerging human sciences were ‘dangerous intermediaries in the space of knowledge [...] [reliant] on other domains of knowledge’ (p.380) mainly the three disciplines biology, economics and language. Therefore, ‘these three pairs of function and norm [biology], conflict and rule [economics], signification and system [language] completely cover the entire domain of what can be known about man’ (ibid, p.389/90). Practices of examination and surveillance turned individuals into objects

of knowledge entering a network of writing (Foucault, 1977, p.191) of ever-increasing standards and classifications evolving from the human but also other sciences. Therefore, classifications and standards sort membership whilst also subsequently organising the social (Goffman, 1977, p.330). They are also important actors that stabilise distinct groups within networks of meaning and aid group and identity formations (Latour, 2005) such as for instance categories associated with sex or ethnicity.

According to the definition developed by Bowker and Leigh Star (1999) ‘A classification is a spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world. A ‘classification system’ is a set of boxes into which things can be put to then do some kind of work – bureaucratic or knowledge production’ (p.10). Classification systems span over several communities of practice and within modern organisations, they are ‘tools that are both material and symbolic’ (*ibid*, p. 286). However, as Jacob (2004) pointed out ‘classification as process involves the orderly and systematic assignment of each entity to one and only one class within a system of mutually exclusive and non-overlapping classes’ (p.522). Classification differs therefore, from categorisation. ‘Categorisation can be defined as the placement of entities in groups whose members bear some similarity to each other’ (*ibid*, p. 521). Individuals and objects can be members of several groups/categories however, only become a member of one class within classification systems. Categorisations and classifications are artefacts. ‘They are both conceptual (in the sense of persistent patterns of change and action, resources for organising abstractions) and material (in the sense of being inscribed, transported, and affixed to stuff)’ (Bowker and Leigh Star 1999, p. 289).

‘Standards on the other hand have several dimensions:

- A ‘standard’ is any set of agreed-upon rules for the production of (textual or material) objects.
- A standard spans more than one community of practice (or site of activity). It has temporal reach as well as in that it persists over time.
- Standards are deployed in making things work together over distance and heterogenous metrics [...]
- Legal bodies often enforce standards, be these mandated by professional organisations, manufacturers organisations, or the state [...]
- There is no law that the best standard should win [...]
- Standards have significant inertia and can be very difficult and expensive to change’

(Bowker and Leigh Star 1999, 13/14).

Busch (2011) asserted that ‘standards are powerful’ (p. 28) in governing human relations (Foucault 2007, 2008). Power emerges from the ability to set rules others have to follow. However, the exercise of power is more subtle. ‘Standards display anonymous power’ (Busch, 2011, p.29) and have the ability to become ‘natural’. Nevertheless, standards also create some kind of predictability of how objects and humans behave (ibid, p.33). Standards, categories and classifications are virtual entities as they refer to, reference and reduce multiple realities into an ‘ideal-real’ (Deleuze, 1992) or in other words, ‘they embody goals of practice and production that are never perfectly realised’ (Bowker and Leigh Star, 2011, p.15) such the standardisation of prison procedures and rehabilitation techniques.

As already outlined in chapter 2 the managerial turn furthered the development of standardised formats to on one hand compare prison performance at large but also specific ones such as the performance of prison education. The development of educational accountability systems required a standardisation of educational formats, frameworks and levels to form part of institutional and inter-institutional information exchanges and governance (Foucault, 2007, 2008). Standards, classifications and categories are embodied in bureaucratic systems, institutional infrastructures and communication systems. They are distinct building blocks that define human and object characteristics, affect and shape behaviour and interactions within communities of practice such as a prison classroom. But, they also enable the transport and communication of specific sets of information from one space into another such as in shared databases. Therefore, such information systems require what Bowker and Leigh Star (1999) coined ‘boundary objects’. Those ‘inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them [...]. They are working arrangements that resolve anomalies of naturalisation’ (p.297) of standards and categories evolving from different communities of practice (outside and inside education).

Standards and classifications are derived from data gathered relating to specific observed phenomena and/or human behaviour. They create specific group belongings and stabilise institutional identities (Latour, 2005) within socio-technical networks. They form, however, also an integral part in how and which data are gathered specially within information and communication networks and lay the rules of transforming data into information and knowledge systems as discussed in the next section.

#### **4.3.3. Data, information and knowledge**

The emergence of standards, categories and classifications requires (scientific) knowledge as well as information and data from which they are derived. 'Data [however] does not just exist – it has to be generated. Data creators have to collect data and organize it, or create it from scratch' (Manovich, 2001, p.224). The second half of the 20th and beginning of the 21th century, however, is marked by an increased data production and analysis through technological artefacts (MacKenzie and Wajcman, eds., 1999). Humans and their daily activities are embedded in a data environment. Data produced is more than diverse including consumption patterns, health records, satellite images, social media and phone use. 'Big data' is held by institutions, governmental departments but also private companies (such as facebook). Although forming part of wider policy implementations 'big data' is not the main concern of this thesis. It has been proclaimed however, 'data is the new raw material of the 21st century' (Berners-Lee and Shadbolt, 2011) and 'information [...] the key ingredient of our social organisation' (Castells, 1996, p.477). The emergence of digital information and communication technologies had a significant impact on the transmission of knowledge, how information is processed and transmitted, data are accumulated and analysed.

Some writers equate data, information and knowledge. 'Data is information or knowledge about an individual, object or event' (Purdam and Elliot, in Halfpenny and Procter, eds., 2015). However, there subtle differences between those terms. Individual data points: the facts, figures and details are the discrete building blocks from which information is derived. They are rarely meaningful in isolation but need to be placed into specific contexts to become information. This context consists of standardised procedures (Bowker and Leigh Star, 1999, p.117), standardised measurements and tools. Information derives from data processing, organizing,

structuring and/or presenting in a specific context. Information are disembodied or virtual entities that can be removed from their site of creation. For instance, a statistical data point such as an individual numerical test item only derives meaning through the context of the test itself and/or another value attached to it for instance an educational level or grade. This information can then be removed from the test site and transported into various other sites at once. As Byfield (2005) summarised, information ‘is [still] abstract yet measurable, it is significant without necessarily being meaningful, and last but not least, it is everywhere and nowhere’ (in Fuller, ed. 2005, p.128)

Information is used to communicate knowledge. However, different writers (e.g. Lyotard, 1999; Rasmussen, 2000) have pointed at the importance of distinguishing between knowledge and information specifically with the emergence of digital writing and transmission systems. Whilst information are discrete virtualities and flow within organised networks (Castells, 1996) knowledge is regarded as sense-making of information (Rasmussen, 2000) requiring a knower (Brown and Duguid, 2000) an interpreting subject. Subjects utilise their unique embodied experiences to interpret and use information. ‘Knowledge is thus tightly connected to practice’ (Franko Aas, 2005, p.49) and therefore varies between different interpreting subjects and contexts. It cannot be as easily transmitted and transported. Information is collective and social whilst knowledge is individual (*ibid*, p.48).

Digital information has specific rules of creation and standards of transmission that favour specific data and data formats omitting others that form part of a subject’s unique embodied experiences. Lyotard (1999) stressed, that specific parts of knowledge are lost through digitalisation processes and allowing machines to connect information to form knowledge structures. As highlighted in earlier sections, information and communication technologies have their own standards spanning

from internet protocols to data encryption – a ‘certain set of prescriptions’ and transmission channels requiring knowledge to be transformed into ‘quantities of information’ (Lyotard, 1999, p.4). Rasmussen (2000) asserted, that this entails three processes:

- Objectivation
- Distanciation
- Conservation

(p. 114)

For knowledge to become information, it transforms into an autonomous object detached from its author through mediation/digitalisation. It further, becomes independent of its context (time and space) and can be moved, multiplied and changed but also retrieved and traced. Digital information systems, therefore, favour abstract information over contextual knowledge of for instance staff working with offenders. The very nature of information becomes particularly important when creating and using information systems shared between different communities of practice (probation/prison) that use each other’s records and entries. To further this argument, the next section analyses the distinct differences between databases and narratives.

#### **4.3.4. Databases vs Narrative**

‘The design and use of information systems involves linking experience gained in one time and place with that gained in another, via representation of some sort. Feature of communication is that [...] information must reside in more than one context’

(Bowker and Leigh Star 1999, p.290).

As the previous section, highlighted data and information are distinct from knowledge. Data and information are discrete representational entities able to travel over time and space. They are measurable types and therefore, idealisations (Goffmann, 1969) – a substitute for reality or virtualities. As Jasanoff (2006) stressed, the messiness of life and people's reality transform through moves of simplification into ordered principles and models of numbers. 'These moves produce quantitative standards that set the classificatory standards by which we are evaluated and judged' (53). Constructions of meaning (categorizations, data, and information) are inventions (Rose, 1999, p.133) 'born in contemporary relations of power and logics of classifications and thus are not authentic versions of who we think we might be' (Chesney-Lippold, 2017, p.45). Knowledge, on the other hand, is embodied and contextual. It requires subjects for interpretation and reflection but also their unique experiences. 'To make something operable for a computer means that something has to be transcoded into discrete, processable elements' (*ibid*, p.53). Multiplicities and complexities become reduced. Therefore, specific elements of knowledge are lost when technology substitutes the interpreting subject. As Manovich (2001) argued:

'Computer programs [database systems] may ultimately be human products, in the sense that they embody algorithms devised by human programmers, but once the program is written and loaded, the machine can operate without human intervention. Programming, then, employs erasure or effacement'

(p.27).

The difference between embodied knowledge and information processing as distinct forms of knowledge production had been analysed comparing the two dominant cultural forms; narrative and database (Franko Aas 2005, Manovich 2001, Hayles 2012). It is useful to summarise the arguments here and draw out the main characteristics. It highlights the gaps and inconsistencies between the ideal-real rehabilitation and recording of risks and needs leading to specifically designed procedures and the administration of rehabilitative practices in prison education and the actual needs of female offenders to assume a prison learner identity requiring individual agency in initiating rehabilitation (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009). Humans provide stories to rationalise their experiences and life, this includes women's stories about crime and desistance but also their educational histories. Prison administrators, however, rely on database systems for sentence planning and the planning of educational provision within.

Manovich declared narrative and databases 'natural enemies' (Manovich 2001). Databases as discussed above reduce information and ambiguous language. 'Writing and speech, on the other hand, are highly contextual [original emphasis] modes of communication, which encode rich cultural materials' (Franko Aas 2005, p.76). As Turkle (2015) stressed, 'face-to-face conversation is the most human – and humanising – thing we do' (p.3). It constitutes us as 'members of communities' (Franko Aas 2005, p.76), develops the 'capacity for empathy' and 'advances self-reflection' (Turkle, 2015, p.3) important aspects of desistance theories. Narrative accounts in speech or writing are complex, 'constructing causal models, exploiting complex temporalities, and creating models of how (other) minds work' (Hayles 2012, p. 16). This is specifically important in professional areas such as social work and/or education, where understanding the other mind forms an integral part of work. Hayles (2012) argued, 'the database is unlikely to displace narrative as a human way

of knowing' (p. 199). However, the 'trend in professional knowledge structures is mirrored by the growth of databases in nearly every sector of society' (*ibid*). This is echoed by Franko Aas' (2005) analysis of information technologies in sentencing and Fitzgibbon's (2007) in probation.

Hayles (2012) understands narrative and databases form a symbiosis with 'mutual beneficial relations' (176).

'Because database can construct relational juxtapositions but is helpless to interpret or explain them, it needs narrative to make its results meaningful. Narrative, for its part, needs database in the computationally intensive culture of the millennium to enhance its cultural authority and test the generality of its insights' (*ibid*).

However, databases sort bits of information according to algorithms creating new relations and narratives removed from their point of origin and the individual and their interaction. 'What data is available to be measured [plus what data is asked for from applications and or inserted into databases] [defines] membership – and identity at large – is based exclusively on data' (Chesney-Lippold, 2017 p.47). Therefore, who counts as criminal, what defines a criminogenic need within an institutional database relies (to some extend) on 'algorithmic analyses of the datafied world [...] [which] is epistemologically fabricated' (*ibid*, p.45) as previous sections argued. The next section, therefore, analyses the reassembling of specific data fragments to form institutional identities. It, further, argues that whilst information and communication system allow a joint-up, end-to-end management of individual offenders (Home Office, 2004a; DfES, 2003a) it does so at the cost of fragmenting individuals and their narratives into fitting the services and operations within prisons. Thus, as this thesis argues has implications for desistance through rehabilitative practice such as prison education to emerge, and eventually acted out.

## **4.4. Disembodied data and fragmented identities**

### **– the questions arising for prison education**

Foucault (1977) highlighted the focus on the individuality of the offender in disciplinary societies. Deleuze (1992), however, rightfully claimed that the individual in societies of control no longer exists. It transformed into a ‘dividual’ (*ibid*) or ‘data-vidual’ (Franko Aas, 2005). As outlined above electronic information systems are distinct from human reasoning and thinking. They are structured and procedural allowing a ‘governing at-a-distance’ (Garland 2001) and humans to be ‘acted upon at-a-distance’ (Franko Aas 2005, p.145). Acting-upon entails a delegation of human competencies to technological artefacts (Latour, 2005), a distancing from human practices to, for instance, assess and record dividual deficiencies as experienced and analysed in the findings sections. Acting-upon, also entails, as this thesis argues, a fragmented virtualisation and reduction of individual identities in accordance with expected deficiencies to be (re)inserted into rehabilitative strategies and procedures and the organisation and justification of educational provision within the studied female prison.

Poster (1996) observed, ‘technology encourages the lightening of the weight of the referent’ creating an ‘instability of identity in electronic communication’ (p.38). Within systems of electronic communication, the actual human disappears and becomes substituted by sets of disembodied data and information (Lyon, 2001) creating distinct gaps in knowledge vital for individual rehabilitation, as argued in the findings section.

However, according to Castells (2010) identities are constructed through ‘building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies,

from power apparatuses and religious revelations. But individuals, social groups, and societies process all these materials, and rearrange their meaning, according to social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework' (7).

Giddens (1991), similarly, drew out several distinct elements of the self that are of utmost importance to rehabilitation and form core elements of crime desistance theories as discussed in chapter 3. Firstly, 'the self is seen as a [continuous] reflexive project, for which the individual is responsible' (p.75). Secondly, 'the self forms a trajectory of development from the past to the anticipated future' (*ibid*). Thirdly, 'self-identity [...] presumes a narrative' (*ibid*, p.76). Fourthly, 'self-actualisation implies the control of time' (*ibid*, p.77) 'The reflexivity of the self extends to the body [original emphasis], where the body [...] is part of an action system rather than merely a passive object' (*ibid*). Fifthly, 'high modernity is marked by a plurality of choices confronting individuals' (*ibid*, p.82).

Prison very much limits the choices confronting individuals as the section on adaptation to prison life highlighted. It also neglects the other vital elements of identity formation enforcing its own distinct institutional identities of prisoners and prison learners. 'The social construction of identity always takes place in a context marked by power relations' (Castells, 2010, p.7). This specific context has its own space/time framework as described in chapters 2 marked by incarceration time and institutional arrangements for rehabilitation and security. Institutional networks form part of the 'real virtuality' (*ibid*, p.1) formatting and fragmenting identities according to designed preformatted administrative systems. As Chesney-Lippold (2017) asserted 'for the NSA, a user is never just a 'citizen' but a 'citizen' according to that user's datafied social relationships' (p.164). Therefore, a prisoner is never an individual prisoner but a prisoner according to her criminogenic needs and

subsequently recorded information patterns. ‘Datafied subject relations are only practiced through data, which is where this radical free-standing-ness gets affixed’ (ibid, p.197). Therefore, individual identity differs greatly from that of the datavidual (Franko Aas, 2005). The virtual disembodied prisoner is ‘a measurable type [...] a data template, a nexus of different datafied elements [...] [assigning] users an identity, an algorithmic identification that compares streams of new data to existing datafied models’ (p.47). Institutional identities are derived from recorded fragments of individual narratives. Identity becomes reduced, fragmented ‘and manipulated to fit into the design of an abstract system’ (Franko Aas, 2005, p.144).

#### **4.5. Summary**

In summary, information technology brings its own materiality into interactions (Latour, 2005). It is shaped by social and cultural forces but also shapes the contexts in which they are embedded (MacKenzie and Wajcman, eds., 1999). ‘Science and technology account for many of the signature characteristics of contemporary societies [...] [including] the reduction of individuals to standard classifications that demarcate the normal from the deviant and authorize varieties of social control’ (Jasanoff in Jasanoff, ed., 2006, p.13). Reduction of complexities is a form of ordering the social world and rendering it legible (Law and Mol, eds., 2002 ). It is also a necessity to govern and control complex social systems and outsourced governmental institutions (Garland, 2001).

Technology and specifically digital information and communication technology has, however, an impact of how knowledge is produced and disseminated (Lyotard, 1999). The result is a loss of specific kinds of knowledge such as experiences and individual narratives. This is due to the generation of data within institutions according to specific rules and through distinct processes (here educational

assessments and level indicators). Administrators and prison staff, therefore, interact increasingly with simulations or virtualities – ‘measurable-type models [...], datafied [or datafia] objects that determine the discursive parameters of who we can (and cannot) be’ (Chesney-Lippold, 2017, p.48).

Poster (1995) rightfully argued ‘for what is at stake in these technical interventions [...] is not simply an increased ‘efficiency’ of interchange [...] but a broad and extensive change in the culture, in the way identities are structured’ (p.23/24). One has to, therefore, be mindful of the processes, codes and regulatory effects of information (Barry, 2001) that are collected, assembled and rearranged within information systems such as databases. Hayles (2012) coined the term technogenesis. She asserted changing knowledge creation and dissemination processes affect human reading and thinking processes through interactions with database systems (*ibid*). Morosov (2013) asserted that the automated algorithmic reasoning and feedback of computers deprives humans of moral and ethical choices. Similarly, Latour saw distinct disadvantages in the regulatory effects of designed objects on reflective practices of human beings and inter-human interactions such as face-to-face conversations (Turkle, 2015). What might be lost when specific processes are substituted and computerised in prison education through the introduction of technological artefacts? Where they vital for the rehabilitation of female prisoners and their desistance from crime?

To answer these questions we might want to draw on Hayles (1999) who has rightfully argued, that the process of transforming embodied reality into abstract information (virtualities) needs to be carefully examined: ‘Different media offer different affordances’ (Hayles 2012, p.202). Digital technologies have distinct affordances that affect interactional spaces and time, automate processes and fragment identities. Prison staff such as educators increasingly deal with abstractions

or virtualities, exacerbated by digital technologies, since the managerial turn. Decision-making and recording processes are increasingly automated following precise rules. Franko Aas (2005) specifically highlighted the ‘surface work’ that increased with the implementation of information technology. Sentencing decisions moved from in-depth analysis and consideration of individual life stories to an examination and comparison of specific fragments of dataviduals. Questions, therefore, arise for prison education as well from the use of structural and procedural technologies to create disembodied data and reassemble those to enforce institutional identities. Which parts of ones messy life can be ignored, when attempting to rehabilitate individuals within prison classrooms? Are the right moves of simplifications used to, firstly, define prison learners and secondly, assign their educational needs? This thesis argues that they are not equipped to assist women to desist from crime.

## **Part 2 – Case study**

## **Introducing HMP Bronzefield**

HMP & YOI Bronzefield, the first purpose-built private female prison in the UK, opened in 2004 with three residential units. In January 2010 a fourth unit was added bringing its operational capacity to 527. It holds about 14% of all female UK prisoners. After the closure of HMP Holloway, it became the largest women's prison in Europe. In 2016, it 'increased its capacity from 527 to 572 resulting in the doubling up of single cells to double cells' (IMB, 2016, p.5). As a closed, local prison<sup>6</sup> it holds sentenced and unsentenced (including remand) prisoners, but also first-stage lifers. The following numbers regarding the prison population of HMP & YOI Bronzefield are extracted from two HMIP Reports (2013; 2015) and were supplied by the establishment itself for aforementioned reports (HMIP, 2015, appendix 3).

### ***Sentences, length and prison status***

The prison held 462 women in 2013 and 506 women in 2015 (see Appendix K for more information). As a local prison HMP Bronzefield receives women directly from the courts explaining the high number of remand prisoners. About a fifth of its prison population were women on remand 22.7% (2013) and 20.4% (2015) higher than the national average of approximately 16% (PRT, 2011). The greatest proportion of unsentenced prisoners (43.2% in 2013 and 40.1% in 2015), including women on remand spent less than a month in the establishment. 27.2% (2013) and 39% (2015) stayed between 1-3 months.

In 2015 11% of all women sentenced to a life sentence and about 10% of all female UK Indeterminate Sentence for Public Protection (ISPP) prisoners were held

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<sup>6</sup> Women prisons operate with four security categories: restricted status, closed, semi-open and open. HMP Bronzefield is a restricted status prison. This is comparable with high security facilities for men (see PSI 08/2013).

in HMP Bronzefield. First-stage lifers but also ISPP prisoners are required to be held in secure regimes. Approximately 70% of all sentenced women in 2016 in the UK served prison sentences of less than 6 months (PRT, 2016). Taking only sentenced prisoners into account about 67% (2013) and 52% (2015) of women served sentences of less than 6 months. The fluctuations in sentence length between those two years can be attributed to the closure of HMP Downview for refurbishment in 2013. The closed prison, reopened in May 2016 after the 2015 inspection. In 2016 HMP Holloway, another local London prison, closed and women were subsequently distributed between HMP Bronzefield and Downview depending on security category and sentence status. Therefore, I presume that numbers will have reverted back to a higher proportion of short-term prisoners. Overall, nearly half of the population in HMP Bronzefield (45% in 2013 and 47% in 2015) are either unsentenced or serve a short sentence of less than 12 months.

Overall, 85% of women are sentenced for non-violent offences (PRT, 2016). However, Bronzefield operated as high security facility holding women classed as violent offenders (see Appendix K). As the literature review highlighted, violent offences committed by women are less severe (MOJ 2013, p.58). Women are also more likely to have been the victim of intimate violence before committing violent offences themselves (*ibid*, p.26). According to Hedderman (2012), breaches of court orders make up 60% of ‘other’ offences for women (p.6).

### ***First-timer and Re-offending rates***

54% (2013) and 55% (2015) of women participating in the Inspectorate survey reported being the first time in prison (HMIP 2013 and 2015, Appendix 4). Wider statistics differ, ‘with a third of females [...] being first-time offenders in 2013’

(MOJ, 2014, p.13). This probably relates to the voluntary nature of the survey and a participation rate of less than half the prison's population.

Women receive overall shorter sentences than men (*ibid*). Their re-offending rates are also usually lower, with 18.5% compared to 27.7% for men (*ibid*, p.16). Short-term prisoners account for the highest re-offending rates. The Prison Reform Trust (2016) listed 48% of women leaving prison are reconvicted within a year. This increases to 61% for women serving less than 12 months and to 78% for women with 10 previous custodial sentences (*ibid*, p.30). As the sentencing numbers indicated, a great proportion of women receive and serve sentences of less than 12 months in HMP Bronzefield. The re-offending rates for Bronzefield for the year of 2013 were listed as 61% for women sentenced to less than 12 months and 6.3 re-offences per re-offender, and 23% for sentences over 12 months and 4.9 re-offences per re-offender (Open Justice, 2016). Despite high reconviction rates, most women are not classical 'career' criminals (Block, et al. 2010; DeLisi, 2002) but prolific offenders with serious substance abuse issues and mental health problems (MOJ, 2013, p.9).

Due to the prison's proximity to Heathrow airport, a high percentage of foreign national women were held in the establishment (20% compared to 13% nationwide, PRT, 2012). Many of those are first time offenders. Despite the decline, the proportion of foreign national women was still high. Population shifts can also linked to the temporary closure of HMP Downview.

## **Needs**

As discussed in the literature review, women do have a variety of needs when entering the prison (Corston, 2007). The prisoner surveys (HMIP, 2013; 2015, Appendix 4) highlighted important aspects and characteristics of female prisoners relating to those needs. In 2013, 70% and in 2015, 90% of the participating women

stated they had problems when arriving in the prison. This included problems with housing (21-30%), contacting family (28-35%), feeling depressed or suicidal (32-44%) and care for dependants (3- 8%).

Corston (2007) asserted that up to 80% of women in prison have diagnosable mental health problems. In both years about 25% percent of respondents in HMP Bronzefield reported physical health problems. There was, however, a dramatic increase from 21% to 40% of women reporting mental health problems on prison entry. Emotional well-being and mental health problems, however, increased further to 53% in 2013 and 66% in 2015 during women's incarceration underlining the effects of imprisonment (Liebling and Maruna, eds. 2005), but also overall cuts to services provided in the prison.<sup>7</sup> However, White-British women were the most likely to report mental health problems (60% in 2013 and 70% in 2015). Around 80% of White-British prisoners were taking medications regularly. Overall between 30-35% of women reported a disability and needing help with long-term physical, mental or learning needs.

Drug and alcohol problems have been linked to women's victimisation, offending history and mental health issues. 31% (2013) and 42% (2015) of respondents admitted having a drug problem and 22% (2013, 2015) an alcohol problem on entry. This seems lower than in, for instance, the Corston report (2007), stating about 70% of women requiring clinical detoxification on prison entry (p. 19). Other studies such as Borrill et al. 's (2003) reported 49% of respondents to be dependent on at least one drug. The difference, again, might relate to the respondents being lower than the number of women in prison and a possible lower participation of drug-dependent women in the study. Borrill et al. (2003) also demonstrated significant ethnic differences in regards to drug dependencies and recorded 60% of white women and

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<sup>7</sup> The reports indicate a reduction in needs support in the prison from 53% to 38%.

only 29% of black or mixed race women with substance abuse issues (*ibid*, p.12).

Ethnic differences in substance dependencies were not investigated in the surveys or this research. Nevertheless, during observations in HMP Bronzefield, significantly more white women would leave classrooms to receive their daily methadone dose than other ethnic groups. Many women were mothers.

There were some overall discrepancies between the statistics provided by the prison and the survey data. Some might interpret these as women's refusal to provide information in reception and during induction procedures, and/or their mental state at the time of data recording. However, it also indicates a more active participation of specific prisoner groups, such as sentenced prisoners and prisoners serving longer sentences in research and other activities.

## **5. Research Methodology**

This section starts by revisiting the main research questions:

5. How do economic, security and rehabilitative trajectories shape and influence the management of local prison education and female prisoner learners?
6. How do local procedures and the employment of (digital) technological artefacts affect women's ability to form a prison learner identity?
7. How do local procedures and classroom interactions in different learning spaces affect women's ability to include education into their individual desistance narratives?
8. How can digital technology potentially be employed to create inclusive rehabilitative prison classrooms for female learners?

The section documents the research strategy employed to gain information on and understand classroom interactions, and the use of digital technology within the educational provision in a local women's prison in England. As outlined in the introduction, the focus of this thesis shifted significantly from understanding digital technology predominantly as a tool that enhances offender learning and rehabilitation, to investigating its role in local offender learning management and the limitations imposed through security. The empirical research became informed by the local context and was designed to answer these questions in order to add to a limited existing body of knowledge on the role of technology in women's education in prisons. The focus on social practices and technologies employed in prison classrooms for female prisoners is a relatively unexplored area in prison education. Due to the relative absence of research into prison education for women in the UK,

the first part 5.1 of this section will focus on the overall research philosophy, accessing and negotiating the field and my own research position. Part 5.2 presents the development of the employed research design. A conclusion summarises this section.

## **5.1. Research design**

This section explains the overall research philosophy and my own unique position in the field of study. My initial proposal suggested a comparative analysis of technology integration in two, or possibly three, different women's prison in the London area. As those prisons served different functions, and were also managed differently (resettlement, public and a private local prison), a comparison would have been possible but would have left significant gaps in fully understanding the local context of educational provision. Accessing several prisons for research requires approval from Her Majesty's Prison Service, entailing lengthy procedures that do not guarantee access rights. Apart from practicalities, HMP Bronzefield is a privately owned, high security prison with a very distinct population. I had been working in HMP Downview for London Metropolitan University as media lecturer, teaching video technology and moving screen graphics, during 2006. This experience informed the research topic and formed the basis of the initially proposed methodology. The women I worked with were highly engaged, using all forms of technology, from computer to camera and sound equipment, with very differing abilities. They were sentenced prisoners and had a clear idea about their sentence length as well as how to spend this time. Undertaking pilot studies in HMP Bronzefield, a local prison, highlighted distinct differences in women's educational engagements and attainment. The latter further suggested that an extensive ethnographic fieldwork in several educational spaces within this prison would allow

me to analyse local procedures and changes in provision in greater depth relating to, for instance, wider policy changes, but would also allow me to fully utilise practitioners and their common sense knowledge (Hammersley, 2002).

### **5.1.1 Research philosophy**

'The powerful insight that most of the ingredients of the situation are 'already' in place, that we simply occupy a predetermined position 'inside' some preformatted order, is always due to the transportation of a site into another at another time, which is produced by someone else through subtle or radical changes in the ways new types of non-social agencies are mobilised.'

(Latour 2005a, p.94)

Although I had proposed an initial methodology and research focus, early field integration firmly grounded the research in the context and informed my adaptation of the research question and focus from technology in learning per se to include technology for the management of educational provision. Entering the field before conducting a literature review in the early stages of my investigations, allowed for contextual observations and preliminary data collection, without any preconceived ideas or initial theoretical framework underpinning the research methods. Although, I would argue that one can never be free of preliminary assumptions, as they usually lead us into the field of study, one should strive to employ research, recording and analysis techniques that provide an accurate account as possible. To ensure accuracy, data recording, analysis and interpretation need to be sufficiently open and flexible to allow for new ideas to emerge from the findings.

Themes and connections emerged from the context itself as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The literature review was conducted, in conjunction with the field research, to reflect on the stabilisation of groups and observed themes that arose from the study of the prison context. Grounded theory approaches develop so-called ‘middle range theories’, derived from real contexts, that can be reapplied and tested within the practical contexts of investigation (Oktay, 2012). Traditionally combining positivism and symbolic interactionism, Ralph et al. (2015) highlighted its ‘methodological dynamism’ and ability to adapt ‘to the moment in which it is used’ (p.5). Importance is given to active role of humans and their ability to derive meaning within and from interactions. A researcher, therefore, studies human behaviour as situated within specific contexts, analysing participant’s ability to interpret the world but also to share meaning through the use of artificial systems, such as language. But to account for the complexity of social interactions in a given setting, in this case prison classrooms, grounded theory seemed limited in its focus on human interactions alone.

Similar to grounded theory approaches Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), as propagated by Law, Callon and Latour, emphasises the study of social contexts and situations. As Latour (1999) suggested, ‘everything is in place already and actors know what they do and we have to learn from them not only what they do, but how and why they do it’ (p.19). ANT is a sociology of associations with performance as its rule. It extends the usual attribution of agency to humans into the non-human world. ANT therefore, contrary to grounded theory, accounts for all factors and actors assembled within specific contexts of interactions, including non-human actors, by flattening and tracing social assemblages and avoiding terminology such as society and social forces (Latour 2005a, p.16). As a material-semiotic approach, it relates to the work of philosophers such as Foucault, Deleuze, Guattari and feminist

scholars, such as Haraway, in rejecting the artificial divide between nature and society. But it equally links to ethnomethodological approaches, as developed by Garfinkel (1967) and later Sacks' conversation analysis (1972), in focusing on the details of human practice and rejecting any form of frameworks as a starting point of an investigation.

Latour (2005a) drew particular attention to the creation of knowledge in the social sciences. Frameworks, notions, and concepts were established since their emergence as science of the social. The artificial separation of nature and society, the distinction between local and global, macro and micro levels, led to bird-eye views on society that often poorly reflect reality. As Foucault, he asserted scientific discourses and facts relate to their time of emergence. Unlike Foucault, he traces networks of semiotic-material actors that lead to the legitimisation of specific knowledge claims, rather than substituting those through another framework: power relations. In order to be truly scientific knowledge claims need to be investigated or re-investigated establishing their origins, validity and appropriateness in studying the social or associations and networks (*ibid*).

The term network should not be associated with technical networks alone, although they are a possibility of many. It is not to be understood as a social network either, as it includes non-human entities. It is more a rhizome in a Deleuzian sense. As a concept it allows us to eliminate distance as a geographical or mathematical term, macro and micro distinctions and inside and outside (Latour, 1996). Traditionally actor and agency are terms associated with individual human intentions. But 'actor [...] is a semiotic definition – an actant – that is, something that acts or to which activity is granted by others' (*ibid*, p.366). Therefore, scientific research into the social should start with five uncertainties.

### *ANT first of five uncertainties*

The first uncertainty refers to the idea of groups, so widely employed in the social literature, referring to, for instance, class formations (Marxism). Groups are the 'birds eye view' of social scientists, adding artificial boundaries and classifications to measure individuals and possibly predict behaviour. Foucault analysed what he called normalisation and the assembly of criteria to define groups of individuals (1977). But, according to Latour, they provide no understanding how individuals make sense of their own situation but instead create explanations for them. Neither the fluidity of groupings nor the glue that keeps groups together is considered, as according to Latour (2005a), 'there is no group without some kind of recruiting officer' (p.32). He refers here to the constant struggle in keeping groups together, which cannot be explained by using notions, such as power and society, to stand in. A difference is made between groups with inertia and groupings that require some sort of effort to be stabilised. Prisoners would fall under the first category, as boundaries are clearly set through architectural and legislative means. But even this group is constantly performed and reconfigured in the law, in policy papers but also within classroom interactions as discussed in the findings. ANT looks into the vehicles, tools, instruments and materials that make the social/groups durable, and tries to explain how groups come into existence, last, decay or disappear, which leads into the second uncertainty of overtaken action.

### *ANT second uncertainty*

Action is not fully conscious (Suchman, 2007) but a Fitz (snarl or tangle) of many agencies coming together to perform social relations. Falling in love might be for most of us primarily a very private experience or action, but as Latour (2005a) explains, it is entangled in a network of concepts, written material, statistics, feelings,

visuals, etc. (p.44). Therefore, an actor does not act alone but ‘action is borrowed, distributed, suggested, influenced, dominated, betrayed, translated’ (*ibid*, p.46). Hacking, investigating how classifications of people interact with human behaviour of classified people, has called this ‘looping effect’ (Hacking, 1999) claiming that ‘if new modes of description come into being, new possibilities for action come into being in consequence’ (Hacking 1985, p.166). Actors have their own theories of action and add and withdraw agency from other entities. ‘No one knows how many people are simultaneously at work in any given individual; conversely, no one knows how much individuality can be in a cloud of statistical data points’ (Latour, 2005a, p.54). Discourse transforms actors in an abstraction process, creating figurations of, for instance, prisoner characteristics (e.g. MOJ, 2008a) that inform the implementation of specific artefacts in local prison contexts. They replace individual complexity through data points. On the other hand, individuals evoke specific ideas such as health, substance abuse and gender roles, to create meaning and explain their actions in prison classrooms.

### ***ANT third uncertainty***

Latour’s third uncertainty evokes the role of objects in social aggregation. As the division between nature and society is an artificial one, so is the division between material and non-material objects. He claims that most social accounts are objectless or treat objects as mere intermediaries without agency. But any course of action cannot be reduced to subject-subject or object-object but lie in-between. Objects do not form a separate realm but interact with humans ‘in their material and semiotic complexity’ (Michael, 2012) They transport meaning, transform, alter and shape interactions. Therefore, it is important to understand the consequences of implementation of, for instance, categories into technological artefacts, hence the configuration of the object (Suchman, 2012). Suchman proposed a method

assemblage of configurations to articulate ‘the relation between the ‘insides’ of a socio-technical system and its constitutive ‘outsides’, including all those things that disappear in the system’s figuration as an object (*ibid*, p.55). Additionally, interactions between human and object create events of ‘becoming together’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), changing both the object and the human through their inherent potentialities. As Michael (2012) noted, objects ‘are instrumental in making events’ (p.170). I would go further in suggesting, they are also instrumental in the making of future events and ‘becoming together’. For Latour and ANT, placeholders, such as power, serve no purpose but to obscure the networks of relations. It is important ‘to explain how domination has become so efficacious and through which unlikely means’ (Latour 2005a, p.86). This includes a thorough investigation of artefacts employed in local contexts that transport, for instance, policies and KPIs into prison classrooms.

#### ***ANT fourth uncertainty***

As Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari already demonstrated, concepts and ideas are not fixed entities but transform and shift over time. Therefore, the fourth uncertainty is a shift- matters of fact to matters of concern- adding what Latour calls ‘the backstage’ of scientific facts to social investigation. It is, therefore, important to understand how facts are established and how they are made durable and solid or, to borrow from Deleuze, to become molar aggregates. Latour refers to Bachelard’s claim that facts are fabricated and emerge out of artificial situations (*ibid*, p.90). ‘Society’ and ‘Nature’ are but ‘two *collectors* [original emphasis] that were invented together’ so is the ‘clear-cut distinction between sensory impression [...] and mental judgement’ (*ibid*, p.110). Neither reflects reality, but rather creates gaps through their artificial separation. ‘Facts’ are agencies that not only undergo transformations in scientific and public discourse but also ‘exist in many different shapes and at very

different stages of completion' (*ibid*, p.118). Differences between matters of fact and concern are more visible now with the becoming of 'public things' or public objects, such as the gestation of the female offender or the purpose of prison. 'Each object gathers around itself a different assembly of relevant parties' (Latour, 2005b, p.15) to stabilize its existence. Matters of concern therefore need to be presented 'with their mode of fabrication and their stabilising mechanisms clearly visible' (Latour, 2005a, p.120). Law (2004), additionally, highlighted the different realities, forms and enactments of objects in practice (p.145) that are often made singular in the research process. He, similarly, stressed the importance to understand the hinterland of data creation. Therefore 'the making of particular *realities*, [...] the creation of particular *statements* about those realities, and [...] the creation of instrumental, technical and human configurations and practices [...] *are all produced together* [all original emphasis] (*ibid*, p.31).

#### ***ANT fifth uncertainty***

Therefore, the fifth uncertainty is the writing of the study itself and brings 'into foreground the very making of reports' (Latour, 2005a, p.122), understanding 'the text itself as a mediator' (*ibid*, p.124). Writing requires creating artificial accounts. Objectivity can only be achieved by paying attention to the artefacts constructed and the way they enter textual discourse. Texts are connectors and good accounts are the ones able to trace a network, allowing actors to act and 'render the movement of the social visible to the reader' (*ibid*, p.128). 'Network is an expression [...] a concept [...] a tool to describe something, not what is being described' (*ibid*, p.131) '[designating] flows of translations' (*ibid*, p.132). Thus the writer should treat everything as data and 'deploy actors as networks of mediations' (*ibid*, p.136). The writing of texts should take all other uncertainties into account. It should steer away from overarching frameworks and social explanations, being reflexive and taking

'into account its own production' (Latour, 1988, p.166). According to Latour, if a text is able to fully reveal an actor-network, explanations are superfluous, or if explanations are added, then descriptions need to be extended (Latour 2005a, p.137). Writing texts is trying to provide accounts of distant settings and need to be infra-reflexive by, for example, connecting through movement 'between A to B, from the knower to the known' (Latour, 1988, p.172).

The methodology developed for this thesis draws heavily on ANT as an overarching approach to investigate the complexity of interactions in prison classrooms. It was, therefore, informed by the context it studied, as outlined in the next sections, but also an awareness of the political nature of methods themselves, attempting to order the messiness of the social (Law, 2004). ANT has been used as it accounts for human and non-human entities engaged in interactions, drawing a network of relations between local and global actors that inform the context and its practices. It, further, includes the agency and distinct affordances of designed objects such as information and communication technology into the analysis of local contexts. Research and methods are 'performative' producing distinct realities (*ibid*, p.143). '*Everything is data* [original emphasis]' (Latour, 2005a, p.133). The following sections, therefore, not only discuss the methods employed but also highlight the different researcher positions within the research process.

### **5.1.2 Accessing the field**

Although the literature suggests accessing prisons can be very complicated (e.g. Martin, 2000; Liebling, 1999) I experienced fewer problems than anticipated. Responding to an advert for a volunteering position in the prison education department, I entered the establishment in that capacity, and only subsequently

applied for official permission to undertake research in the institution itself. The initial application process for the volunteer position was very quick and I entered the prison for the first time shortly after at the very beginning of my PhD in Spring 2009. I did not mention my research at this stage to the Head of Education, who escorted me around the institution on my first day. This seemed appropriate, as I wasn't sure if that institution would be suitable for my research. Furthermore, as a good friend and prison ethnographer herself suggested; 'although it will require more time, if they get to know you first, they might not perceive you as a threat to the establishment when asking to carry out research' (informal conversation). This proved to be true when I decided to approach the Head of Education with my research proposal. After a meeting in Summer 2009, the required documentation was signed off and I began my fieldwork research, officially,<sup>8</sup> in September 2009, and continued until May 2012. I encountered few formal problems in this shift to researcher, although the Head of Education initially wanted to include editorial rights for the final report, which could have had serious implications for the thesis. After a long discussion about the ethical standards that I had to adhere to, and my assurance that the focus was educational provision and technology, he did not insist on including such a clause into the agreement. In addition, through my volunteering work I had acquired some trust, resulting in opportunities denied to other prison researchers, for example when requesting access to prisons and prisoners and in terms of time constraints.

### **5.1.2. Negotiating the field**

Before outlining various roles I occupied I want to highlight the reasons that brought me into the field. When I was first offered a job in a women's prison (HMP

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<sup>8</sup> I conducted pre-limanery observations during the 'unofficial' research period. However, the data gathered during this period was predominantly used to inform research design and methodology.

Downview), it was not the prison that scared me the women did. As a feminist, growing up empowered by parents and peers, I was able to reject specific gender roles and become who I wanted to be. As a result, I do not do gender very well and had a problem understanding women's oppression. This is particularly difficult in a female institution. However, working with the women in HMP Downview allowed me to question my own position as privileged white woman with a then intact family. I felt I could help women to empower themselves through education. The research for this thesis, therefore, became a personal project. However, unlike in HMP Downview HMP Bronzefield despite its shiny walls depressed me deeply. I sometimes felt hopeless seeing women coming back more broken than the last time, with less teeth and less power to smile. I could not help, educating them did not help, talking helped a bit. However, the stories emerging differed so much from my own that I found it often hard to fully comprehend.

As a volunteer, I had been fortunate to be accepted into the teaching team. I started working alongside individual staff members before receiving some training in procedures that enabled me to teach classes on my own in the prison. I even passed a job interview for a teaching position, but started as a full-time lecturer at the university shortly afterwards, in 2009. As visitor, I had no keys or official badge, which meant that proceeding through the prison gate and finally entering the education wing could be time consuming. I depended on either individual staff members from the auxiliary officers remembering my face, or education staff picking me up from the gate. However, this has ethical implications as women and staff were not aware of being subjects of my investigations at this point. I, therefore, used only observational data regarding procedures into the analysis.

As volunteer I had developed friendships with individual tutors. My meetings with senior management did not go unnoticed, and I now had to fully reveal my

intentions and explain the nature of the research. I shifted from a volunteer who shared her cookies, to a more official role of researcher. 'Suspicion was an understandable reaction' (May, 1993, p.79), not just because access had been granted by Senior Management, but my shifting 'becoming'. Most staff members showed interest and were keen to participate and help, but I noticed some changes to conversations in the staff room, at least for a short while after my new status was known. Normal moans about management or students stopped abruptly when I entered the room, things were over-explained to me, or I was requested to provide professional opinions about incidents. To establish myself as an impartial researcher (*ibid*, p.80), I reassured staff as to the confidentiality of data acquired during the research, that I was not hired by the prison management to inform on them and that my focus was on procedures and classroom activities. As Burgess (1982) suggested, 'it is the researcher themselves who stand at the heart of the research process [...] age, sex, social class, social status, and ethnicity – influence the extent to which access is granted or withheld' (p.49). As a woman and mother in her thirties, at the time, and teacher, I fitted well into the team. I also made as few demands on individual time and resources as possible, and ensured that I 'paid back' through teaching alongside tutors, or on my own, helping tutors with their computer and other technology problems, as well as sharing other duties, such as toilet guarding, during break time. As my change in role coincided with the start of my academic career, I did not have to downplay my academic status during the research (Shaffir, 1991, p.78). Additionally, I wanted to learn about and experience teaching practice in context, and not impose my own knowledge. I managed to regain trust, not for making tea, which was considered to be lousy, but as an education-insider, with teaching knowledge in various settings, but also as institutional outsider with

different viewpoints and experiences. The researcher receded into the background with time.

As Burgess (1991) additionally noted, access is negotiated and renegotiated throughout the research process (p.43), and gatekeepers are not just the ones signing the required documents but the ones that provide or withhold information (*ibid*, p.47). In my case this included individual staff members donating their time or inviting me to participate in classroom activities, as well as the women consenting to be interviewed and share their experiences. Although the population shifted frequently in this prison, as a volunteer, I had made contact with individual women serving longer sentences. When I introduced myself as an education volunteer, I was often greeted with puzzlement and curiosity. Questions ranged from, 'why do you come to a place like this?', 'why would anyone want to work with us?', to statements such as, 'this is very kind of you', were often uttered. I also encountered negative remarks such as 'are you here to visit the zoo?' and 'are you not afraid that I might kill you?' (observations, field notes). Although I was able to defuse most comments with a small joke, the statements made me aware that my research and interactions with the women had to be meaningful to them, as suggested by Costelloe (2007).

Introducing myself as researcher was slightly different and often met with more suspicion. However, as I had been in the field for sometime prior to the research, I had been able to build a good rapport with longer-serving women. They acted as gatekeepers but also informants, pointing out the various areas of concern in the educational provision. Officers working on the education wing also knew my face. Stating my impartiality and non-affiliation with the institution itself helped to gain some form of trust. Further, I did not carry keys and did not have an official name badge but a numbered visitor badge, which underlined my non-affiliation, although this often led women to believe that I was part of the independent monitoring board

(IMB). Whilst those reassurances were important for the ‘becoming researcher’, other becomings initiated the more informative informal conversations, exchanges and interactions. Liebling highlighted how prisoners adopted different techniques and styles, and shared different stories in response to age, gender and background of researchers (1999, p.160). Shaffir noted ‘the uniqueness of each setting, as well as the researcher’s personal circumstances, shape the specific negotiation tactics that come to be employed’ (1991, p.73). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Latour (1999) stressed the importance of understanding an actor’s segmentarities and layers, and the consequences they might have for interaction with other actors, objects or subjects, and the connections that arise from them.

Different parts of my own assemblage helped to connect and find bridging similarities with women, not only within informal but also more formal exchanges. I had to play gender. The ‘mother’ and ‘pregnant woman’ was perceived to be able to understand student-mothers’ specific pains of imprisonment (Liebling and Maruna 2005). The ‘artist’ was able to help with the composition of paintings. The ‘computer lady’ could fix word documents. Educational objects, such as paintings or computers, opened event and interaction possibilities (Michael, 2012, p.170), through their own distinct characteristics, allowing for the researcher to recede into the background and interactions to become more natural. The tutors who I worked with more closely also often had a good rapport with the women, and not only supported my statements, but also sometimes initiated first conversations with individuals whom they thought would be interesting.

Liebling (1999) stressed prison research is stressful, intense and frustrating at times due to the context in which it takes place. For me, it became a matter of negotiating the field through my own unique characteristics, stories and skills. It required giving back, exchanges and learning, with individual members of staff and

women. This allowed me to stay in the field as long as I did, whilst maintaining good relationships. As one of the tutors said to me, ‘prisons are slow and you need to learn patience’ (informal conversation). Whilst it was at times frustrating, being patient opened unique opportunities for the research, such as teaching a group of four women over three days or being invited to a concert in the prison. As fieldwork is, to an extent, opportunistic, and prisons, in particular, can be tricky places, research methods should have some in-built flexibility (Law, 2004).

### ***5.1.3. Research positions and viewpoints***

Baszanger and Dodier (1997) noted the importance of remaining open and grounding the phenomena observed in the field (p.9) in ethnographic research. An important aspect of fieldwork is to develop an understanding, not only of the researched population, but the researcher and her possible influence on the observed phenomena itself. As Powdermaker (1967) stated, the researcher obtains an insider's view but needs to maintain an outsider's perspective. Therefore, field research often involves more than observations and depends on the researcher and her activities carried out in the field of study. As Malinowski (1967), an early ethnographer demonstrates, there are differing levels of participation, engagement, and relationships with the observed that influence the data collection. During the course of the fieldwork, I occupied two distinct positions in the classroom, as participant-teacher and participant-observer. Those positions allowed me to experience and record interactions between actors from different points of view.

The participant-teacher role was that of an active ‘outsider’ with insider responsibilities. I never acquired the insider position, due to my visitor badge, the missing keys and belt and constraints, arising from my limited computer access.

Additionally, my presence was restricted to one day a week as I had work commitments. Teaching, however, allowed me to experience the various becomings (Deleuze and Guattar, 1987) of the prison tutor through interactions with women, and educational and regime objects ranging from teacher, psychologist, officer and friend, to advisor. It provided a unique insight into prison teaching practice, daily routines in the research setting (Schensul, et al. 1999, p.91) its daily challenges, constraints and opportunities, arising from the space prison education occupies in prison regimes and individual narratives. It made me aware of the pressure and emotional strains placed on prison tutors to manage their classes, individual behaviour and workload. On the other hand, it furthered an understanding of the unique techniques employed by tutors to build relationships with their learners, but also to minimise disruptions in their classes. As outsider – teacher, I was often tested by women on my ability to understand prison rules, the IEP system, to ‘punish’ disruptive behaviour, to be strict and fair. **I found the most difficult part of teaching as punishment for me does not equate with learning.** Adding personal experience to individual accounts of tutors was an invaluable research resource.

The role of the participant-observer was a more passive role of observing teaching practice and interactions between participants. However, being a fly on the wall is impossible in a prison classroom. I was constantly drawn into conversations with teachers and students, as outsiders are often seen as a welcome change to the monotony of prison (King, 2000). I, therefore, constantly shifted from a passive observer role, enabling the documenting of activities, interactions between objects and subjects in different classrooms, to a more active participant observer role. As Bernard (1994) states, participant observation is to some extend deceptive, but also requires a rapport with the group being studied, to blend in and act naturally. Whilst passive observations allowed for a more detached view, the active role was less

obtrusive and enabled investigations at, and experiencing interaction on, a personal and individual level. An additional positive aspect of being actively involved was the ability to repeatedly approach and follow up on conversations with individual women over time. My presence was often used to moan about the conditions in the prison, as I was the 'outsider'. On the other hand, as a partial 'insider' who knows about prison and education' due to my former role as HMP Downview tutor and present role as university lecturer, they trusted me to help with their learning, to discuss their learning aspirations and to give advice on education facilities in other prisons.

This was the case, specifically with women I had met on a regular basis, but others also sought those conversations, for various reasons (e.g. boredom with actual work, curiosity, mix-up with a member of the IBM. Crewe (2007) and specifically Piacentini (2004) highlighted the importance of informal conversations and detailed observations as research methods in prison contexts. 'Recorded interviews did not yield as much information as off-the-record conversations' (*ibid*, p.14). As well as research positions, my own background (age, ethnicity, gender) transformed me into insider or outsider in individual conversations and interactions, allowing, but in some instances also preventing, access to conversations.

## **5.2. Research methods**

The research methodology developed within the context and methods were informed by the context and the options available in the prison. Early classroom observations and shadowing of individual tutors demonstrated that my initial ideas had to be revised, due to their unsuitability within that specific space and for the prison population. The initial proposal, for instance, suggested the use of educational

diaries in electronic or analogue form. The prison's security policies, firstly, did not allow for any electronic equipment to be brought in. Secondly, local prisons have a high number of short-term and remand prisoners and changes in the population are very frequent. Additionally, many women suffered from substance abuse, had low numeracy and literacy levels and the number of foreign nationals was high. Diaries could potentially have placed additional pressure on women.

I, therefore, chose to concentrate on ethnographic fieldwork methods, including:

- Classroom observations, to learn about the context and social interactions between actors in different classrooms and establish patterns and themes to be explored in more depth in the interviews,
- Observation of induction procedures, to understand distribution and assignment of students to specific classes,
- Classroom teaching and engagement in classroom activities, to understand context, procedures and constraints of teaching in this particular prison,
- In-depth interviews with education staff, to deepen my understanding of their educational and technological backgrounds, teaching practices and constraints, views on and knowledge of students in their classes,
- In-depth interviews with students, to gain an understanding of individual perceptions of technology use, prior educational experiences and the experiences in prison education,
- In-depth interviews with education management, to understand their individual backgrounds, views on prison education and roles in the prison,
- Viewing of individual employment folders of the interviewed women (Appendix I), to compare their accounts with data held about their individual engagement with prison education and
- Documentary research, to understand policy context and institutional procedures, but also to compare my observations with survey data and official

ratings of prison education in this establishment, and to access the prison's population figures.

This approach was informed by ethnographic pilot studies, including observations and teaching exercises. It was equally informed by other research studies, analysing prison education through a variety of methods including the viewpoints of different participants, policy contexts (Bayliss 2003b; Walker, et al. 2006; Dixon and Jones 2013) and procedures (Devlin, 1995). Investigations started in the local context, but moved between context and global conceptualisations of prison education and the female prisoners.

### **5.2.1. Pilot studies**

As prisons are closed institutions, building relations with staff and students is a very important aspect in gaining access to information and different spaces within the establishment. As Martin (2000) states, 'it is not only desirable but necessary to spend some time in an establishment before [starting the research], and it is important to get to know the geography of the place [...] the establishment's routine and regime' (p.225).

I had been volunteering in the prison since February 2009, starting with preliminary observations into the institution's suitability as a research space and objectives. Official pilot observations and teaching exercises took place between August 2009 and April 2010, further informing the research methodology and the objectives for classroom interactions. During my initial volunteering work, I was invited by different tutors to come along and take part in educational activities, ranging from in-cell education to regular classes. I was introduced to classroom procedures, from attendance monitoring to filling in ACCT and bully books. This

period helped refine observational objectives and the settings on which I wanted to concentrate.

### ***Pilot observations***

Pilot observations had been carried out in several different classrooms, after receiving official permission from the prison in September 2009. The pilot was used to gain a better understanding of the structure of educational activities, but also to investigate recurring themes and actors. As women were assigned to different morning and afternoon classes and course lengths varied from 1 or 2 and 6 weeks, a change in observational approach was necessary. I decided to study and observe two different learning spaces and their specific courses available to women. The integration of (digital) technology into educational provision was central and informed the choice of two distinct educational spaces for intensive fieldwork – the IT and the art classroom (later transformed into a social enterprise). In addition, the different class lengths, that is 1-2 weeks in the social enterprise and up to 6 weeks in IT, teaching styles and learning methods employed, provided the best choice for a comparative analysis of those two classrooms. Whilst IT classes had a rigorous structure and learning outcomes and were designed for individual learning, the social enterprise classes provided for some group work opportunities, less structured and liberal learning.

Further, during the pilot studies, it became clear that education and women's engagement with, or distribution in, education, did not start in the classroom but during a prisoner's induction. I, therefore, included observations of the induction procedures in the research, as it underpinned an analysis of the parallel spaces in which prison education and prison-learners co-exist. Additionally, the various objects present and used in education not only structured space and interactions in relation to

those parallel spaces, but also initiated different becomings - reinforcing specific identities. Further, pilot observations demonstrated the most 'natural' way of gathering information was to work with the women directly, to engage in activities and learning.

### ***Pilot teaching exercises***

I investigated opportunities to extend observations into short-period and researcher-led teaching exercises as a method of understanding women's learning and engagement with technology. In this 'distinct milieu' I hoped it would create a research atmosphere, characterised by 'equality and collaboration', which engaged me as teacher and researcher in a 'dialogue with the subjects' (Costelloe, 2007). The social enterprise tutor had asked me develop a logo for the education department and I suggested involving students in this development. Preliminary observational data on social practice in classrooms was used to inform this 'intervention'. I wanted to test different forms of engagement with tasks that included interactions with computers and software as currently practised in IT classes. I developed a 3-day teaching exercise for this pilot study, undertaken in April 2010, to gain a clearer understanding of its possibilities as ethnographic method. Five students volunteered for this short study. Two were still present on day 3. Students commented that they found the learning and interaction enjoyable but that they had other things to do. It clearly highlighted the constraints of prison teaching through illness and appointment absences. Additionally, individual motivation to participate was not necessarily guided by a desire to learn. Rather, payment and getting out of their cell to interact with other women seemed more important, indicating that educational spaces had different meanings for women. Further, the different individual learning styles and educational levels made a structured teaching, even of such a small group, difficult. On the other hand, this ethnographic method allowed for an intimate dialogue with

students – a partial capturing and understanding of women's life histories (Carlen, 1983; Carlen, et al., 1985; Carlen and Worrall, 2004). Within this short period, I learned how women negotiate educational spaces and activities, using their individual characteristics, including learning abilities and preferences, but more importantly, their prioritisation of non-educational needs. This hands-on experience, and also the abandonment of future similar teaching activities, had furthered my understanding of the prison regime and procedures, and the various spaces in which prison education exists.

The initial pilot was only possible because the art tutor wanted and needed a logo for the social enterprise. This was agreed (the tutor helping with the selection of the students), on the understanding that I would commit to delivering the teaching over three full days. Further teaching exercises would have required preparation and management to be carried out by the prison tutors. None of them had the time or resources to sort out, for instance, recruitment or payment of students not engaged in education at the specific time of my teaching. The short teaching exercises were also to be developed after computer equipment had been installed in the arts workshop. The software arrived very late in the research phase and necessary teaching material (images, graphics) did not pass security checks and were not added to the internal network. I did, however, start to teach two of the classroom assistants in DTP software but often my time being in prison clashed with the women's other commitments and appointments. I, therefore, abandoned this idea and continued my participation in normal teacher led-activities during my observations, instead, which provided me with sufficient material.

## **5.2.2. Research methods**

This section outlines the research methods employed, discussing advantages and disadvantages of the overall approach and each method. Qualitative research methods are often associated with a lack of objectivity, too narrow accounts of social reality suffering from an over descriptiveness (as in ethnomethodological approaches) and, therefore, a lack of theoretical grounding. As Finch (1986) states, this lack often results in neglecting qualitative research for policy development and change. On the other hand, supposedly ‘objective’ quantitative methods often neglect any form of common sense knowledge of practitioners (Hammersley, 2002, p.38). This creates a wide gap between research and practice, rendering knowledge often incompatible for practitioners (*ibid*, p.41). As Miller (1997, p.125) argued, researchers need to bridge between context, as studied in ethnographical or ethnomethodological research (as undertaken by Garfinkel and others), and contemporary frameworks and concepts as analysed in discourse studies (as in Foucauldian analysis), or, as Bottoms (2000) and Silverman (2004) suggest, combining methods as appropriate to the research at hand, rather than politicising the qualitative-quantitative divide. Most studies carried out in prison settings use mixed methods approaches (Martin, 2000; Bayliss, 2003b; Crewe, 2007; Heffernan, 1972) combining e.g. ethnographic studies, observations, questionnaires, interviews and documentary research. Employing different methods to research the same setting allows for data validation via triangulation (Martin, 2000; Latour, 2005).

As suggested by ANT researchers, I followed the actors and studied their courses of action, in order to avoid bias and absences (Law, 2004). I extended phenomenological approaches, concentrating on individual perceptions of phenomena, consciousness and meaning assigned to objects (for instance Merleau-Ponty, 1964) to consider the role of non-human actors, specifically objects in the

creation of social realities. To ensure validity and reliability, I employed a mixed method approach that evolved from early contextual explorations. I combined classroom observations, interviews with different participants and documentary research to capture multiple viewpoints, including my own distinct experiences. Research validity, through data triangulation, can be achieved through multiple viewpoints, as suggested, for instance, by Martin (2000). To ensure consistency, interviews with students covered the same themes, interviews with staff covered the same questions and classroom observations in different settings were conducted in the same manner. Equally important to ensure validity of data interpretation is to demonstrate the route taken (Mason, 2002; Latour, 2005). In this case study this involves the sequencing of methods but also analysis, as derived from the tracing of actors within a network of relations.

### ***Classroom observations 1***

The fieldwork in both classrooms covered the research period between February 2009 and April 2012. I visited classrooms at different times, noting how changes to provision, security and funding impacted on individual learning opportunities, but also how different members of staff affected the classroom through their work and implementation of shifting trajectories. Important actors emerged during pilot observations and teaching exercises, linking the trajectories of prison education to specific objects employed in the classroom, but also additional notions, such as prison adaptation, prisoner groups, gender and inequalities, discussed in other studies of female prisons (e.g. Carlen, 1983; Pollock, 2002) and prison education (Devlin, 1995). Important here was, on the one hand, to investigate the experience of such notions from viewpoints of different human participants. On the other hand, I wanted to understand what influences women's ability to adapt to prison education and form a learner identity. I therefore followed, not only the human actors, but also

investigated semiotic-material relations, network distributions and multiple realities in which human and non-human actors exist.

The first analysis of early field notes, therefore, included the establishment of the different daily routines (Appendix H), learning activities, materials and methods and spatial allocations of participants, and the listing of objects involved in classroom interactions in the chosen research spaces and delegated competencies (Latour, 1999). Individual resistance to education became an important theme that required further investigation into those procedures leading women into the prison classroom. I therefore investigated the induction process in more detail, as a distinct starting point of individual prison education experiences and women's distribution within the institutional network.

### ***Induction procedures***

The induction process was compulsory for every woman entering the institution. I had assisted in inductions as a volunteer, observing and marking paper-based assessments. At this time it was still located in the small IT room. The subsequent observations took place in a refurbished workshop room with computer-based assessments. My earlier notes provided a good source for comparison of procedures, activities and interactions involved. The first day in inductions was used to sequence regime activities and establish main interactions and objects involved. I not only observed, but also tested all applications used for the assessment of educational levels (literacy and numeracy) and the introduction to prison rules and regime (the virtual prison tour). Additionally, I conducted short contextual interviews with the induction tutor, the classroom assistants and officers, to understand their roles, but also procedures and data acquisition, destination and distribution in more detail. Prison regulations and service orders were also consulted to understand the wider

context and objectives of prisoner induction procedures and their localised interpretation and application. Educational assessments extracted specific data creating a virtual learner profile to be processed and transported within the institution in response to wider educational prison policies and KPIs – the rehabilitative but also economic trajectory. Objects, such as individual employment folders recording educational levels and initial educational choices and educational engagements, were therefore followed, in order to understand the transportation of the virtual learner into the prison classroom. Individual employment folders were additionally examined for each interviewed woman to understand how the virtual learner profile (that now also included security data) affects individual allocation and engagement in education.

Subsequent observations investigated individual experiences and interactions. Observational notes were added to a room sketch noting individual women's age range, ethnicity, time of arrival, assessments taken and length of engagement with each application, as well as notes on interactions with staff and classroom assistants. I also added information on particular incidents, informal conversations between participants and problems arising from interactions with the different technologies employed. Computer interaction failure, but also informal conversations, formed the basis of investigating women's but also staff's prior experiences with computer technology in individual interviews. Additional disparities emerged, as in the teaching exercises, from individual needs perception and assessed needs, requiring further investigation in classrooms and interviews.

### ***Classroom observations 2***

The field notes changed over the course of observations, reflecting the 'transformative' (Ten Have 2004, p.119) nature of note taking itself but also the performative nature of research (Law, 2004) and the role occupied by the researcher.

The data gathered in a research day was clearly marked with the date, session time (morning/afternoon) and classroom. A sketch of the room was used to indicate the locations of tables, chairs and other furniture (e.g. cupboards), students, tutor and my own location, if fixed. Within this sketch, students were clearly marked with a pseudonym, if the name was known to the researcher, or a letter indicating their ethnicity, a number corresponding to the seat and/or computer and an age group indication. The data recorded during active participation periods could not be as rigorously marked with times but nevertheless accounted for the different objects involved and actors evoked in e.g. student's engagement with the teacher, classroom assistants and peers. Whilst more passive observations allowed for a better overview of different interactions, active participation provided more detailed accounts of additional actors evoked in the interactions with the researcher. Additionally, it allowed a recording of the different problems women experienced in interacting with the learning material, for example books and computers, and the nature of those problems. Those additional observational notes were of great importance when analysing the interviews, as participants often can't recollect interactions with specifically technological objects or misconceive them (Suchman, 2007). It also included more anecdotal data (Michael, 2012) and personal feelings that allowed for a critical view on the research process itself. Interaction and communication failure between the students and myself reflected not only the distinct setting, but also the perceived and occupied roles of participants and objects.

Three interconnected trajectories of prison education emerged from the induction procedures and classroom observations (Appendix J) – the rehabilitative, the security and economic trajectories, each employing semiotic-material actors, addressing women, staff and researcher in different roles. As Michael outlined, an object's ontology 'rests on the sorts of events of which they are part' (2012, p.167).

Therefore, the analysis of observations in prison classrooms, firstly, grouped objects and interactions in relation to those three trajectories, accounting for the different ‘becoming together’. But objects and interactions could belong to more than one trajectory, adding to different virtualities and evoking different roles. An attendance record, for instance, is at once a rehabilitative, security and economic data point, transforming into individual recorded learner location (prisoner), payment (worker), and engagement (learner) but also a prison KPI and target. A computer is a rehabilitative learning object but also a security concern or can act as a prompt to discuss sexual abuse (informal conversation, Lara, field notes, 01/04/2010). Therefore objects and interactions shifted, depending on the individuals involved and their ability to evoke other actors that connected and disconnected parts of individual assemblages. Those transformations were extracted from field notes and recurring actors grouped in more generalising categories (Gibbs, 2007; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The classroom observations from those two distinct rooms were later compared, to draw conclusions on the impact of structured or liberal teaching and learning strategies on female learner engagement and other interactions in the classroom.

Furthermore, women occupied different roles in the classroom, as learners but also classroom assistants and permanent workers. Those roles informed their interactions and engagement with the various actors in the room and their specific viewpoints on prison education. During classroom observations, specific adaptation strategies to prison and education emerged that were further explored in interviews with students and staff. I continued observations during and after the interviews. This allowed for further comparison of the different data sources.

The recording of interviews was not possible within educational premises due to security restrictions. I was offered to use the 'legal box' in the visiting area for recording, but declined, as it would have meant removing the interviewee from the actual context. Additionally, this process raised confidentiality issues, as an officer would have recorded the data, the prison would have stored the tape and I would have had to negotiate access for transcription. Further, interviews would have needed to be formally organised and, due to the nature of prison, there was no guarantee women would be there on the scheduled day. 'Location of an interview can [...] be a significant factor [...] as the rigour with which the daily routine of the prison is managed can also have an impact of the interview experience' (Noaks and Wincup, 2004, p.78). I therefore decided to take notes during the interview process and use a separate room in the social enterprise centre and a small teaching room or the reading part of the library in the education department to conduct the interviews. Those rooms, additionally, provided valuable prompts during the interview, such as educational objects, that women pointed at and/or interacted with, to emphasise on specific points they wanted to raise.

As noted by other researchers (e.g. Gall, et al. 1996), taking notes during interviews can be a strange experience, as one cannot fully concentrate on the person interviewed. Another possible disadvantage is the loss of nuances and data parts. But due to the more severe limitations of the alternative I felt this to be a justifiable solution. Additionally, the note taking itself often functioned as an icebreaker that allowed the interviewee to relax. It also strengthened my focus on emerging themes. I noted down keywords, phrases and sentence parts that I connected to more content immediately after the person had left the room. This additional content was inserted

into spaces left blank with a different coloured pen. In one or two instances I followed up with an informal conversation to fill interview gaps.

I chose to conduct interviews to gain a better understanding of individual experiences with, and viewpoints on prison education of students, teachers and managerial staff, that inform interactions in prison classrooms. As Silverman noted, an interview is not only about a narrative constructed by the interviewed but an exploration of the social world and an interaction between the researcher and the researched (Silverman, 1993). Interviews need to be understood as an interactional process with issues arising from the background of both researcher and researched and their position within an institution (see role and position of the researcher). As Miller and Glassner (1997) stated ‘the issue might be exacerbated [...] when we study groups with whom we do not share membership’ (p.101). Important was to gain a deeper understanding of the actors themselves, recognising my own unique position interviewing those distinct groups in the institutional context. Whilst I shared the research space to some extent with the tutors, due to my own teaching engagements, I did not share the same space with students or management. Interviews were, therefore, conducted differently with each group. Data about the emotional state of the interviewed and interviewer, length of answers, the researcher’s feelings and comments, such as noise levels or incidences during the interview, were also added to provide for a comprehensive picture as possible of the interview process itself as suggested by Schutz, Garfinkel and ANT scholars.

### ***Interviews with students***

I conducted unstructured interviews with 23 women engaged in prison education at the time of the interview. The sample was self-selecting to empower women to contribute their expert knowledge and experiences (Carlen, 1983). Interviewees were

volunteers from the two classrooms observed and included classroom assistants and permanent workers. In common with the purpose of the observations, the views of women engaging with different learning strategies, objects and objectives were sought, to understand their impact on learner engagement, classroom interactions and individual experiences with prison education. Unstructured conversational interviews were used to allow the student to discuss experiences naturally and freely (Burgess, 1982, pp.107/8) and their voices to be heard (Bryman and Teevan, 2005, p.161). It provided the interviewee with some form of control as to which experiences to discuss and focus on, but also allowed me to follow up on individual responses and explore themes in more depth (McNamara, 1999). Whilst some women talked freely, others needed questions from the researcher. Additionally, I shared small anecdotes when appropriate, but also answered questions from the interviewees in order to seek to equalise the relationship between researcher and researched. This more natural way of communication, additionally, provided greater flexibility in the interview, as women had very different abilities and characteristics. Notes were added to account for those prompts.

The interviews focused on three main themes. Theme one focused on prior schooling and work experiences as influential factors for women's ability to engage in prison education as outlined, for instance, by Walker et al. (2006) but also with computer technology and artistic practice (observational notes). The second theme focused on prior individual experiences with technological artefacts. Little is known about the technological experiences of women and their engagement with technological artefacts prior to incarceration, the technological deprivation in prisons but also their possible ambitions to use technological artefacts for work, learning or pleasure, on release. Whilst Turkle's (2007) notion of evocative objects stressed the idea of users emotional attachments to specific technological devices, I also wanted

to add women's prior knowledge and use preferences, and compare those with observational themes. Initial informal conversations and interactions suggested gendered experiences in women's technology use. It also suggested that woman's prior professional and educational occupations influenced their learning of software and engagement with technology. The third theme focused on individual prison education experiences. Important topics explored here included individual adaptation to prison education, the importance of, and reasons to engage in, or reject, prison education, the ability to form attachments and learner identities, as well as preferences for specific classes and learning and whether prison education is perceived of as a different, more liberal space as suggested by prior research (Wilson, 2007; Wright and Gehring, 2008; Costelloe, 2007).

The interviews were each read in their entirety and then by theme, coded and categorised to identify recurring actors from observations and potential new actors within individual narratives. Particular attention was paid to gender as an actor shaping women's past and current experiences. Commonalities of experiences within the three themes explored were drawn out, actors established and relations drawn to characteristics of individual assemblages such as age, ethnicity, substance dependencies, sentence status and lengths and learning abilities obtained from individual employment folders after the interview. Results were then compared with observational data. I abstained from using or creating prisoner groups as developed by prison researchers, for example, Heffernan (1972). Firstly, I only studied the educational setting, but, as I discovered, group belonging shifted over time, in space and between interactions. As interview content and shared experiences are dependent on the interactions between researcher and researched, interview content and observations were compared and critically analysed. Where possible, I kept in contact with women afterwards, as following up on their initial stories provided more

insight. Those follow-ups were added to field notes and later to the analysis of the interview data. Individual experiences were also then connected to the three main trajectories linking to global policies and their local implementation.

### ***Interviews with teaching staff and managerial staff***

Having completed the student interviews, I conducted 13 semi-structured interviews with the correctional educators that worked or had worked in the prison. I used semi-structured interviews in order to cover a set of specific questions but also to allow for some latitude for additional questions and change of sequence (Bryman and Teevan, 2005, p.71), depending on the answers given. The recruitment was unproblematic as most tutors wanted to be involved. I not only interviewed tutors who were working in the department at the time, but also tutors who had left during my stay. This provided for a more varied view on prison education, as tutors who had left were more critical and open in their responses as they were no longer bound to the institution. The interviews with tutors were usually conducted in their classrooms, in order to provide the right context, and notes were taken. Interviews with ex-prison tutors were conducted in more informal settings at the discretion of the interviewee. I was able to record and transcribe those interviews, which was a lot easier than note taking, as I could fully concentrate on the person. Although I knew the teachers very well, being interviewed was new to most of them. I made sure they knew that I wanted to learn from them and not test them, and kept the interviews as casual as possible. Despite my prior knowledge of some of the information provided in the interviews, I kept to the structure as it allowed tutors to reflect more comprehensively on their own practice during the process. As one mentioned ‘Thanks for the questions, I had completely forgotten why I am doing this job’ (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011).

The interviews focused, firstly, on tutors' educational and technological backgrounds and their reasons for becoming a prison tutor. Specific themes emerging from background data linked to observed teaching practice and role understanding. I enquired about their daily routines, teaching and other responsibilities in the department, to understand individual emphasis and weight placed on occupations. To learn about classroom interactions, the interviews also scrutinised the utilisation and creation of objects related to the three trajectories that had emerged during the observations in conjunction with studying the literature. Current and potential teaching methods, content and objects used in the classroom but also the tutors understanding and application of prison rules were investigated. In addition, their perceptions of, and relationships formed with students and classroom assistants, were explored. The last topic reflected on changes to their own practice and activities over time within the prison context. This was particularly important as the department underwent significant changes during my stay. Again the timing of the interviews proved important, as one teacher noted, 'I had a really good morning today if had done the interview yesterday my answers would be slightly different' (interview, Jackie, 14/09/2011). So, as before, notes about incidences during the interview as well as emotional states were added after the interview finished.

The interviews with managerial staff, the education manager and Head of Reoffending were constructed in a similar fashion with some changes, due to the distinct roles occupied by the interviewees. Instead of exploring teaching practice, the interview focused on the management of teaching and provision, including reasons for providing specific education, plans for new developments and relationships with outside organisations. Although the interviews highlighted a different view on education, the same connections to the three trajectories emerged in the analysis.

All interviews were firstly read in their entirety and summaries created for each respondent, highlighting specific attitudes. Interviews were then divided into topics. Each topic was analysed separately, highlighting recurring actors and themes, but also their connection to other topics and the three trajectories. All of the respondents, with the exception of the Head of Learning, were women. Therefore particular attention was paid to the role of gender in informing individual background narratives but also specific teaching practice, educational provision and developments.

### ***Documentary research***

The use of texts and documents, specifically policy documents, as source materials is often utilised in educational and prison research (e.g. Crewe, 2007; Bayliss, 2003; Devlin, 1995). Global policy papers, prison rules, prison PSOs and PSIs frame the local institutional contexts and educational provision. Policy papers and, specifically, PSOs and PSIs concerning prison education, prison performance and female offenders, were therefore studied and analysed in connection with observational and interview data to understand local interpretations, applications and responses. Specific attention was paid to groups, their boundaries and individual actors within policies and their trajectories. Additionally, emerging and existing contextual objects and procedures were linked to contemporary prison service orders and policy recommendations.

For institutional background data, such as prison population, age and offence distribution, the prisons' HMI Reports and Ofsted inspection reports were used. They also functioned as a cross-reference for observational and interview data and allowed the investigation of changes in delivery standards, provisional offers and content during and after the research period. Additional documents used were women's

individual employment folders, to establish relationships between sentence status, recorded security and health concerns, literacy and numeracy levels and educational engagement and participation. It also linked assessment results and initial job choices to procedures placing women in education and informing their subsequent educational experiences. The documentary research also included a thorough investigation and analysis of teaching materials and assessment tools.

### ***Research ethics***

The research had been approved in July 2009 by the London Metropolitan University's Ethics Review Panel and formed the basis for the prison's approval of the research. Official data collection started soon after and adhered to University guidelines, including the anonymization of data to avoid individuals being recognised in the thesis, the design of consent and information sheets I handed out and were signed by the interviewed women and members of staff. Anonymization proves of course difficult when adding interview data of individuals with very distinct positions in the prison such as the Head of Reoffending but also individual tutors. I, therefore, advised participants of this possibility and reminded them of their right to retract their data at any time. Electronic data were secured on a password protected computer and field notes and consent forms in a locked cabinet. Original names were not added to field notes.

However, research ethics refer to the data collection methods and informed consent as much as the values of the researcher and their relationship with participants. As Maguire noted, one has to draw lines of engagement (2000). For me this meant I had to adhere to prison rules, and inform prison staff of any criminal or self-harming activities that I observed or overheard. This was clearly stated in the research information sheet handed to all participants before interviews took place.

But as Becker (1967) and Liebling (2001) stated, it is impossible to be neutral, and more than once I was drawn into internal affairs and felt allegiance to particular individuals, due to prior encounters, acquaintances and my different research positions. Although, I did not openly interfere or object to particular incidences, I felt at least obliged to listen and offer some general advice to individuals, both tutors and students. I ensured that I enquired later about specific incidences to hear the other side of the story (e.g. a woman being dismissed from her permanent art worker position or staff dismissal) to understand the reasons. However, impartiality is an illusion as the individuality of the researcher already introduces bias into the research. The different roles I occupied in the prison, but also, more importantly, the ability to carry out the research as freely as possible, prevented me from impulsive reactions and allowed to observe the context from various positions.

Problematic and impractical, however, was acquiring consent of each participant during classroom observations but also during the pre-approval time. Due to class length and high turnover in classrooms, I always met different participants. Whilst in ICT I attempted to inform women of my research and asked for their oral consent, informing all women in the social enterprise was impossible. I, therefore, decided to not announce myself as researcher openly but to take on the role of volunteer tutor specifically in art classes and during observations. Although, I did not adhere strictly to the ethical standards I gained greater insights through informal conversations, avoided conversational breaks and access to a variety of different women that might have avoided the researcher. Additionally, those conversations were often short and were only summarised in field notes after classes had finished using letters and numbers not names to distinguish between participants. They can, therefore, not be traced back to the individual. I created field notes similarly before gaining approval.

However, those were used to inform methods and research objectives rather than becoming research data.

### **5.3. Conclusions**

The section concludes by recognising the limitations arising from an exploratory case study approach in generalising research findings or providing for a wider gender comparison. It would have been beneficial to follow students over a longer period of time, to explore changing attitudes towards prison education further. This was, however, not possible. HMP Bronzefield as local women's prison has a high population turnover and a high number of short-term prisoners (see section 7.1.). Further, a comparison with a similar public local prison would have enabled me to draw out and highlight the specific economic trajectories of for instance a private prison enterprise. This would have limited the research time in HMP Bronzefield. As discussed above many research opportunities arose through familiarity with the establishment and longer-term relationships with women and staff. Overall, a case study should provide the answers to the research questions and is distinct from other studies in the field (see chapter 1 section 4).

Firstly, it recognises how the three trajectories affect local prison education. Secondly, it thoroughly analyses the cultural and social consequences of (digital) technology changes or implementation in prison education and prison classrooms that shape individual experiences. Thirdly, it develops recommendations for inclusive implementation of digital technology in prison education for women. The methods employed have been developed to recognise prison education as existing in, informing and being informed by, global policies and local contexts. Both need to be understood to implement digital technology that is beneficial for the diverse learner group found in women's prisons, but that also enable tutors to develop spaces for

learner engagement and delegate the right competencies to objects employed in prison education.

## ***6. Pre-classroom interactions – reducing multiplicity into manageable fragments***

This section provides an overview of the various designed processes and interactions involved in the distribution of individuals in the institutional network. It starts by analysing the entry of individuals into the prison and follows procedures leading women into the prison classroom. Whilst starting in reception, it analyses the induction process in detail, with particular focus on the educational assessments. The analysis is based on observational data but also informal and formal interview data and documentary research. It pays particular attention to the designed artefacts, delegated human competencies (Latour, 1996; 2005a) and processes that capture and transport educational fragments into the prison's main trajectories. The section highlights how an individual is transported and managed in the prison, reducing individual complexity into data fragments and creating a datavidual. Secondly, it explains how educational fragments are transported through the institutional network to place women into purposeful activities.

### **6.1. Institutional becoming - entering the prison network**

A prison is not, as Goffman described it, a total institution (Goffman, 1967) but a localised global. Institutional procedures and ‘entry rituals’ (Foucault, 1977) have shifted with new research findings about offender recidivism and rehabilitation informing global policies, but also the utilisation of new technology. All processes are at once global virtualities outlined in PSOs and PSIs and designed local procedures, allowing a prisoner to be allocated in space and time and assigned potential activities.

As I have argued earlier, committing an offence renders an individual a deviant individual, lays bare specific categories of individual deficiencies, and rehabilitative or criminogenic risks and needs. Offender' skills deficits (MOJ, 2010 and 2012a) have been identified as a potent reoffending risk and dynamic (changeable) criminogenic need that can be addressed in prisons. The prison system partly justifies its existence through its rehabilitative promise and trajectory, as outlined in prison policy papers. Designed local procedures assess and monitor deficits, utilising specific measurement instruments, whilst local activities and programs are designed to remove skills deficits based on those measurements. Therefore, a woman and her anticipated needs and virtual deficiencies are already there before the white van with black windows delivers her body through the prison gates - starting with the affirmation and booking of an empty prison bed in House block 1. Her 'treatment' and interactions are pre-formatted, transported from another time and extracted from other individuals before her. She, herself, transforms into various data points, fragmented virtualities, statistical beings, reinforcing or changing treatments and interactions – connecting local interactions with global policies. At the time of research, everything led a woman who committed or was suspected of having committed an offence serious enough to being held on remand in this local prison, into the prison classroom. In some instances the classroom was her cell.

The pains of imprisonment - the loss of liberty and individuality (Liebling 1991, Liebling and Maruna, eds., 2005) are, however, embodied individual experiences. Nevertheless, as the following section highlights procedures and artefacts control the transformation of individuality into dividuality or dataviduality (Franko Aas, 2005). They create, transport and reinsert virtual data fragments into the prison system. Their design not only mobilises specific actors but also creates specific spaces of interactions leading to an individual feeling of loss of control and decision making

ability. To keep the individual in mind I am using Marissa (prisoner) and Maureen (tutor) as proxies or personas and follow them step-by-step into the classroom.

### **6.1.1. Marissa becoming prisoner**

Arriving in reception Marissa is officially signed over to the establishment (PSI 52/2010) and the prison is now responsible for her safety (article 2 of the European Conventions on Human Rights 1998), security and management. Relevant data (such as name, date of birth, nationality) are entered into the local inmate database system LIDS<sup>9</sup>. Within an anticipated time of 45 minutes (PSO 4800, 2008, p.9), she transforms, in the reception area, into sets of data connecting her prisoner number with official and publicly available governmental statistics, such as the Ministry of Justice weekly statistics on prison population. Her arrival is announced in the staff entrance on a TV screen showing the prison's daily roll count. The virtual *becoming prisoner* is finalised with the required data entry – Marissa is now a LIDS/ Prison-NOMIS entry, but also a green prison file held on her house block. Both virtual representations will be constantly updated. Data obtained during the induction procedures will be added to her LIDS/ Prison-NOMIS profile, ensuring Marissa's efficient management. The green file is used to monitor her prison behaviour. The virtual *becoming prisoner* sets in motion her visible and invisible interactions with actors human and non-human that now shape her (in)dividual experience of becoming/being prisoner. Marissa and her data fragments now form part of the various prison trajectories. Allocation to inductions already connects her future educational assessments, classroom allocation and performance with the prisons'

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<sup>9</sup> LIDS (Local Inmate Database system) has since been replaced by Prison-NOMIS (Prison National Offender Management Information System), a centralised database system, allowing a sharing of data between prisons and other agencies, as probation and police (see PSI 73/2011).

rehabilitative trajectories - its designed educational provision and key performance targets. It additionally connects Marissa's future rehabilitative performance with educational funding and prison budgets – its economic trajectory. Further regime procedures connect her anticipated behaviour with the prison's security trajectory. After waking up, regulated food intake is organised and she will find her name on the induction attendance list. She has a personal officer and her day is structured by mandatory induction activities starting the day after her arrival (unless she arrived on a Friday or Saturday).

Marissa's tangible-material becoming prisoner and institutional belonging manifests itself in procedures resulting in her surrender of her liberty and property (PSI 10/2012). An officer will take her picture and fingerprints, assess, record and store her belongings in a numbered property box, reduce her outside relations to 'contact details of the prisoner's next of kin or nominated contact' (PSI 52/2010, p.3), a 5 minute phone call, early visitation arrangements, and possible childcare provision. A healthcare professional should also assess her medical condition and possible needs. In exchange she receives an ID card with a prison number and her picture, a smoker or non-smoker welcome pack, prison issued clothes (she can choose to wear) and a bed in an enclosed space in house block 1. Marissa might experience house block 1 (Appendix A) as 'chaotic, noisy and full of lunatics and drug addicts' (informal conversation, Rachel, field notes, 21/01/2010) – reminding of the inherent complexity rather than simplicity of the individual women within.

#### **6.1.2. *Marissa becoming (being) a security and safety risk***

Prisons have a duty of care, ensuring the safety of prisoners. They also ensure public safety by securely allocating and keeping prisoners within. Marissa's safety

and security are therefore ongoing concerns, starting in reception and ending with her release or move to another prison. Public protection duties are inscribed into regime monitoring procedures and artefacts. Marissa will frequent different spaces within the prison. Throughout her stay she will be able to book appointments (visitor, doctor) and apply for specific regime activities, such as education, using the PSS kiosk (McDougall et.al. 2017) on her landing. The kiosk allows Marissa's intentions and applications to be electronically logged. An internal communication network transports those to administration staff, adding her to doctor's offices and classrooms at particular times. The actual administration is very much removed from Marissa's view. She receives a daily movement slip, containing her own kiosk bookings but also mandatory allocations. Those match the attendance lists in the respective areas. Her virtual presence precedes her physical presence in space and time to ensure she can be accounted for, but also supervised by staff at all times. Regime monitoring activities connect and compare her virtual and physical data. Her ID card (and any movement slips) grants access to space, if her name and number matches local attendance lists. But a tick – the registration of her presence- also assigns responsibility to specific members of staff. Maureen's (tutor) tick and time stamp on the attendance list next to Marissa's name will make her responsible for Marissa's behaviour. As illicit and stolen objects are also a security concern, Marissa will additionally undergo body-checks when entering and exiting specific prison areas to check for contraband. Local regime objects and safety procedures inform the interactions between Marissa and members of staff, such as Maureen, whilst assigning distinct roles to both – controller/supervisor and controlled/supervised.

However, local procedures are also constantly amended to counteract common security risks, such as self-harm but also illicit exchanges between prisoners forming part of each prison's security trajectory. In educational provision the guarding of

toilets during teaching (Appendix F) and break times (Appendix D) by teaching staff, for instance, was a direct result of adverse prisoner behaviour - the continuous exchanges of contraband but also self-harm incidences in toilets. Changing security trajectories in the prison, therefore, added and increased interactions to control student behaviour.

However, individual becoming prisoner is more complex than a prison number, regime monitoring and the opening of a green file to record behavioural changes as section 2 of the literature review highlighted. Adaptations to prison life vary (Matthews, 1999; Owen, 1998; Pollock, 2002) due to the distinct assemblages of prisoners and the involuntary nature of imprisonment. Many female prisoners before Marissa have undergone adaptation processes and informed the instrumentalisation of risk determination to the self and others. Marissa's virtual potentialities precede her actions. They have also informed behavioural monitoring procedures – the production and assessment of behavioural virtualities through a coding of observed actualities.

Gender-specific guidelines, such as PSO 4800 (2008) pay particular attention to the specific needs and vulnerabilities of female prisoners (Corston, 2007) and gender-specific pathways into crime. 40-50% of women are first-time offenders (PSO 4800, 2008, pp.8/9), a group posing a high risk of self-harm during the first weeks of incarceration. Marissa's behaviour and moves are anticipated, described and prepared for, in local risk and needs assessments based on PSOs (such as PSO 4800) or PSIs (such as PSI 64/2011). To avoid common known security risks resulting from anxieties, unfamiliarity, and substance withdrawal and to ease her entry into the prison, she will encounter 'magazines and other items (i.e. greenery) that soften the environment and provide distractions [...] [in] a bright, clean, pleasant environment to enable a respectful and reassuring experience' (*ibid*, p.9).

Additionally, Marissa 'should be offered a hot drink' (*ibid*, p.9) before being moved to her temporary accommodation prescribing staff interactions to support Marissa's well-being in this stressful situation. She will meet a listener (trained prisoner) in reception and her personal officer in house block 1. Those interactions are designed to continue information provision on one hand, but also the recording and coding of risk possibilities whilst ensuring her momentary safety.

Each prisoner poses security risks through their individual behaviour. Individual behaviour is monitored in the prison green file over time stored in Marissa's house block. Staff from different areas can add information here about Marissa's behaviour. Behaviour is also tightly regulated in the prison through, for instance, the IEP scheme (PSI 11/2011) enforcing individual responsibility for behaviour and rule obedience. Again, it is staff who control and monitor behaviour affecting Marissa's prison status (basic, enhanced) and subsequent supervision. The prison green is the collector of IEP warnings and suspensions, leading to loss of privileges or staff endorsements leading to enhancement. Criticisms have been raised over its general use (Liebling, 2008), but also its local application 'as a stick [rather] than a carrot' and 'in some cases, to prisoners with complex and/or genuine health needs' (IMB, 2013, p.14). I will return to the IEP scheme when discussing individual behaviour management in classrooms.

Individual security risks are also already determined on Marissa's entry. Marissa's distinct criminality might already pose a virtual or actual security risk, warranting her isolation from others in the segregation unit. Her actual behaviour in the prison might also present a risk of harm to others. She might have a fight or verbally abuse another prisoner. Additionally, her vulnerabilities might render her a potential or actual danger to herself. Both distinct risks, if assigned to Marissa, transform into an additional regime object (ACCT – 'orange book for self-harmer' or Bully book –

‘pink book for women posing a risk to others, see PSI 64/2011) transporting risk mitigation procedures – (in)dividualised behavioural control - into the various spaces Marissa frequents. If Marissa states she feels suicidal now, or at any time during her stay, her uttered words or behaviour will be assessed to determine the severity of her risk. The prison’s duty of care transforms into an ACCT book (*ibid*) with precise instructions for Marissa’s behavioural supervision. Counsellors, psychologists and specially trained assessors now ‘act at a distance’, prescribing interactions with staff during her regime activities and surveillance requirements. Marissa’s daily security and safety are controlled, for instance, by an officer-escort, during movement, or an officer’s face outside her cell door, during lock-up. Maureen has to engage with Marissa in specific intervals, comment on her engagement and Marissa’s activities, and leave traces for others to evaluate Marissa’s risks in subsequent meetings and reports (PPO, 2015).

Regime monitoring ensures Marissa’s continuous institutional supervision in space and time during her stay. (In)dividual behavioural monitoring ensures Marissa’s safety and/or the safety of others. Specific coded behaviour will be recorded, described occasionally sent off, analysed, added to statistics. Increased frequencies of specific virtualities might change local procedures. If her behaviour identifies a possible security risk, change might be immediate. Risk possibilities will be either added to newcomers and/or to specific spaces, such as education. The riots in the male, and self-harm rises in the female estate, highlighted unsupervised and ‘unemployed’ prisoners are a safety and security risk for the overall institution and the self (MOJ, 2016a). Prison policies and PSOs, therefore, stress the importance of engaging Marissa in purposeful activities starting in reception.

Becoming prisoner, although experienced individually, is more than personal but an unfolding of designed events to secure and allocate a generic new entry, virtually

and physically, in the institution. Reception manifested her institutional belonging, extracting from complex individual generic data - a name, number, age and health needs. Object removal, such as phones and jewellery, disconnects Marissa from her previous life. Data retrieval connects her to the prison network, transferring responsibility over her safety and security to the institution. Marissa's alleged offence awoke a network of actors interacting on her behalf, starting the distribution of context-specific individual data of a complex individual into an institutional network, whilst the *prison's security trajectory* ensures, first and foremost, her survival in a situation not of her own choosing.

## **6.2. Marissa becoming needs (rehabilitative trajectory)**

Prisons not only have a duty of care, but are also expected to rehabilitate offenders (MOJ, 2010). Private but also public prisons, as previously outlined, are judged against performance standards, assessing the treatment and rehabilitation of prisoners in their care. 'Prisons should not allow offenders to simply mark their time in a purposeless fashion' (*ibid*, p.10). Education as the main employer in this private prison fulfilled some of those contractual obligations. It placed offenders into purposeful activities, contributing to the reduction of re-offending rates and the government's rehabilitation agenda (PSI 06/2012). Education contributed to the efficient running of the institution, its safety and decency in offender treatment. But data is also required to account for and evidence target achievements, as part of the prison's contractual obligations, in monthly and yearly management reports and statistics. Data is, therefore, needed to, on the one hand organise offender rehabilitation and ensure prison security, whilst on the other, to create evidence needed ensuring its economic viability and securing future funding of its operation.

Rehabilitation responds to needs virtualities of specific offender groups. Female offender's criminogenic needs are understood to lie in the 'personal/emotional domain' (see for instance Blanchette, 2002) and relate to histories of abuse, mental health problems, substance misuse and self-harm - the gendered pathway perspective into crime. As the literature suggested, those needs often overlap and it is still hard to create strong empirical links between some of those needs and female criminal behaviour (Hollin and Palmer, 2010). They, nevertheless, influence women's overall behaviour outside and within the institution and need to be managed and accounted for.

The recording processes that had started in reception continued in inductions. In the prison, the Offender Management Unit organised prisoner induction. The recording and sorting of individual data corresponded to measurable criminogenic needs including, for instance, finances, housing, bail, childcare, employment and education. To manage offender's needs and their possible rehabilitative occupations within the institution, individual complexity needs to be ordered, fragmented and reduced to data and information, corresponding to services and regime activities available in the prison, standards and categorisations available to be shared within information and communication systems. The administrative design of needs assessments and recording procedures and technologies precede Marissa's entry. Specific artefacts were employed to support the induction, recording and assessment procedures. The following part, firstly, outlines the induction routine before analysing the various parts of Marissa's needs assessment. Specific attention is paid to the educational assessments, artefacts, interactions and processes that fragment and reduce Marissa's complexity into educational level indicators, marking the beginning of Marissa's journey into the prison classroom and virtual prison learner identity.

### ***6.2.1. The Induction process and routine***

Induction was as much a contractual obligation for the institution as a mandatory engagement for each prisoner. It corresponded to, and translated, requirements outlined PSO 0550 Prisoner Induction (2005) relating to prisoner's safety, immediate and longer term rehabilitative needs (section 5).

The prison's induction time plan (not always adhered to) was as follows:

- Day 1: services and virtual prison tour
- Day 2: educational assessments
- Day 3: doctor, library, gym

Pay:

- Women received £1, - per day for attending inductions.

Time:

- Morning 8:00 – 11:30
- Afternoon 1:30 – 4:30

Induction lasted in general three days for every new arrival, including transfers from other establishments. It covered a criminogenic needs assessment, a library, gym and health care visit, a computer-aided virtual prison tour and a lengthy educational assessment. The educational assessments were comparatively longer than any other needs assessment, often lasting for a whole session (morning or afternoon), depending on Marissa's engagement and participation. This indicates an importance placed on prison education. Those were closely followed up by a job talk and selection of work opportunities with some responding to Marissa's established needs.

Placing all needs assessments into one room (Appendix B, C), with the exception of health needs, increased the efficiency of procedures. It reduced the number of staff escorting women but also waiting times whilst providing more control over data acquisition, interactions and individual behaviour during the inductions. Various objects had been utilised and specifically designed to effectively manage and control individuals within and the required outcomes. Those were common prison objects, such as the ID cards, but also induction-specific ones, such as a service tick list or job application forms. Additionally, specific individuals were employed to guide and assist the recording processes, such as the listeners, classroom assistants, officers and service staff.

‘Induction is an opportunity to encourage the prisoner to have a positive attitude to their time in custody and to make the most of the opportunities available. Information about these opportunities is best conveyed during induction through observation and/or participation in the relevant activity, where possible’

(PSO 0550, section 6.9).

PSO 0550 set out distinct guidelines for induction procedures; information that is needed to be provided and those needs to be assessed. It included a sub-section on female prisoners and their specific needs. None of those listed needs or the most common concerns of prisoners are educational or employment related (*ibid*, p.6). Although, inductions covered other areas, the following part focuses on the interactions and activities carried out in the induction room.

### **6.2.2. Marissa – becoming needs**

Marissa arrives in the induction suite (Appendix C) with her wing officer and other new arrivals. The induction process for Marissa, similar to other prison activities, starts with attendance recording. Marissa's first interaction is the surrender of her ID Card that creates a time stamp on the induction attendance list – an economic but also security data point. Her attendance is counted toward the prisons induction targets and the ID surrender secures her temporarily in the induction room. The interaction reinforces binary institutional positions whilst controlling Marissa's rehabilitative journey. She will return or remain in the room until the required evidence of her needs assessments has been produced.

Marissa receives a clipboard with a tick list and some general prison information leaflets. 'It may be useful for prisoners to have a check-list/timetable of what will be covered during induction so that *they* [my emphasis] can tick off completed topics and understand the overall picture of the information being provided' (PSO 0550, 2005, p.7). The list employed here focused on Marissa's virtual information needs and needs assessments. In order of precedence, it firstly listed all prison services that her potential needs will be assigned to, the prison tour to support her integration into the prison system and educational assessments to determine her educational needs. During the hand-over, the administrator, classroom assistant or officer, explains how to use the clipboard but also sets behavioural expectations. Marissa is seated in the waiting area.

Each table/ side box corresponds to the listed prison services responsible for her anticipated virtual needs. Marissa will be called and report to each service. A member of staff or assistant (such as a listener) will sign her clipboard to evidence an interaction has taken place. Marissa receives and provides needs information. The

tick list ensures Marissa has been introduced to all services available to her in the prison and a transferral of responsibility over specific needs to the service has taken place. It, however, does not ensure quality or ‘prisoners [...] [active involvement] in the assessment and decision making process [...] [improving] accuracy of assessment and a sense of responsibility for acting on decisions’ (*ibid*, section 7). Underreporting of specific needs, such as illiteracy, was common in induction. Melissa could be allocated to ICT classes unable to read (interactions, Marla, field notes, 11/03/2011). Interactions with services are necessary to establish and act on individual needs. However, those interactions are not initiated by Marissa but enforced.

A member of staff checks the tick list. A complete list allows Marissa to proceed to the next part of the induction. Whilst Marissa continues her journey in the room, the data she has provided is categorised and added as coded needs and risks to her virtual prisoner profile (LIDS/Prison NOMIS and/or OASys see PSO 2205, 2003). Depending on her sentence length and prisoner status (remand/sentenced), her sentence planning, service and program allocations starts now. If Marissa, for instance, had stated a substance dependency in reception, a doctor would need to determine the correct amount of daily methadone and she would be assigned to a CARAT worker and a drug treatment program. Although most of those needs assessments do not directly affect Marissa’s travel into the classroom, they highlight the fragmentation of her individual narrative into discrete data entities, the transformation of embodied knowledge into information. Her need becomes, using Rasmussens (1999) processes, objectivated as a specific need, then distanced from the self to be conserved within a database, that assigns her needs to a distinct prison services. The tick list controls the completion of prisoner records, in accordance with the anticipated virtual needs of generic female prisoners.

### **6.2.3. Marissa from becoming to being prisoner - General prison induction (LEAF)**

Prisons are required to provide the necessary regime information to individuals in their care (PSO 0550, 2005, section 6). Understanding prison rules and the regime is another important step for Marissa transformation into a prisoner and her ability to adapt to prison life. It also forms an important part of the prison's contractual obligation. The implementation of a computer-aided prison tour replaced induction classes previously conducted and led by dedicated wing officers. One officer mentioned:

'We used to do this in classrooms [presentations]. I thought it worked better as the women got to know us and could ask individual questions. It was livelier and often loud but you know. This [application] should be in the library or the wings if they want to look up something specific not in induction, well just my opinion'

(informal conversation, wing officer, field notes, 07/07/2010).

The tour delegated human competency of officers to a software system. It is a socio-technical system developed through negotiations between people, institutions, and organizations (Latour, 1992, p.151) and interpretations of PSOs (e.g. PSO 0550, 2005, section 6.2). Institutional requirements, virtual information needs of generic prisoners and targets, but also staff expertise, now 'act at a distance' (Latour, 1992, p.151). It no longer required prison staff to have, and disseminate, detailed contextual knowledge of the prison regulations. An administrator, able to assign log ins, facilitate tests and assemble the results, was sufficient. Marissa does not need to wait for a scheduled class but receives instant access to her anticipated virtual information needs via a virtual space representing actual prison spaces.

Whilst delegating human competencies, the application also brings its own materiality (software and hardware) into the interaction. The computer application forces Marissa to work on her own, displacing social interactions with officers and/or other women in the same situation as her. She has to engage with all the information provided, opening virtual doors, reading descriptive parts and evidencing her engagement by answering ‘quiz’ questions after each section (Appendix G). The software will applaud her for getting answers right and her results will be assembled and displayed in a certificate. It is also designed to withstand possible resistance. Marissa will be re-logged in if she quits ‘accidentally’ or needs to attend appointments. The software records and controls her individual information intake through algorithms ensuring all information has been accessed. It will, therefore, bring her back to the screen, waiting for further input, until an end state is reached and her certificate can be filed away.

The application reinforces individuality and a solitary becoming prisoner. It limits Marissa’s choice and ability to determine which information might be relevant for her, whilst algorithms control women’s interactions with information and virtual information intake. The design of the application, as a test, justified the interruption of frequently occurring chats between women, and help from classroom assistants and administrator limited to log ins, clicking, printing and the handing out the certificates for their clipboards. The certificate functioned as proof of successful completion. The score itself was irrelevant. Low scores were not challenged or followed up with more input. The certificate evidences a virtual introduction to prison life according to procedures as outlined in (PSO 0550, 2005, section 6).

‘Staff will bear in mind that there are limits on the amount of information prisoners can absorb at any time, particularly when they may be new to custody and feeling anxious’ (*ibid*). As the Inspection Report (2015) highlighted, women felt

induction was too quick, they did not receive the information they needed or were overloaded (p.23). 60% of women (HCIM, 2011, p.109) and only 43% of women in the prisoner survey stated they had received enough information (HCIM, 2015, p.87). Additionally the IBM commented on poor staff oversight (IMB, 2012, p.7) and incomplete information trails (*ibid*). Women might have chosen not to listen to the officers during their presentations and/or potentially complained that information had not been supplied. Enforced and evidenced engagement with information did not yield better results. During my observation, women complained about the length, the amount of reading required, having to find items in the various rooms and often just clicked through to finish. Their questions remained unanswered. Furthermore, women consistently engaged classroom assistants, staff and officers in conversation to enquire about the very issues they had just read about. Classroom assistants and the administrator would, however, have to encourage a finalisation of the test. Some read content and clicked options for women that had 'forgotten their glasses' (field notes, 07/07/2010). As the officer further highlighted, women often did not know what kind of information they needed, but also emphasised the need to experience induction as a group and through social interactions, not as an individual. The test focused on outcomes, not reflective practice and human sense-making processes, transferring institutional responsibility and delegating human competencies to the application.

#### ***6.2.4. Marissa – becoming educational need***

Marissa now moves to the next part – the assessment of her educational needs. As outlined in the literature review, the connection between recidivism and educational levels heightened the focus on basic skills deficits, defining educational levels as both risk and need (MOJ, 2010; 2016a). With Marissa's arrival in the prison, she became the prison's educational performance target (PSO 7100, 2007), informed by

governmental policies to enhance basic skills levels (MOJ, 2010). PSO 4800 (2008) lists 47% of women offenders as having no educational qualifications (p.35). The educational assessments are, therefore, instrumental in evidencing Marissa's needs. However, they are also instrumental for the design and administration of the prison's educational provision. They reinforce basic skills needs and emphasise the 'educational failure' of female offenders (MOJ, 2013, p.5; p.26), despite limited links to her criminal lifestyle and individual desistance (Giordano, et al., 2002). Prison contracts not only include educational targets, but PSOs and PSIs, additionally, outline mandatory actions, such as assessments and educational provision in prisons (PSI 06/2012). Educational assessments are the first step in organising and managing Marissa's future 'meaningful activity and hard work' in 'a structured and disciplined environment' (MOJ, 2010, p.14). They are instrumental for her and the prison's actual and virtual security, economic and rehabilitative trajectories.

### ***Educational assessments –creating evidence of Marissa's educational needs***

The assessment procedure changed during my time in the prison. When I started, women were guided to the education corridor and filled in paper assessments for numeracy and literacy. If women refused, or health related issues prevented their presence in education, tests were administered in their cells by the INCELL tutor. Those paper tests were shorter than the computer-mediated assessments preceding them. They gave an overall indication of a woman's literacy and numeracy level. A tutor, classroom assistant or myself checked against a correct set of answers to determine the level. Results were not, therefore, always immediately presented to women, and thus delayed work allocations. Occasionally women refused to take the test and the tutor would add a remark on the assessment sheet and her education and employment green 'encouraged but refused assessments'. Its materiality had greater potential for resistance, as sheets could be ripped apart or scrunched up in anger,

scribbled and/or doodled on. Usually the assessments lasted between 10 minutes to 1 hour depending on women's compliance and engagement.

Computer-mediated assessments (BKS<sub>B</sub> Basic Key Skills Builder programme, Appendix G) were introduced in 2010, and 15 new computers placed into the induction room. BKS<sub>B</sub> tests functional skills for English and Maths up to level 2. Women spent 1 to 3, sometimes 4 hours to finish their educational assessments. Each assessment had two steps – a short test to determine the overall literacy or numeracy level, and a longer, diagnostic test to provide a detailed profile of the educational needs within the determined level. It might be worth noting that this was a standardised test used in other educational settings. The difference, however, was how outcomes were acted upon. Outside educational settings would use specifically designed online modules to address the needs determined in the diagnostic test. The prison only used the assessment instruments at the time. Lorna, senior IT tutor at the time and Lorna's classroom assistant, managed the transformation. However, shortly after this, the administrator in charge of prison services took over the running of the induction. Lorna remarked that processes became more coordinated and efficient and 'women refused the computer assessments less' (interview, Lorna, 27/09/2011).

Marissa's login starts her transformation into an educational need and prison learner. The prison tour, like the assessments instruments, are socio-technical systems. They bring their materiality into play. The application incorporates institutional requirements to assess and provide for purposeful activities, ideas of offenders' 'poor education' as a factor leading to criminal lifestyles (MOJ, 2010, p.8). It responds to governmental demands 'to assess the women and find out what their strength and weaknesses are' (interview, Lorna, 27/09/2011). Similar to the prison tour, the application becomes the educational expert, directing and enforcing specific interactions and demanding an end stage to be reached. How an end stage is reached,

and whether levels reflect Marissa's actual needs, are of no importance to the application.

The allocation of a single workspace table with computer, seating arrangements and personal login, reinforces assessment conditions and individual responsibility for the results. A classroom assistant or the administrator explains the procedure and rules, emphasising on the importance of the test for her future engagements and activities in the prison, and then leaves her to work through the screens. They return if Marissa signals the need for assistance, has finished assessment parts, requires print-outs, or engages in activities unconnected to the assessments, such as talking to her neighbours. Human interactions with Marissa are restricted to controlling successful output and data production. A printed certificate provides her with immediate feedback and evidences her educational needs corresponding to statistical artefacts – standardised level indicators. Marissa's certificate is added to the clipboard and she has to wait for the next step.

***Job talk and job allocation sheet – transforming Marissa's needs into purposeful activities***

Marissa's final step of transformation into a prison learner is the *job talk*. Depending on availability, the administrator or wing officers, not an educational professional, determine Marissa's future plans and engagements. Educational expertise acts at a distance through the artefacts employed in the interactions.

The first part comprised of filling in an individual learning plan (ILP). Marissa is asked to provide information over previous work and educational experiences and qualifications. Although those were recorded, qualifications and experiences had no real influence on work allocations or educational placements. Marissa is also asked to list opportunities/qualifications, including distance learning that she would like to

work towards to in the prison, and her long-term goals. Many women had problems understanding and formulating long-term goals, or were simply not interested to cooperate or provide information at this point (field notes, 24/08/2010). The member of staff would read out a list of virtual goals from a printed sheet, prompting Marissa for a reaction. Looking through a daily batch of those ILP's, women's main goal was getting out of prison, followed by sorting family and housing issues, social and substance dependencies and, lastly, the acquisition of work and educational skills (*ibid*). Although the context-specific institutional release was the top priority, the other goals closely align with the findings of desistance scholars (Giordano, et al., 2002). However, the procedure itself raises questions. The virtual goals aligned with anticipated needs but the procedure left little space for individual reflection and self-assessment to formulate actual needs that might divert from this list or shift priorities. Despite staff members often emphasising on skills enhancement whilst in prison, using the level indicators and list of classes as yardstick. 'You have time for yourself now, so why don't you get some qualifications in ...' (field notes, 24/08/2010) priorities remained mostly unchanged. Marissa's and the staff member's signature confirm the interaction has taken place. However, long-term goals, virtual or real, did not necessarily influence the following work allocation procedure or Marissa's actual allocation.

A separate activity allocation form is presented to Marissa. She can now choose 10 initial 'job options' outlined on the form (Appendix I). Although all work opportunities are listed, many of those are unavailable to Marissa, due to required security clearances. The member of staff encourages Marissa to select options for her occupation with limited knowledge of classes and their content. Again Marissa's level indicators became the main actors. They allow her rehabilitative needs to be matched against literacy and numeracy classes. If her results are low, the member of

staff advises and encourages her to select basic skills classes to improve her results. On occasions, classes were added without explicit consent. 'I know they were not supposed to but some officers said to me that they would tick it for them' (interview, Lorna, 27/09/2011). All other classes (with the exception of ESOL classes) were not marked with a level indicators or entry requirement but named basic or advanced.

Many women showed little interest in selecting options. 'I just ticked something so they let me go' (interview, Jo, 28/10/2010). Some were selective but found later that content did not match their expectations. 'I ticked higher numeracy thinking it was but it was just basic stuff we learnt' (interview, Joanna, 15/11/2010). They rarely chose tactically. 'I selected a lot of impossible options so they put me in IT' (interview, Sandra, 26/10/2010). Marissa has to choose future occupations. She does so with little information input unable to make informed choices. Available options are also limited to the virtual needs provided for by the prison, that do not necessarily match her actual needs. Further, her reduction to level indicators in the processes preceding work selection, emphasise Marissa's deficiencies. Therefore, her virtual learner identity starts with a deficit to be reduced rather than her strength to be enhanced (Maruna and LeBel, 2009). With educational expertise acting-at-a-distance and being reduced to assessing literacy and numeracy levels, other learning needs also go unnoticed.

Marissa has now finished her needs assessments in the induction room. If the copy machine is working, she receives a b/w copy of the educational certificates (assessment results) for her own records. Her ID card is handed back to her and she can leave the room.

***Educational and employment greens – storing and processing Marissa's educational needs and allocating purposeful activities***

Although Marissa has left the room, her educational records and extracted needs stay behind. They are now processed to be transported into another part of the prison. Two green folders are created – the educational green and the employment green. The educational levels are also added to her electronic profile.

Both folder fronts contain her name, date of birth, assessment results (reduced to level indicators for literacy and numeracy), her additional learning needs (ESOL for foreign nationals that don't speak English or toe-by-toe referrals if requested by the woman) and her prisoner status (remand, sentenced). After Marissa's health assessments, the employment coordinator adds entries on substance dependencies and her ability to work. Those have no bearing on her ability to participate in education.

Marissa's folders are assembled by a classroom assistant or the administrator, and placed in a box to be transported and stored in the education department. Her certificate and any further qualifications Marissa gains will be added to the educational green held by the education manager. Her initial job application and any further job applications will be added to her employment green – a folder held in a cabinet in the employment coordinator office. The employment coordinator now transforms Marissa's initial choices (later her PSS Kiosk applications) into employment. She ensures the level indicator – Marissa's virtual educational need – matches the level in the vacant class. However, sometimes she just selects an empty place. Marissa will receive a job allocation for six weeks and her name will be added to Maureen's class register. Whilst they are now virtually connected Maureen will meet Marissa and her actual learning needs for the first time in the prison classroom.

### **6.3. Maureen – becoming prison tutor**

Becoming a tutor is equally an unfolding of prescribed and designed events. Her entry triggers specific events. Maureen had passed her interview; her qualifications were assessed as being sufficient and her background check revealed no security risk or previous convictions. Her data is entered into an employment database. She transforms into cost and budget, managerial report, staff rota, regime activity, a security risk, prison staff statistic and equal opportunities policies. Like Marissa, her virtual *becoming prison tutor* transports her into the institutional network. Her place in the classroom is prepared for and designed. Her fingerprint, image, and background check transform into a staff badge with her name and position, and a prison key, whistle and pocket knife.

She receives an induction, and will eventually meet the governor for breakfast, eating the pastries other tutors had told her about in the staff room. Maureen's institutional belonging is now a set of daily routines. She will leave parts of her personal belongings at reception in a numbered box, occupy a position with specific institutional expectations and rules she had signed to follow, move through assigned spaces and perform regulated activities. Her signature under the job contract awoke a network of actors interacting on her behalf.

She'll now arrive on a workday, her staff badge will open the double gate, her index finger will open the barrier, and her tally will be exchanged for a key allowing her to move around the prison. Every morning and afternoon she will receive a class list with her student names, enter her classroom, perform specific interactions and eventually go home. As Marissa she is a dividual - a set of classifications and norms she is judged and compared against (Prison Intranet: Conduct and Discipline). She is as much an ethnic data point in a prison staff statistic, a gender, an age group, as a

managerial risk and target, a job description, an object of gossip on the wing, and the tutor that meets Marissa after she had been processed through induction. But contrary to Marissa, Maureen is not in the prison against her will, she chose the job, the requirements that come with it and is able to terminate her employment. Her work and classroom interactions are informed by the prison's three trajectories – being responsible for her student's safety by managing classes and behaviour (security), meeting institutional targets and budgets (economic) and teaching her students (rehabilitative).

#### **6.4. Summary**

Those two accounts of becoming and network distribution highlight that ingredients of situations are in place, and that both woman and tutor occupy predetermined positions inside a preformatted order (Latour, 2005a) to be 'governed from a distance' (Garland, 2001) through information and communication systems designed to transport distinct data fragments.

The processes in induction have been designed to extract and create relevant information and data from individual narratives (Hayles, 2012) corresponding to needs that can be assigned to the different services in this prison – they fragment Marissa. The induction processes related to prison education are of procedural nature including digital assessments and data and information driven objects that exclude individual narrative accounts of women related to education and employment from her virtual learner identity. They focus heavily on her prompt deployment in purposeful activities and effective institutional management whilst reducing her complex educational history to a virtual learner identity consisting of deficiencies (level indicators) and work preferences.

The designed recording objects hold staff and women accountable for the production of results, placing emphasis on Marissa's service attendance and needs assessment completion for institutional distribution and assignment. Interactions between staff and women, women and information technology are outcome-driven and outcomes, but also engagements, are evidenced for further scrutiny.

Marissa's needs assessments are instrumental to meeting prison performance targets and address KPI's - virtualities (Mennicken, 2014) that enforce the design of institutional actions, activities and procedures, enabling the effective evidencing and recording of engagements to produce data fragments (such as level indicators) aligned with the standards and categorisations manifested in those KPI's. They stabilise group affiliations, however, do not account for, or measure, the quality of outcomes for the individual itself.

Marissa's anticipated educational needs are reduced to and transformed into manageable chunks of information – level indicators – to be transported through the prison's communication network and beyond to be 'acted-upon' (Franko Aas, 2005) from a distance. Level indicators are 'boundary objects' connecting sites and communities of practice allowing the 'systemisation of criminal justice' (Garland, 2001, p.155). They relate to prison targets, its core curriculum and as discussed in chapter 8 inform the planning and management of learning and teaching. They are, therefore, 'a tool for governance' (ibid, p.50) to be added to governmental statistics, informing new prison targets and curriculum decisions. Reducing Marissa's individual complexity to generic educational level indicators renders the management of education more effective. However, the view focuses solely on measurable educational deficiencies to be managed. It removes other individual educational needs but also individual strengths from processes connected to classroom allocations and Marissa's virtual learner identity.

The importance of raising basic skills levels in prisons through education (MOJ, 2016a; 2010) informed the prison's economic investments in the induction process (new computers, software and furniture). An increasing use of computer-mediated processes removed interactions between human participants. Therefore, human competencies and expertise are detached and delegated to the computer and its software, producing distinct data fragments. Many women display serious mental health issues (e.g. Goff, et. al., 2007, PTSD in sentenced prisoners; Bloom, et. al. 2003, abuse, trauma and mental health), and according to PSO 4800 (2008) 'may be suffering distress, frustration and confusion following imprisonment and will need a good deal of reassurance and support' (ibid, p.12), specifically during their first days of incarceration. Solitary computer-mediated engagements displace vital social interactions between staff and prisoners that might alleviate the pain and allow for rationalisation. Complications and behavioural issues were dominant during women's engagement with the LEAF prison tour and the educational assessments contrary to McDougall et.al.'s (2017) observations of improved prisoner behaviour through the implementation of digital technology. Observed resistance, frictions and interactions outside of designed procedures suggest that needs relating to imprisonment itself (such as information but also relational needs) have not been fully met by the time women engage with their educational assessments. This very much contradicts required outcomes for 'the Induction and Assessment process [to meet] the needs of women prisoners' (ibid, pp.11/12).

Educational assessments and job talks are the first experience of and engagement with prison education. The procedures, however, do not require Marissa's active engagement in becoming a prison learner nor encourage reflective practices (Turkle, 2015) vital for her real adaptation to prison life. Firstly, they emphasise a need that many women did not understand as immediate or even recognise as a need

(Giordano, et al., 2002). The gendered criminal pathway perspective, furthermore, suggests that other criminogenic needs are more important for women (e.g. McIvor, 2007). This, however, stands in stark contrast to educational assessment length in comparison to other needs assessments. Nevertheless, education, can aid offender rehabilitation and crime desistance (e.g. Reuss, 1999; Costelloe and Warner, 2014; Wilson, 2001). However, as desistance scholars have asserted, active engagement is important for rehabilitation to be meaningful and individual desistance narratives to develop (Maruna, 2001; McNeill, 2014; McNeill, et al., 2012; Giordano, et al., 2002). This includes enabling women to make informed decisions over their educational engagements and making it distinct from prison punishment. This process needs to start in induction.

Evidencing education as a need, therefore, responds predominantly to prison targets and its economic and security trajectories. It adds to a virtual rehabilitation rather than an actual rehabilitation, ensuring regime security through Marissa's occupation. The frictions (Rubin, 2014) observed in inductions, however, highlighted the Marissa's virtual transformation into prisoner and learner might be instant and effectively achieved but precedes her actual individual ability and acceptance of her new identities.

Marissa underwent a variety of assessments and technical networks of information exchange ensure her virtual learner identity is created and inserted into digital information and communication systems such as PNOMIS. Marissa and Maureen enter the prison system from different positions but both multiplicities have been transformed into manageable data points and fragments securing their effective and efficient deployment in the institution. Their future interactions in the classroom have already been enacted on a piece of paper, in a risk assessment, in prison rules,

PSOs, PSIs, statistics, learner classifications and compacts and job descriptions, in chats on the wing and the staff room as the next chapter highlights.

## **7. Classroom multiplicities**

Marissa's and Maureen's distributions into the institutional network are finalised. Their movements and activities are now monitored. Marissa's days are structured and purposeful (MOJ, 2010). Work allocation based on data fragments, added to the cover of her employment green, will now transform her into a part-time or full-time worker. Maureen's signature under her work contract transforms her into a subject tutor. Their roles are defined by educational virtualities established in the induction room. Whilst Marissa becomes a learner, Maureen becomes a teacher responding to Marissa's induction results. However, classrooms are places where virtual learner identities based on data fragments (levels, prison numbers, employee numbers and time tables) transform back into multiplicities with individual characteristics and needs. This chapter, therefore, introduces the women behind educational level indicators, the tutors but also indicates tutor's informational needs.

### **7.1. The different 'Marissa's' – educational and employment backgrounds and needs**

The statistics and survey results () demonstrate that women arrive in prison with a variety of needs. Those needs are complex and form part of women's assemblages when they enter prison classrooms. The following sections provide an account of women's educational and employment histories as derived from the interview data (Appendix L). It moves from Marissa the generic prisoner to the 23 individual women, highlighting the complexity of educational and employment experiences and needs hidden behind educational level indicators. The women were deliberately grouped according to their assessment results, from high to low scores (Appendix L) to highlight the diversity of needs and learners that are masked by level indicators. Learners are further grouped by age, using the key stages proposed by Schuller and

Watson for the life long learning sector (2009, p.6). Each stage, according to the authors, requires different advice and guidance about life planning and learning (*ibid*). This relates to the very differing life experiences and expectations of women at each stage.

### ***7.2.1. High levels (level 1 and above)***

Seven women achieved level 1 and above in both basic skills assessments for literacy and numeracy. The women were all over 25 (Iva, B-FN; Candice, B-B and Sandra, Angela, Corinne and Claudia, W-B) and one over 50 (Joanna, W-B) at the time of interview. None of the women were recorded as having substance dependencies. The majority had positive experiences in prior education, and only one mentioned some additional learning needs. Although five mentioned children, only two Angela and Corinne had dependent children under the age of 18. Their husbands cared for them during their incarceration.

Sandra, Corinne and Claudia were virtually basic skills needs free, having achieved Level 1/2 in both assessments. Nevertheless, Claudia, for instance, was enrolled for Higher Literacy (Appendix L). Their educational and employment backgrounds and needs, however, were very different. Both Corinne and Claudia had very linear educational progressions and mentioned few problems in school. Both passed their GCSEs. Claudia did her A-Levels and went to finish an HND Psychology and Computing. Both had worked prior to their incarceration and had plans to return to their businesses after release. This rendered them educational and employment needs free.

Sandra left compulsory education without formal qualifications. From an early age, she had to care for her mother and siblings after her mother's divorce. She mentioned problems with rigid academic structures and authority in early education

and bullying in school. She had worked in precarious jobs to support herself and her daughter, but struggled financially after divorcing her husband. Her highest qualification was an NVQ Level 3 in ICT, taken as an adult. Sandra had plans to study Computer Sciences during her long sentence (10 years). She hoped, this would enable her to open her own business after release. Despite being basic skills needs free, she had very distinct employment needs. Women such as Sandra, Corinne and Claudia make up 15% of the prison population with very little provision to meet their needs (HMIP, 2010).

Angela, Iva, Joanna and Candice had recorded level 1 assessment results, indicating some basic needs. All four, however, had previous qualifications higher or equivalent to level 2. Angela was an experienced accountant with A-Levels and a string of professional qualifications. Iva was in her 3rd year for a BA in International Relations (UK) and had worked as administration assistant and customer service operative. Both had no basic skills needs and little employment skills needs. Angela was thinking of studying law after release. Iva hoped to finish her studies. Joanna and Candice both had GCSEs. They were single mothers and had mainly worked in precarious low skill positions from cleaning to catering. They had employment needs. Their basic skills needs were, however, virtual deficiencies rather than actual ones. Candice was looking forward to meeting her new grandchild, but also wanted to study after release. Joanna, struggling before and after receiving a life sentence, was unable to plan.

All women had prior qualifications higher than, or equivalent to, level 2, rendering basic skills classes in literacy and numeracy somehow meaningless. Some were, nevertheless, placed into or chose literacy and numeracy classes in inductions. Those did not meet their expectations. Although induction assessment levels were similar, individual needs were very different taking employment and outside

qualifications into account. Most women in this group had plans for their release, with the exception of Joanna who had just received a life-sentence. Those plans required educational qualifications higher than level 2. Over half of this group worked in permanent prison positions at the time of interview.

### ***7.2.2. Mid-levels (one level 1 or above)***

The eight women counted as mid-levels had one score at level 1 or higher and one below level 1 for either literacy or numeracy. The women in this group were overall younger. Two women were younger than 25 (Jo, W-B and Cara, A-FN), and six were between 25 and 50 (Melinda, B-B; Greta and Martha, W-FN; Kathleen, Marlene and Charlene, W-B). Jo was the only one with substance dependencies in this group. All women mentioned holding qualifications equivalent to GCSEs. Three held additional college qualifications, such as NVQs. The three women with A-Levels additionally held higher education qualifications up to two MA's (Kathleen). Cara was the only woman with a clear career path. She wanted to read dentistry after release and later study for a PhD. Six women had worked predominantly in low-paid and low-skill temping positions.

Three women in this group were single mothers. Marlene's son was cared for by her mother. Charlene's son had been placed into care. Melinda only briefly mentioned her children. Half of the women reported predominantly negative schooling experiences. Jo, Melinda and Martha linked those to behavioural problems. Melinda's, Greta's and Martha's accounts indicated some additional learning needs that had not been met in school, but were also not recorded in the prison.

Despite results indicating basic skills needs, the level of prior qualifications women mentioned render those virtual rather than actual. Additionally, three women were foreign nationals. Therefore, literacy, but also numeracy assessments are not

necessarily an appropriate needs measure. Unfortunately, it was common for foreign national women, able to express themselves beyond basic English, to complete initial assessments. Cara's reflections on her subsequent placement into a basic literacy class highlights the inappropriateness 'It was no good for me, my problem is with vocabulary not grammar or spelling' (interview, Cara, 28/10/2010).

Charlene (32, W-B) also mentioned issues with her results. She had to be returned, after a very short period in an open prison, due to her health problems. Thinking her previous score (L1/2 for both) had been stored in her record, she did not pay much attention to the assessments the second time. Despite her previous qualifications, she had to enrol and pass level 2 literacy and numeracy classes, before being able to apply for an Open University course.

Problematic were also Melinda's 'high' literacy scores. She redid the assessments after a short spell in another prison. In class, she had problems with spelling (her ILP was full of mistakes) and reading comprehension. She could not progress beyond entry level 3 in ICT, due to her inability to work with the level 1 workbook. Her behavioural problems in school indicated a learning disability. The ICT tutor suspected dyslexia. This additional need remained undetected and unmet, yet, nevertheless, influenced her classroom behaviour and ability to progress. Melinda had completed an NVQ in fitness instructions, loved being a fitness teacher and was very proud of this particular vocational qualification.

The mid-level group was the most homogenous, with similar assessment levels and with Kathleen and Jo at either end of the scale. Kathleen progressed through education without problems. Although not reflective of her academic level, she had worked in more professional positions. But, despite her qualifications, she resented academia for its inability to provide employability skills. 'I had enough of education,

'what did it good for me? I do only short courses now for skills development' (interview, Kathleen, 24/01/2011).

The other extreme was the youngest of the sample, Jo. Jo had never worked, and was suspended from school and twice from college for non-attendance 'cause I am a drug addict' (interview, Jo, 28/10/2010). Jo knew she had to redo her Maths GCSE as she only had a D. She had actual basic skills needs, but prison classes 'bore the crap out of me' (*ibid*).

Again the assessments did not reflect actual needs of women in this group. Overall qualifications mentioned by women were equivalent to level 1. For the women with prior higher educational qualifications (above level 1), lower assessment levels created virtual deficits. In two instances, additional learning needs were masked creating virtual sufficiencies and subsequent problems in the classroom. This group displayed higher employment needs with only 3 formulating plans for their release. However, half worked in more stable prison employment as classroom assistants or, in one case, as a permanent worker. Those women held prior higher educational qualifications at least equivalent to level 2.

### **7.2.3. Low-levels (both below level 1)**

The remaining eight women scored low in both assessments. Prison classes should, therefore, correspond to their educational needs. This group also displayed the most complex needs patterns. The women were overall younger. Four women were under the age of 25 (Anita, B-FN; Natalie, B-B; Lara, W-B and Kieran, A-B), three between 25 and 50 (Jolene, B-FN; Nina, 26 and Lisa, W-B) and one over 50 (Rachel, A-FN).

Only three women, Kieran, Nina and Anita had GCSE's or equivalent qualifications. Two of those reported good schooling experiences. The only woman

with regular employment was Anita, a single mother of one. Anita, additionally, held an NVQ qualification in her area of occupation and had worked as a freelance nail technician.

Six women mentioned behavioural problems and negative schooling experiences. Lisa, Nina and Lara linked those to learning difficulties in their interviews. Nina, for instance, defined herself as ADHD sufferer. In prison, she had been placed on an ACCT book, suggesting additional mental health problems. Sally linked her school problems to her outsider status, her ethnic minority status in her country of origin, but also her sexual orientation. Sally mentioned suffering from depression and having been in therapy since the age of 11. ‘I couldn’t hold a job longer than two weeks after I was 25’(interview, Sally, 20/01/2011). In addition to her mental health problems, she had general health problems, requiring outside surgery, during her incarceration. Natalie, on the other hand, similar to Melinda, insisted she had no learning problems. However, behavioural problems in school indicate she might have had learning difficulties. She, additionally, stressed not having any needs, pointing out her accommodation and future plans to work in fashion. Growing up in a children’s home, Lisa had been in and out of prison since the age of 15. She called herself ‘a prolific offender’. Lisa had only ever worked in prisons, however, mentioned having gained qualifications in fitness instructions in prison and in a college outside. All six had little or no experience with regular employment and had mostly worked in precarious low paid temping positions. Most commented negatively on their employment. ‘The pay [in retail] is not good for too many hours’ (interview, Natalie, 25/02/2011). ‘Stuffing shelves [in a supermarket] is just boring’ (interview, Kieran, 25/02/2011).

Seven women were single. Four reported having dependent children (all looked after by relatives outside). Kieran, Nina, Lara, Jolene and Anita mentioned family support outside. Lisa talked about re-establishing contact with her mother.

Five women in this group had substance abuse issues out of a total of 8, compared to 1 out of 8 for Group 2 and no-one in Group 1. Nina had lived with a drug-addicted partner before coming to prison. Lara and Jolene also mentioned working as prostitutes. In Lara's case, prostitution supported her and her abusive ex-partners drug habit - a habit that had cost her two previous trainee manager positions. Her daughter lived with her mother and her son was in hospital. 'He is a vegetable [...] [he] is not gonna make it' (informal conversation, Lara, 18/11/2010). Lara had been placed on an ACCT book, despite her protest, 'I am not a cutter, look at my arms' (interview, Lara, 11/11/2010). Lara had a history of sexual abuse dating back to secondary school, and learning difficulties, 'I am really slow' (*ibid*). She also mentioned severe health problems that had often prevented her class attendance in school and prevented it in prison. For Jolene, prostitution meant a way out of poverty, to support her mother and two children. She discussed drug use in the interview as a way to cope with prostitution, but was not classified as detoxing. Lisa mentioned drug abuse from an early age. 'My mother kicked me out, she couldn't handle me' (interview, Lisa, 31/01/2011). She moved in with a 'much older bloke' aged 15, living 'with him in a domestic violence' (*ibid*). Kieran was classified as detoxing from alcohol. She had been a carer for a family member prior to her incarceration. This had made it difficult for her to pursue further studies.

This group displayed very complex needs, in addition to educational skills deficits suggested by the level indicator, of which many were non-educational, such as drug dependencies, mental health problems, but also childcare. Those, however, inform women's behaviour in the classroom. The two women with positive schooling

experiences in this group were also the most positive about attending prison classes. Kieran saw it as an opportunity to boost her grades. Anita, however, planned to return to her freelance work using the skills, she already had. She was unsure how Maths could help her but saw classes as a welcomed distraction. Worries about her young son staying with her estranged ex-partner and immanent sentencing affected her classroom performance. The others had problems adjusting, but also understanding how education could be helpful for them. Many had been enrolled in basic skills classes and/or had ‘chosen’ those in induction. Jolene, however, wanted to become a famous singer after successive failures with mainstream education. Lara knew, she needed qualifications but struggled with learning and behavioural requirements in the classrooms due to her physical and mental health problems. Lisa refused to go to basic skills classes altogether; ‘they know they cannot put me there [numeracy and literacy], I kick up a fuss’ (interview, Lisa, 31/01/2011). Similarly, Nina struggled to concentrate on her work, describing how she could not follow the requirements in higher numeracy in the class in which she was placed. Natalie saw no connection between her fashion ambitions and the prison classes and chose jewellery as something that came closest. Sally saw her painting work in SE as a form of therapy. It helped her to cope in prison and with her depressions. Her rejection to follow structured activities and fulfil CA duties resulted in her eventual placement into basic skills classes.

## **7.2. Women’s prior ICT experience**

ICT has been classified as a basic skill and induction assessments required women to engage with computers. More and more governmental services and other essential services require interacting with software and computers including applications within the prison (McDougall et.al.2017). Probation introduced interactive interfaces and PSS kiosks on prison landings required women to engage with computer

technology. Additionally, future plans for learning in prisons include the use of digital learning platforms such as the virtual campus (Coates 2016). It is, therefore, important to understand women's prior engagement with technology, as well as their attitudes towards it (Appendix M).

All women interviewed acknowledged the importance of gaining computer skills. ICT classes according to the education manager were popular in the prison. However, not all women attended or appreciated the classes offered. As the data in Appendix M demonstrates, more women with high and mid-level assessment results participated in ICT classes. ICT skills were not assessed in induction. Level indicators were, therefore, not used to place women into ICT classes. This resulted in all levels being 'enrolled' into classes starting with E3 qualifications before moving to L1 and L2 (CLAIT and New CLAIT). Nevertheless, women had different prior knowledge and had engaged with technology in various ways prior to their incarceration.

#### **7.2.1. Age and ICT experience**

Age has been linked to different technology engagement (Prensky, 2001). Computer technology has been introduced into education in the UK since the 1990s. It can be, therefore, assumed that British women, under the age of 40 at time of the interview, had engaged with computer technology in school or college. Cheaper consumer devices, specifically in Western Europe, additionally increase the likelihood of younger women having had engaged with computer technology at home. Whilst not everyone in the sample owned a computer, all women interviewed had a mobile phone to keep in contact with family and friends. All women also reported having used a computer at least once in their lives. There were also some

ethnic differences in the timing of technology adoption that related to women's economic situation, notably poverty in the case of Jolene.

### **7.2.2. Under 40s- 'Digital Natives'**

Sixteen women in the sample fell into Prensky's (2001) 'digital natives' definition. Most women in this group had interacted with technology (computers) from an early age, the latest in secondary school. In addition to school engagement, many women had been introduced to technology at home. 'I had it all, pager, banana phone [...] it came out and I had it' (interview, Melinda, 26/10/2010). Most of the younger women used computers in school/college and for educational activities at home, such as homework and research. If women had worked prior to incarceration, their work experiences also often included engaging with technological artefacts from retail scanners to MS Office for administrative positions. Lara mentioned using chat rooms for her escort business. The exceptions were Jolene and Lisa. Jolene only owned a pay-as-you-go phone to contact her mum and interacted with computers for the first in prison education. Lisa remembered writing one email in her entire life.

Many women also commented on engaging in socialising activities via social networking sites, such as facebook, or in chat rooms but also using computers and the Internet for entertainment: to watch movies and listen to music. Only a few mentioned playing games. Women with reported negative schooling experiences and behavioural problems in school and prison education (possible or detected learning difficulties) were the least likely to use computer extensively for work or school or engage in social networking and/or entertainment activities online (i.e. Jo, Lisa, Melinda, Martha, Nina, Natalie). As Martha reported, 'I have real friends' (interview, Martha, 26/10/2010). Although 'digital natives', their online interaction patterns were significantly lower than that of the normal population. Only 69% reported

having used the Internet (not even regularly) despite, 80% of UK households having had Internet access in 2012<sup>10</sup> (ONS, 2012).

Most women in this group reported having had access to computers at home. Therefore, it seemed less an economic digital divide in their childhood that prevented access. Other problems, such as individual learning abilities, concentration issues, attitudes toward technology/Internet, relationships, but also other needs, such as drug dependencies took precedence. Jo, for instance, mentioned that doing homework on her mum's computer prevented her from hanging out with her friends. Lara's ex-boyfriend smashed her computer during a jealous rage. Nina found it hard to concentrate on homework tasks but liked challenging games. Only four saw work opportunities connected to ICT skills. However, Claudia had already obtained the necessary professional knowledge prior to her incarceration. Twelve of the sixteen women did not connect ICT classes to future work opportunities. Three, nevertheless, mentioned wanting to use their computer knowledge at home. This, however, included Internet research and social networking.

### ***7.2.3. Over 40s – ‘Digital Immigrants’***

This group (7 out of 23) reported that their introduction to technology happened in the workplace rather than at home or through education. Computer technology often changed their work routines and job requirements. Joanna mentioned having attended a course that introduced the new post office interface. Her son, additionally, tried to teach her how to use the Internet at home. She remained, nevertheless, terrified of technology. Sandra was very proud learning technology in and through her various temping positions, before undertaking more formal ICT education (NVQ level 3 ICT). Kathleen also commented on the necessity to work with MS Office for her PA

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<sup>10</sup> This has increased to 90% in 2017 (ONS, 2017).

temping work. Corinne did a multimedia course and Angela continuously engaged in professional accounting courses, including software updates. The least experienced were Sally and Candice, who had hardly used technology at all. 'I like reading, I know they [computers] exist and what they do' (interview, Sally, 20/01/2011). 'My children call me nicky [stupid]' (interview, Candice, 15/11/2010).

Although all women had some experience using technology, not all of them had integrated computer technology at home. Whilst Angela and Corinne were active social media users in order to keep in contact with family and friends, Candice and Kathleen mistrusted social technologies. 'It hinders people to socialise [...] it isolates people' (ibid). Candice, Joanna, Sally and Kathleen commented on being 'old-school' or 'old-fashioned' when it comes to socially engaging with technology. 'I could never be bothered with [social networking]' but '[I like] a bit of bingo for fun' (interview, Sandra, 26/10/2010). Sally never had enough money to buy a computer. She played Majong and similar games on other people's computers when house and dog sitting.

Four out of seven older women had extensive work experience using technology. They found the ICT classes basic and not corresponding to their needs. The social media and Internet engagement patterns of older women were also significantly lower than in the younger group. Three centred their engagement, but also future plans to use technology, around personal use rather than prospective work opportunities. However, this included Internet research, online banking and social networking. Sandra was the only woman in the whole sample aspiring to pursue a career in ICT linking to a more general gender gap in ICT professions (McGrath Cohoon and Aspray, eds., 2006).

#### ***7.2.4. Engaging in prison ICT work***

18 women had chosen ICT during the job allocation talk. Of the remaining five, two explained they had opted out, as classes were too basic. Both, Greta and Corinne

had higher educational qualifications and mid or high assessment scores. Corinne, additionally, had undertaken a Multimedia course and had worked with specialist software. The other three, with no prior qualifications and low assessment scores, did not see ICT as a main priority. Sally only wanted to do art. Lisa and Natalie connected ICT with boring office work; they could not see themselves in. Both had problems concentrating and Natalie had already tried and left a college ICT course. Two of the women who had initially chosen ICT, opted out or left. Claudia and Angela, both with higher-level qualifications and high scores, claimed classes were too basic for their needs. Claudia opted out and Angela left after a week. Both had worked with specialist software in their professions.

Women who had engaged professionally with computer technology and specialist software were unlikely to engage with ICT classes. Equally, women who could not connect computer technology to their future employment or private activities, opted out. Those were women with behavioural problems and/or negative schooling experiences. The HMIP report (2015) further noted, ‘those [...] taking ICT received little information or advice to help them improve their understanding of employer’s expectations’ (p.49). The remaining women either understood ICT skills as important for their future employment or educational options and/or as important to engage with significant others in their life. Cara and Iva thought the qualifications could be useful for future work opportunities whilst studying. Candice, however, wanted to play with her grandchildren. Marlene and Anita wanted to help their son’s with their homework.

### **7.3. The different ‘Maureen’s’**

The educational and employment backgrounds of tutors in HMP Bronzefield were also very varied. Like their students, tutors brought their professional and educational

experiences into the classroom. The following part will firstly reflect on educational levels and experiences, employment prior to prison work and the reasons for becoming a prison tutor. The second part analyses the technological knowledge of tutors, as digital technology forms part of future plans for learning engagement in prisons (Coates, 2016).

### ***7.3.1. Educational and employment backgrounds of tutors***

The prison employed all tutors directly, with the exception of Suzanne. As writer in residence, the Writers in Prison Network paid part of her salary. All tutors interviewed were female. There were only three male tutors employed in the education department during my stay. One was appointed after I had finished the interviews. The other two had already left during the pilot phase. The 13 prison tutors interviewed were all older than 25. Five were over the age of 50. Nine were of White-British origin, three British-Asian and two Black-British. Three tutors were single. The others were either married or lived with a male partner. Ten had children and only two were divorced single mothers. Many mothers commented on having to fit their professional career and ambitions around childcare.

Ten held university degrees and three had a master's degree in a creative subject (Jana, Jane and Suzanne). Seven tutors commented positively on their compulsory education and identified as traditional academic learners. However, six reported problems in school of which four mentioned learning difficulties (Lorene, Manja, Jana, Stacey) and three difficulties fitting in (Mandy, Jana, Jane).

Seven tutors had also worked in non-teaching positions. However, there were distinct differences. Jana's prison teaching position was her first professional appointment after a string of precarious jobs. Lorna had worked her way up, from office junior to becoming a PA (personal assistant). Jane had worked as freelance

artist. Stacey had been a prison administrator before being redeployed as a tutor. Suzanne had been a spoken word poet, experienced counsellor and family project worker. Mandy had owned a freelance massage business. Lorene had worked in a supermarket. Courses and learning content reflected some of the tutor's professional skills. Mandy offered massage classes alongside her ESOL work. Suzanne used her counselling skills to encourage women to write about their experiences and emotions. But tutors also brought their interests into the classrooms. Manja, for instance, created cards and designed cushions. Carla was interested in beauty therapy and nail design. Both created or tried to establish prison classes around those interests.

Five had completed a teaching qualification prior to their employment in the prison and four were studying for a PGCE at the time of the interview. Eight had prior teaching experiences, but only two of those had worked in the criminal justice system before. Gisela had worked as an assistant ICT tutor in a men's prison and Carla with offenders in the community. Most commented on their prison employment as accidental rather than a career choice. Only Suzanne (the writer in residence), Mona, Mandy, Jane and Jackie made a deliberate choice to work in a prison. Mandy also stated a reduction in travel time as additional reason and Jane a stable income. Mandy, Jane and Lorene, further, commented positively on the teaching challenges in prisons. 'It's never boring, every day is different' (interview, Mandy, 28/09/2011)

All tutors saw the importance of their work in helping women turning their lives around. However, their individual rehabilitative work (their trajectories) were articulated and performed in different ways. Suzanne, for instance, focused on facilitating learning for creative expressions, whilst Gisela emphasised on qualifications.

Staff turnover was high in the prison. Six of the interviewed tutors had left the prison during my research, and one shortly after. Suzanne's contract was not renewed, but she continued working as spoken word poet on other projects. Jana resigned after nearly 4 years of service, unable to meet managerial demands. Due to health problems, she didn't continue working. Jane resigned after 6 months, Sybille after 1 year, Gisela after 18 months, Mona after 3 years, and Lorna after 4 and half years of service. Both, Sybille and Mona commented on the limited progression opportunities as a reason for their resignation. Both continued working in further education. Lorna was demoted to tutor after having been a senior tutor for 2 years and similar to Jana was put under enormous pressure. She continued working with young offenders in the community as a basic skills tutor. Jane equally cited managerial demands as reason for her departure and continued working as freelance artist and college tutor. Gisela mentioned the emotional and managerial demands as reasons and considered a career change to games tester at the time of the interview. Other tutors, too, were looking for alternative employment. Stacey, for instance, was unhappy about her redeployment in the prison. Although she loved working with the women, she disliked the managerial demands, for example, having to study for a PGCE. Others enquired about work opportunities in colleges and schools.

### ***7.3.2. Technological Backgrounds of tutors***

Most of the tutors were 'digital immigrants' (over 40) and only five 'digital natives'. Most used computer technology for work but also privately. Eight cited work-related reasons for learning to engage with computer technology, two mentioned family members, e.g. a father, as well as children, and three referred to their studies. Most considered themselves self-taught, but eight mentioned having

taken specific IT courses to develop digital skills. Only one mentioned engaging with software other than Microsoft Office. Five acknowledged gaps in their knowledge (2 ‘immigrants’ and 3 ‘natives’), ‘being unsure’ (interview, Jane, 27/11/2011) and ‘occasionally panicky with new stuff’ (interview, Jackie, 14/09/2011). The rest expressed confidence in using technology in everyday life but also at work. All owned a computer or laptop and used the Internet extensively to communicate socially and for research (including job searches and shopping). Eight mentioned preparing teaching content on computers, both at work and home.

Although tutors stated in the interviews they were knowledgeable in using technology, I was often asked to help with specific tasks or even provide training using the interactive whiteboards. The new Adobe software bought for SE could also not be used for teaching as none of the tutors had the right skills at the time.

### **7.3. Tutor information needs**

Student characteristics unfolded in the classrooms. Tutors often found level indicators were wrong and could not be used to group women. They mentioned additional characteristics, such as learning needs (9), behaviour in class (6), age (5), ethnicity (4), women’s attitude toward learning (5) to medication levels (1) and health problems (1). However, ‘some of them bring their whole life’s into the classroom’ (interview, Jana, 27/09/2011).

Tutors would have liked more information about women’s individual needs such as learning needs (3), behavioural and health problems (2) but also their individual strength such as their future aspirations (5) and previous education and occupations (6). Gisela wanted to know everything ‘but then I am a nosy person’ (interview, 27/09/2011). Twelve did not want to have any information about women’s criminality as knowing about women’s convictions would make them feel less safe

in classrooms and may impact their interactions with specific learner. Only three mentioned not wanting personal information. However, knowledge about women's crimes could also create sympathy. 'Sometimes you learn about their softer side and reasons for their behaviour become clearer' (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). Tutors only rarely used the prison database to look up individual women predominantly to check 'what they're in for'. I, personally, found it hard to connect women with the crimes they were incarcerated for, especially, the 'squares' (Heffernan, 1972) often serving longer sentences for serious crimes, such as murder or homicide. The exceptions were women with substance abuse issues, 'the life' who 'imported' their criminal behaviour inside (*ibid*). However, despite their behavioural problems in classrooms that were mostly related to their distinct needs and prior experiences, I never felt threatened or unsafe around any of the women I met.

#### **7.4. Summary**

Level indicators form part of the rehabilitative trajectory of the prison – the reduction of complex histories into a manageable data fragment. Level indicators, as comparison to other research suggests, indicate shared characteristics of actual women behind those. For instance, the data demonstrate a connection between recorded assessment levels and prior educational experiences and qualification levels. It confirms governmental statistics (MOJ, 2014) but also the findings in Walker, et al.'s study (2006). Low recorded levels increased the likelihood of having had adverse compulsory schooling experiences and having left school without formal qualifications. Some of those adverse experiences relate to behavioural problems in school and additional learning needs that were not met. Women with low assessment results were also less likely to formulate plans and connect prison learning with outside opportunities, therefore, were unable to connect education with desistance.

**Age** was also a dominant factor. Women with low assessment results and adverse schooling experiences were overall younger. Additionally, **substance dependencies** played a significant role. Women with lower assessment results reported more substance dependencies.<sup>11</sup> This group were also most likely **short-term prisoners** with the **highest re-offending rate** (PRT, 2013; 2016). Short, basic skills classes were designed to meet their learning needs (see management objectives) and reduce their basic skills needs. However, non-educational needs and educational needs not assessed in induction (learning disabilities and difficulties) affected their classroom behaviour and attendance as chapter 9 demonstrates. Level indicators masked those additional needs that are indicative of more required assistance in assuming a prison learner identity. Tutors also indicated they would like to have more prior information about additional needs of women in order to assist them.

Level indicators also masked women's actual educational qualifications obtained prior to incarceration. Overall, only six, of the women interviewed, had no formal compulsory school qualifications. Two obtained NVQ qualifications at a later stage. The remaining 17 mentioned a minimum of GCSE qualifications equivalent to level 1. This is far lower than the 47% with no qualifications in Hopkins' research (MOJ, 2012) and raises some question about the accuracy of the survey data or women's individual reporting. Nevertheless, looking at employment histories, most women displayed distinct employment needs that reflect the survey's findings. This included women with higher results and/or higher prior qualifications. Those needs, however, extended from basic skills needs addressed in generic classes to studying for higher-level educational and/or vocational qualifications. This, as section 9 highlights, informs experiences of prison education as being enforced rather than beneficial. Despite choosing classes in inductions, most women from high to low levels referred

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<sup>11</sup> Almost all women with substance dependencies reported adverse schooling experiences.

to ‘being placed into classes’ rather than being able to make choices that benefited them. Tutors remarked having more information about women’s strength including previous occupations, hobbies and interests would allow them to work with the women more effectively.

Although, the level indicator view provides some generalisations about additional learner characteristics, one needs to remain cautious. Distinct and complex narratives lie behind those. Anita, for instance, scored low in induction but had fewer employment and educational needs than Joanna with high-level scores. Kieran, despite low levels, had distinct plans, enabling her to connect prison learning with future opportunities, whilst Jo, with mid-level results, struggled to attend prison classes. Similarly, Marlene (mid-level) had been in long-term skilled employment, whilst Candice (high-level) had moved from one low skill job to the next. Therefore, level indicators not only mask previously obtained qualifications but more importantly individual strength (including work experiences and skills) by emphasising on virtual basic skills deficiencies on prison entry. They support a procedural ‘acting-on’ (Franko Aas, 2005) rather than *acting with* in their current use and administration and are, therefore, not necessarily rehabilitative or supportive of desistance. The individual narratives, however, indicate that desistance assisted through prison education (inclusion of education/employment in narratives of the future self), is indeed a personal project that includes a variety of other factors and obstacles.

Those are, firstly, not necessarily related to educational levels and secondly, do not correspond to virtual educational needs but the ability to reflect on and identify opportunities, maintain relations with others and individual strength (Giordano, et al. 2002; McNeill, 2014). Melinda, struggling in the classroom, was particularly proud of her fitness NVQ. It enabled her to ‘help others feeling good about themselves’

(interview, Melinda, 26/10/2011). Similarly, Lisa, a prolific offender with low scores, proudly mentioned having been a kick boxer and fitness instructor. Although Lara, the ‘slow learner’, struggled academically, she ‘wanted to make her mum proud’ (interview, Lara, 11/11/2010). Lara moved between two future narratives. One, with qualifications, allowed her to rethink her future. The other, without, returned her to prostitution. Being moved between classes meant, she was unable to finish qualifications.

Outside employment experiences and educational success are often reinforced in the prison. Most women with recorded mid and low levels, but also three of the seven women with high levels, had worked in precarious positions prior to their incarceration. However, predominantly women (over the age of 25) with high and mid-level scores, higher prior educational qualifications and no substance dependencies managed to obtain more stable prison work as classroom assistants (Appendix L). Permanent workers in SE were employed for their creative skills and work attitude (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). However, most women had higher or mid-level scores and/or higher qualification levels obtained prior to incarceration. They were able to benefit from affirmation of others furthering relational desistance (Nugent and Schinkel 2016, p.580) as chapter 9 explains. Low assessment levels, substance dependencies and low skills levels increased the likelihood of precarious prison work - being moved between classes reduced those considerably.

Technological engagement also varied. Whilst older women were more likely to have engaged with technology through work, younger women had already acquired skills in school and at home. Nevertheless, younger women with learning difficulties and/or drug abuse issues were the least likely to have engaged with computer technology on a regular basis for work or privately. They were more inclined to not choose ICT and preferred SE classes. However, women who have worked with

professional software were also less likely to choose ICT classes. Overall, although women acknowledged the importance of ICT skills, many found it hard to connect this to future [for them] suitable employment. Many wanted to acquire skills for their private use, of which most were not taught in class. Exploring women's technological engagement and experiences prior to incarceration and their attitudes toward technology, additionally, highlights the different strengths and abilities of women entering the ICT classroom. Those are good predictors of their future engagement in class and could be used to design for a more appropriate provision connecting to, for instance, women's relational needs.

The women interviewed were recruited from ICT and SE classes for which level indicators were not used as placement objective. Prison tutors, therefore, had to manage classes made up of very different learner (Loucks, 2007). Reasons for those disparities were a limited educational employment in the prison (HMIP 2010; 2013; 2015) that saw women applying for classes out of economic necessity (aligning education with their own economic trajectory) but also to escape the boredom of the wings (Wilson, 2007). Attendance targets and a purposeful activity agenda (MOJ, 2010), additionally, formed part of the institutional economic trajectory of prison education (see chapter 8) and saw women occasionally being allocated to inappropriate classes. This, additionally, renders rehabilitation somehow virtual.

Tutors were employed to meet learners' educational needs. Despite working with some of the most challenging learners, most had gained professional teaching experience through their work in the prison and only two had prior experience working in the criminal justice system. This aligns with the findings of Rogers et al. (2014), that prison tutors often lack the skills and knowledge required in prison environments. Rehabilitative work was the most cited reason for becoming or accepting a teaching position in the prison. Although all stated, they are using digital

technology many would require training for digital devices. According to Melinda, ‘they get paid for professional work, I want answers for my questions’ (interview, 26/10/2011). In words of Corinne, ‘the tutors are nice but they have little experience teaching art to a higher level’ (interview, 24/01/2011)). Similarly, Joanna commented that ‘new tutors put their heart and soul into the job, others had already given up on us’ (interview, 15/11/2010). And Candice said, ‘they just seem to be able to do basic stuff, there is nothing challenging’ (interview, 15/11/2010).

As the following chapter demonstrates, the prison’s economic and security trajectories leave minimal spaces for creative solutions to meet learners’ needs (Behan, 2007) and favour rehabilitative trajectories that align closely with economic and security demands. The overall high staff turnover further demonstrates economic imperatives. Many tutors leave prison education after having gained work experience and reached a higher professional level. High emotional and managerial demands placed on them, but also low progression opportunities were dominant factors (Bayliss, 2003b; Rogers, et al., 2014).

## ***8. Designing classrooms – managing budgets, the rehabilitation and security of level indicators***

As the previous section highlighted, prison learners are multiplicities with distinct characteristics. Those multiplicities are fragmented, ordered on entry and controlled in the prison to ensure their effective management. Educational provision is based on measured and measurable needs. Assessment instruments reduce learner complexity to level indicators. Those correspond to the identified basic skills needs of offenders (BIS/MOJ, 2010).

However the performance of private prisons also needs to be controlled and made accountable. Contracts outline distinct obligations the prison has to adhere to such as the provision of the core curriculum. Additionally, prisons receive KPTs with KPIs. Prison performance is measured against KPI and payments are issued accordingly. But also PSOs and PSIs define the prison space and the interactions of individuals within. Those are blueprints reflecting wider prison policies such as educational provision (PSI 06/2012) but also prison safety. They allow for government to ‘act at a distance’ (Massumi, 1992; Garland, 1997). Prisons interpret and instrumentalise KPTs, PSOs and PSIs locally. Following recommendations to incentivise educational engagements (MOJ, 2013a; Stickland, 2016; Coates, 2016) education was classed here for instance as **work** rather than learning activity remunerated with a salary.

This chapter will firstly, discuss managerial objectives, before moving into the design of two classrooms and the classes taught there. It then analyses and compares designed classroom interactions in SE and ICT. To distinguish common designed procedures and routines from individual experiences I am using Marissa (prisoner)

and Maureen (tutor) as proxies. However, individual names are added when reflecting on interview and observational data.

## **8.1. Managing Marissa's education work – the main objectives**

As outlined in the literature review Marissa's basic skills levels are a wider concern. Established links between offender's low skills levels and re-offending rates have informed prison policies (SEU, 2002). A core curriculum (BIS/MOJ, 2010) required prisons to provide basic skills classes to enhance prisoners' skills levels. Induction procedures were implemented to assess and record individual skills levels on entry. However, as the previous sections have highlighted, level indicators mask a variety of offender needs, but also more importantly individual strength. The women behind those level indicators are very different. The education department provided between 80 to 100 places a day for purposeful activities, according to the Head of Re-offending.

The following part discusses the main objectives outlined in the interviews with the Head of Reoffending (interview, HOR, 26/07/2011) and the Education Manager (interview, EM, 20/09/2011). HOR oversaw the restructuring of the education department from an uncoordinated education provider to the main and structured provider of purposeful activities. EM appointment was only half a year prior to the interview. The following section further compares managerial objectives with inspection reports and data obtained about the women interviewed. It demonstrates how fragmented economic and security virtualities inform the planning process.

### **8.2.1. Course design and planning – educational needs and economic trajectories**

#### ***Level indicators***

HOR stated that courses and their design are based on yearly needs analysis. This analysis utilised the number of women and their initial assessment results obtained in inductions during the educational assessments. EM asserted that about 67% of women entering the prison had an entry 3 literacy level. The prison subsequently offered predominantly low-level classes corresponding to the majority of its virtual learner needs. EM further remarked that the prison worked within its contractual requirement ‘to offer basic skills in literacy, numeracy and IT’ (PSO 4205, 2000, core curriculum section 4.1.).<sup>12</sup>

However, the prison has been continuously criticised for offering mainly low-level qualifications (HMIP, 2011; 2013; HMIP/Ofsted, 2015; Ofsted, 2010; IMB, 2012) and its inability to fully accredit learning in vocational programmes such as arts and crafts. The Ofsted report (2010) further commented on the varied learner levels allocated to, for instance, basic literacy classes. I conducted classroom observations in a level 1/2 literacy class. The learners ranged from a woman with a PHD to a woman unable to read the instructions on the in-class assessment. Additionally, looking at the level indicators of the women interviewed, 13 out of the 23 had literacy levels of 1 or higher. Without counting the classroom assistants with traditionally higher levels; 8 of 18 or 44% of the women scored higher than entry level 3. Ofsted criticised the ‘insufficient range and level of education programmes to meet most learners’ individual needs’ (*ibid*, p.3) and valued the overall effectiveness

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<sup>12</sup> The PSO has since been replaced with PSI 06/2012. Changes introduced include, the removal of a core curriculum and introduction of an electronic learning recording system (LRS). However, basic skills needs were still prioritised as the HMIP reports demonstrate.

of learning and skills and work as still requiring improvement, despite increased vocational qualifications (HMCI/Ofsted 2015, p.46). The reports continuously highlight the mismatch, outlined in the previous section, of learners needs to available programs.

### ***Applications***

HOR saw the successful implementation of courses in classes being oversubscribed. Both managers asserted that women actively applied for those courses. However, women could only choose, apply and be allocated to classes that were available. The analysis of the initial job allocation procedure (section 7) already highlighted the limited emphasis on women's active participation in the process. The education manager further confirmed that women 'get allocated to literacy and numeracy according to their initial assessment results' (EM). She reasoned 'literacy, numeracy and IT are basic and once they passed they have more opportunities available' (EM). This included being able to apply for distance learning. Inspection reports (Ofsted, 2010; HMCI/Ofsted 2015) commented on the low proportion of women actually achieving functional skills at level 1 in English and Maths.<sup>13</sup> As the previous section highlighted, women with low educational assessment scores were more likely to have a variety of additional learning and non-educational needs. They were also more likely to be moved between classes and placed in basic skills classes without their consent. Behavioural problems and women's attitudes toward learning formed part of planning considerations. But whilst HOR saw an 'audience desperate to learn', EM commented on 'the behavioural problems of the specially young ones; they are stroppy beyond reason', but also the high levels of self-harm. 'We deal with troubled women, they don't want to achieve or finish anything' (EM).

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<sup>13</sup> However, high numbers gained ICT, personal and social development and ESOL qualifications.

But planning was also based on another virtuality - prisoner's average length of stay. 'How long is a cohort stable to deliver a course' (HOR). 'Our average turnaround is 6 weeks, some stay longer' (EM). This specifically affected the planning for higher qualifications delivered in the prison. 'NVQ in kitchens [...] and a hairdressing NVQ [would be] ideal but they take too long' (EM). The majority of sentenced women stay no longer than 3 months in prison (see section 7.1.) and 'courses reflect 'the short stay of many prisoners' (IMB, 2012). Nevertheless, around 12% of sentenced women spent 3-6 months, around 9% 6 months to a year and around 14% over a year (average numbers HMIP, 2013; HMIP/Ofsted, 2015). Additionally, the prison held first stage lifers. 6 of the women I interviewed spent longer than 6 weeks in Bronzefield. Some were there for a year or had returned to the prison for release into the London area. Those were predominantly women with higher educational levels or women who had achieved higher levels in another prison. 'Current arrangements do not fully meet the needs of the longer-serving prisoners and those with higher-level learning needs' (Ofsted 2010, p.2). In 2015 this objective was still only partially met (HMIP/Ofsted, 2015). Both managers mentioned wanting to include higher-level qualifications and widen vocational training opportunities 'particularly customer service' (HOR). 'I wanted it [beauty therapy] for six months but I need a funding space for it' (EM). Nevertheless, resources, staffing, lack of, for instance, IT support, 'our IT department are two people running around with no development time' (HOR), and their average length of stay prevented some of those developments.

Staff was another planning issue. The previous section already discussed the high staff turnover. Reports additionally highlighted staff shortages and low tutor qualifications (HMIP, 2013). In 2015 ‘only a few were qualified to a higher level’ and therefore most tutors ‘did not have the skills or confidence to plan activities that challenged women sufficiently’ (HCIM/Ofsted, 2015, p.46). Sybille, a tutor, explained ‘I see this very much as a non-educational environment [...] the teachers are reflective of the pay’ (interview, 25/10/2011).

Although the prison employed most of its staff directly, it also subcontracted providers to deliver classes that could not be covered by existing staff. The Preparing to teach in the Lifelong Learning Sector (PTTLS) classes for classroom assistants, but also CV writing, creative writing and a business course made use of outside specialisms. However, the prison had the tendency to test and then substitute specific courses or content. Suzanne, the writer in residence had delivered unaccredited creative writing classes and individual tuition on house blocks. The women enjoyed and responded to those opportunities very positively. After her contract had not been renewed, a librarian and literacy tutor, both less experienced writers, delivered structured poetry and creative writing classes as a substitute. Manja was assigned to deliver PTTLS and Stacey redeployed to deliver life skills (CV writing). Both had little knowledge of the subjects they were delivering. The development of a social enterprise, additionally, replaced a former Barnados workshop. This had a positive impact on the variety of art and crafts classes, but placed economic responsibility for the provision on the tutors working within. Cheaper, in-house provision allowed for more efficient budget management whilst reducing the quality of some of the prison’s provision.

EM also commented on costs to provide courses relating to educational material, such as art material and interactive whiteboards. But also assessments themselves needed to be paid for. Therefore, the course offer and qualifications also reflected the costs of exam boards. Distance learning was therefore only offered to women with proven level 2 literacy skills serving longer sentences.

### ***Women's actual needs***

EM also mentioned a prison survey undertaken every six month to collect ideas for new courses from women. According to her, 'they want to do odd things like plumbing and bricklaying' (EM). 'They are often not well thought through, its not their fault though, they have their own individual and personal needs and want different things to be delivered' (HOR). Course design, therefore, neglected needs expressed by individual women if those were not aligned with the virtualities informing the economic trajectories of prison education. Additionally, managers also expressed distinct gendered ideas for women's education and employment wanting to implement 'hair and beauty, nails and all that sort of rubbish' (HOR).

Overall, courses responded to the educational fragments and virtualities created in inductions not women's needs. A majority of low level indicators, combined with a short average length of stay, meant short basic skills classes with low-level qualifications created the lowest economic risk in meeting prison targets and a 'bureaucratic and epistemologically closed' and 'minimum of fuss' educational provision (Ecclestone, 2000, p.158).

### **8.3.2. Course design and planning – teaching objects and security trajectories**

Prisons have a duty of care. Their security regimes correspond to potential risks posed by the prisoners held within. Risk assessments of teaching objects used in prison education additionally assess the objects' inherent capacity to become potential security threats. Security was, however, managed by a different prison department, not within education. Education managers, therefore, had little influence over this trajectory. Security assessments followed global guidelines outlined in PSOs, such as PSO 9010 IT Security,<sup>14</sup> but also local guidelines developed for overall prison security. I will be concentrating here, specifically, on risks associated with digital artefacts.

The integration of technology to support tutors and learners, for instance, was important for both managers. HOR mentioned ‘there is online learning capacity in here and we could secure the Internet access but we are incredibly risk-averse’. ‘I would like [...] greater access to PC’s through day and night that our distant learner have easier access, it’s a shame there is nothing there for them to continue their work’ (HOR). ‘We are not bound by restrictions because we are a private prison so it’s down to the staff’s imagination or lack of imagination more’ but also the lack of vision of prison service officials who ‘shriek in horror and say it can’t be done’ (HOR).

#### ***Imports***

Any items brought into the prison for educational purposes had to be checked and approved by security. This could be a matter of minutes but also days and months depending on the items. The software and computers for SE, for instance, remained

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<sup>14</sup> PSI 25/2014, with similar access restrictions for prisoners, replaced this PSO in 2014.

in storage for months until they could be used in the classroom. But only the picture editing and graphic programs of the Adobe package were installed. The reason for this was that Dreamweaver or Flash (now Animate) would allow women to program. That could create a potential threat for the prison's data network. Looking at women's prior engagement with technology, their offence histories but also their virtual low basic skills levels used for class design, confirms that this threat, in actuality, was non-existent. As Jana explained, 'they [security] always think of worst case scenarios and base their decisions on the most unlikely of things' (interview, 27/09/2011). A digital scanner was not approved, as women could possibly copy and print their ID cards. The non-existence of facilities to transfer the electronic image onto plastic for actual use was raised, but not considered by security as eliminating this virtual threat.

Additionally, any electronic learning resource that tutors created at home had to be checked by security and placed on the education network by the IT administrator. 'It's a lengthy process but it is possible' (EM). However, non-education staff not only judged the appropriateness of educational artefacts, but also decided when they became available. Tutors frequently commented on their inability to be spontaneous in their teaching due to security restrictions and the long waiting times.

### ***Inside***

Specifically, the lack of Internet access prevented tutors from adding more interactive and engaging content to their classes and learning material. Stacey mentioned 'it would be very useful to check for jobs, what is available, to search for the type of company that employs offenders' (interview, 28/09/2011). Although interactive whiteboards were installed in most rooms, they were often under-utilised for teaching or the creation of teaching material, as computers attached to them only

connected to the educational network without access to the Internet. The IT administrator was the only one able to move digital objects from the staff room computer to the educational network, as memory devices could not be brought in. However, it was not only digital artefacts that needed approval. Mona wanted to bring in fruit to make her ESOL class more interactive. She had to count each individual grape on entry, but also on exit, as consumption of items brought into the prison by staff for prisoners was prohibited.

In addition to economic concerns, virtual security risks informed the integration of learning materials and objects. Those over-inflated and imported risk fragments, similarly, did not correspond to actual prison learners. Despite policies recommending the implementation of more computer technology in prison education (Coates, 2016), securing networks and access remains a concern. Additionally security guidelines were not female specific but based on risks posed by a virtual generic male prisoner (WIP, 2012).

### ***8.3.3. Passing inspections***

In 2009 an Ofsted inspection was imminent. Within a short time frame schemes of work were prepared and lesson observations had to be carried out. Tutors produced schemes of work for their lessons. Many remained virtual representations, due to the particularities of class organisation, for example in ICT. Therefore, the virtual representations of teaching did not reflect actual practice. Teaching observations in ICT were similarly virtual as no formal teaching took place. Gisela, however, was asked to teach a class to enable recording.

All tutors were observed for the first time. Observations were, as mentioned above, often based on virtual schemes of work rather than actual practice. This and the inexperience of observers themselves contributed to the overall low initial

ratings. Observations were repeated until levels improved. Tutors subsequently felt observers (Senior tutors and HOR) picked on small details. HCIM reports (2013, 2015) commented on the quality of observations and the narrow focus on individual teaching details rather than tutor's impact on learning and women's progress. Additionally, tutors without higher teaching qualifications were asked to start PGCE courses before the inspection to improve qualification standards.

HOR mentioned having to regularly check Ofsted standards and ensuring recommendations were reasonably addressed. The 2010, 2013 and the 2015 reports demonstrate only minor improvements. Ofsted assessed prison education always as 'requiring improvement' including the quality of teaching provision, the insufficient progression opportunities and its ability to address, monitor and plan for individual learner needs (HMIP, 2013). Creating virtualities to meet overall contractual obligations and pass inspections were therefore prioritised over teaching quality. Passing the inspection was considered an acceptable target, as securing higher ratings required more investment.

#### ***8.3.4. Meeting targets***

'As private prison we are bound by a contract that states how many vocational qualifications we have to do in a year as target [...] that is how the money is issued. If we are under-performing we are fined, if its about right then that is okay, if we do more we receive a bonus'

(HOR).

The contract, however, does not include quality or consideration of learner needs.

Part of the training of kitchen and servery workers was a vocational qualification in Health and Safety. When the prison was unable to meet set targets, qualifications were opened to other prisoners as well. HOR mentioned issuing 200 OCN Health and Safety qualifications in a month. Women, some had just finished their inductions, were escorted to the small IT room to do a short e-learning course before taking the test. Posters providing answers for the test had been plastered around the room. Officers and classroom assistants were additionally employed to assist women with computer interactions. Moreover, this was not an isolated incidence. ‘We suddenly had to do all those health and safety certificates in class, some women had already done them in another class and protested and I had to say, well this is different this is for IT’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Whilst qualifications are important the emphasis here was on meeting prison targets. Many women were unclear why they had to take them or what they were useful for and subsequently tried to resist.

Additionally the assessment board chosen for this certificate was criticised as not being widely recognised. ‘He [the inspector] told me he wouldn’t employ anyone with that kind of qualification [...] (HOR). It nevertheless responded to the set target and was ‘valid, that’s all that counts for me’ (HOR). Similarly, Mona mentioned OCN not to be the most renowned exam board ‘I always felt those exams were quite worthless’ (interview, 27/09/2011). However, they responded to level indicators set in prison targets.

Each class had weekly and monthly targets depending on content, tutors were aware that the exams taken ‘didn’t give students a true reflection of their abilities’ (*ibid*). ‘My target is 18 a month per course [numeracy entry level 3, level 1 and 2] and I usually get 40 out of 60 through’ (interview, Sybille, 25/10/2011). Lorna also explained, ‘we had to stay within those targets so not to exceed them [...] if in one month we exceeded them then we use those qualifications for the next month’

(interview, 27/09/2011). ‘In the end of the day they just want to fit the quota, the numbers and the targets [...] [even] if it means 20 people out of a hundred don’t get their qualifications’ (interview, Jane, 27/11/2011). Jana, additionally, asserted that qualifications were issued in order to fit with the prison’s economic trajectory. She reported, ‘they stopped doing higher art qualification as not many women passed, they thought it was not worth it’ (interview, 27/09/2011).

Another shift was toward internal verification. This, as HOR explained, heightened the chances of women passing exams and qualifications. ‘Because it’s internally assessed [...] the women have a greater chance to pass, then they would have with external exams’ (HOR). Assessments changed, too. Work for literacy ‘is portfolio based and if you cannot pass that then [giggle]. We used to do exams but it didn’t work’ (interview, Jackie, 14/09/2011).

### **8.3. The two classrooms**

The classrooms were initially chosen to compare the use of (computer) technology and teaching approaches in different educational settings. After the pilot studies this focus shifted. The analysis now centres on comparing the various trajectories informing the design and control of a core curriculum subject and a traditionally liberal subject.

Changes to the education department, but also those two classrooms reflected the shifting policy context to develop structured activities addressing skills deficits (MOJ, 2010). Specifically, ICT classes contributed to the then Government’s National Learning Targets for Education and Training (NTETS, PSO 4205, 2000)

and prison KPTs for basic skills provision. It formed part of the core curriculum and accredited provision (*ibid*).

The art department was transformed into a social enterprise to substitute the funding cuts for liberal educational provision (Bayliss, 2003; Duguid, 2000). The art and craft classes did not fall into the core curriculum. Many did not lead to formal accreditation, but over time tutors developed and/or transformed provision to lead toward entry-level 3 vocational qualifications in business and enterprise (NOCN) to provide more structure.

Both classes had no enrolment restrictions, although women taking ICT classes should have had appropriate reading skills enabling them to work with written instructions. According to HMIP reports (2010, 2013, 2015), both classes were popular. Student numbers for both reduced toward the end of each week as a result of prisoner movement, but also dropouts, due to individual behaviour in class (observational notes). The following part analyses classroom management, utilising the data obtained during observations and individual interviews with tutors.

### ***8.2.1. ICT and SE classrooms – managed and managing numbers***

ICT classes were small with 12 computers in the main room and, if empty, 10 in the small overflow room (Appendices B and D). Women would apply for, and be allocated to 2 or 6 weeks morning or afternoon sessions. ICT operated on a roll on, roll off basis, with new students being added to class registers, usually on Monday when places became available. In some instances the number of women on the register exceeded available computer places.<sup>15</sup> This was an attempt to use the room

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<sup>15</sup> Similar to budget airlines overbooking flights.

to full capacity, counteracting prisoner movement but also sickness or resistance to work. At a later stage the ICT tutor was also asked to report any empty spaces to the house blocks in the morning; ‘as if I had time for that’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011).

SE classes were held in one of the big workshop rooms (Appendix F). Two classes ran simultaneously to use the available space. Sometimes life skills classes used the additional small computer room. Classes had between 12-15 learners and lasted between 1 and 2 weeks. Women would be enrolled for the whole duration and arrive on a Monday morning or afternoon. There were no attempts to enrol women during the week or to overbook classes but noise levels were high due to the high number of women working in the room.

Tutors would usually record attendance and individual movement at the beginning of classes in their class registers. In SE an additional role count, next to the main entrance, would display the number of women in the workshop. One of the SE tutors would update the number and regularly count the women in the room. The attendance registers would later be used for managerial reports accounting for the number of women engaged in education and to issue payments.

### ***Removing unwell learners***

Increasing managerial demands to fill learning spaces also impacted on the procedures available to tutors. All tutors agreed they would send women back to the house blocks if they were ill and unable to work. In the beginning a signed movement slip was sufficient. New procedures required consulting house block staff and requesting their assessment from a distance. In many cases the women had to stay in the classroom. House block staff ‘had this idea that you needed a doctor’s notice to not go into work’ (interview, Mona, 27/09/2011). On occasions women

were sleeping on the tables, they were drowsy after receiving their methadone or other medication.

Many women had additional issues that were not related to their physical health, for example, ‘they might have had bad news’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Those reasons were automatically rejected, as it was felt women could be better supervised and distracted in education – they would be more secure in a classroom. Manja mentioned ‘we believe it is better to be up and engaging in purposeful activity’ (interview, 20/09/2011). Non-managerial tutors had different views. ‘Some women shouldn’t be in the class, they have mental health and behavioural issues’ (interview, Stacey, 28/09/2011). ‘They don’t necessarily want to be in a crowd crying their eyes out’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011).

### ***Removing resisters***

As the work allocations demonstrate women were not always placed in the classes they had initially chosen. Women were more likely to tolerate being placed ‘wrongly’ into an art class than ICT, due to the nature of the activities and classrooms. Additionally, the limited options for purposeful activities outside of education rendered education often the only choice to earn money in the prison. ‘In inductions [...] [they] tick or get ticked in, it’s a problem and if they stay here long enough they will be passed around and come here as well [ICT]’ (interview, Carla, 25/08/2011). Therefore ‘you would quite often have a learner that didn’t want to be there’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Additionally, women could be placed in ICT when places became available. Corey, for instance, was told to attend ICT after a sports injury prevented her from carrying out her work in the gym (informal conversation, field notes, 26/02/2010). However, the increased number control made little sense to women and tutors alike. ‘I never wanted to be in IT, I want to go to the gym’ (*ibid*).

‘Why do I have to teach people that don’t want to be here?’ (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 04/02/2010).

Due to increasing restrictions and managerial demands tutors had to deal with individual behaviour and resistance. Gisela mentioned being able to send resisters to the employment coordinator to be assigned to another class. Carla, however, explained that transfers to another course take up to two weeks ‘so they have to stay on’ (interview, Carla, 25/08/2011). So, managing classroom numbers was also increasingly a matter of managing learner resistance. Tutors mentioned the negative impact resisters had on the overall classroom atmosphere and other women’s ability to learn. It also took time to persuade women ‘to try and stick it out’ and ‘you have to give them attention so they settle down’ (*ibid*). Persistent resisters received IEP warnings for refusing to work and would eventually be removed from the class after the third warning. ‘I didn’t think that was a very good solution to the problem’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Stacey also mentioned ‘it can take up to three days to remove someone from the class and they would have disrupted the three days out of five’ (interview, 28/09/2011). Equally, the IMB report (2012) expressed concerns over the use of the IEP system ‘as a stick [rather] than a carrot’ and ‘in some cases, to prisoners with complex and/or genuine health needs’ (p.14).

Overall, procedures were designed to increase student attendance and decrease a tutor’s ability to remove unwilling or unwell students from their classes. They emphasised the mandatory nature of education (MOJ, 2010), the targets informing the economic and security trajectories of the prison.

### **8.2.2. ICT and SE classrooms – managed and managing budgets**

Educational targets were dominant in ICT classrooms as women worked toward qualifications that directly impacted educational funding. Therefore, the educational provision was geared toward achieving weekly and monthly qualification numbers. Classroom assistants were employed to help with teaching activities. However, tutors were also responsible for ordering classroom material, e.g. printer cartridges and paper in specific intervals. Although, women produced printed portfolios to evidence their work, excessive printing was a constant concern. Work was, therefore, closely monitored and checked. The instruction books and computers were an additional budget concern, as replacements could not easily be brought in. Access to books was therefore regulated and controlled. Drinks could only be consumed in a specifically designated area.

SE classes used a different model. Classes and art materials were partially funded through the work produced in the classrooms. Staff and prisoners could place orders for jewellery, cards and paintings. It was envisioned, at the time, that products could also be sold in local markets. Permanent workers and classroom assistants were employed to work on the majority of those orders. Orders were deducted from women's pay. Staff paid directly on receipt. Qualification numbers, therefore, had a lesser influence on budgets and teaching provision. Those were rather determined by income generated through orders and the materials that could be subsequently ordered for classroom use. Overall there was a tendency to emphasise craft rather than art subjects, such as painting and sculpture, as budgetary returns for the latter were less guaranteed. However, competitions such as the Koestler's (Art in the criminal justice system) were important for the reputation of SE. Competition prices and sales were important measurements.

Art material had value in the prison. Stealing jewellery beads or card accessories was common. All material was therefore stored in locked cupboards. Trusted

classroom assistants were handed the keys to provide students with the material they needed for their work. Materials, such as beads, were handed out in small quantities only and students had to return regularly for refills to finish their work. Whilst it allowed for better control, it affected the ability of assistants to carry out their contract work.

### ***8.2.3. ICT and SE classrooms – managed and managing security***

The management of classroom security was a management of access to physical as well as virtual spaces and objects for both students and tutors. It was also a management of objects, coming and leaving classrooms. Interactions of students with learning objects were carefully planned. However, adverse behaviour also shifted security trajectories in different classrooms.

#### ***ICT room teaching objects and material***

In ICT most security concerns related to risk potentialities of computer networks and information access. Those acted at a distance through tightly designed information spaces for both tutor and students. Workstations were connected to an internal educational network without access to the Internet or any other computer with Internet access. Marissa receives an individual computer network access (login details) on entry allowing her to view and add files to specific server spaces. She cannot view other student's work or access the tutor's computer. A shared network drive contained a limited clipart library for distinct learning activities. The IT tutor was able to view student's individual network spaces and send workshop files there from her computer.

Although access to information was heavily restricted, additional checks of printed work ensured Marissa would only engage with work outlined in her workbooks. The printing cupboard was locked at all times and only the tutor was allowed to remove and hand work to students after checking and signing each printout. Classroom cupboards were plastered with posters containing IEP warnings for unauthorised access and printing rules. It was explained to me in the beginning that printing, for instance personal or solicitor's letters, was a security risk. I never understood this as a security risk (a printed letter is easier to check than a handwritten one) but rather an economic risk, of women not engaging with accredited work.

### ***ICT room students and tutors***

The layout of the ICT room, and design of individualised learning activities allowed for easy supervision. No formal teaching was taking place. Women were requested to work alone, specifically during exams. Any adverse behaviour was easy to detect. The room could also be surveilled from the outside. This allowed, for instance, managers, but also officers to check if regular teaching activities were taking place. Students could only leave the room to visit the toilet or get water from the fountain in emergencies, but had to inform the tutor before leaving. They could also request a daily library visit of 15 later reduced to 10 minutes maximum but again needed permission and a movement slip with the tutor's signature. A maximum of two students could leave for the library at any time.

Surprisingly, students in ICT were left unsupervised in classrooms during break time as tutors spent their breaks in the staff room. In the beginning women were also allowed to visit other classrooms but later had to remain in their respective rooms, allowing for better spatial and behavioural control. They were, however, permitted to

go to the toilet during breaks. Toilet guard duties were introduced to prevent, although rare, self-harm and the illegal passing of objects, such as drugs, during break time. A tutor had to control women's toilet access (two at any time) and interactions in the room. This was one of the most embarrassing tasks I carried out as part of my tutor role, followed by chasing women down corridors into the toilets during class time to ensure their security.

### ***Social enterprise teaching objects and material***

In SE classes most security concerns were related to risks potentialities of tools and art material. Many items and professional art materials, such as clay, were never allowed in the classrooms. The 'cage' contained tools in addition to bigger items such as paint pots and canvasses. Access was restricted to tutors only. Tools were usually handed out in exchange for ID cards to secure both the woman and the tool in space. Tutors would check the tool cabinet at the end of each session. A missing tool had serious consequences; potentially 'freezing' the whole prison – disallowing any movement - until it was located. Even beading needles, which were very thin, hard to find once they fell onto the floor and can do little actual harm (they bend), had to be accounted for. On one occasion a whole class was held in the workshop until a needle was found. Two girls searched for half an hour on their knees harassed by other women who wanted to smoke, eat, and relax in their cells.

The use of most tools and machines (e.g. sewing machines) had to be supervised at all times by a tutor. During observations I often found myself 'surveilling' women sharpening pencils or stitching cushions. Big signs reminded women that unauthorised access would be punished with an IEP warning.

### ***SE students and tutors***

Due to its location but also size, layout and facilities, one tutor functioned as security officer. She had to carry a radio connected to the internal communication network to report role counts at specific intervals, report possible security threats and/or request officer assistance. Women could also go to the toilet at any time. The toilet was, on occasion, used to pass illicit items. Tutors would carry out bin searches and request officers to carry out body searches if they suspected specific women of doing so. Some women even managed to smoke in the toilets. A requested smoke detector was deemed too expensive to install so tutors walked around sniffing to establish who had used the toilet last. After a woman had tried to commit suicide in the toilet, the cubicle was locked. A tutor had to unlock and stand guard outside every time someone used it. Singular incidences threatening, or singular breakdowns of classroom security, often resulted in a tightening of security procedures. This involved adding more security interactions and officer functions to tutors classroom tasks.

The layout of the room was generally problematic. Despite designated teaching areas, women would move between those areas during class time. They would meet others; chat, shout and disrupt classes. Several attempts were made to restrict movement and keep noise levels down through different layouts. Those, however, affected tutors abilities to interact with women.

### ***Vulnerable and potentially violent prisoner***

The vulnerability, but also harm potential of specific prisoner groups, created additional security risks. Those women were ‘marked’ by a special prisoner file and officer escort from and to all areas they frequented. They would arrive in the classroom with an ACCT (women at risk of self-harm) or bully books (women at risk of harming others). Those outlined specific interactions and observations and the

frequency with which tutors had to perform those to ensure security. Tutors' entries in the books confirmed an interaction had taken place and observations had been carried out. Those books were later used in meetings to determine the risk women presented to themselves and others. Those books enabled security and healthcare to act 'at a distance'. Whilst it allowed for women to participate in activities, their spaces for interactions became more tightly controlled. Other prisoners would often avoid women on books, due to the unwanted attention, but also their potential mental instability.

#### ***8.2.4. ICT and SE classrooms – managed and managing teaching and learning***

As the inspection reports (HMIP, 2010; 2013; HMIP/Ofsted, 2015) highlighted, the management and quality of teaching required improvement. This included the creation and monitoring of individual learning. Ofsted has specific requirements to monitor and evidence learning and teaching in the establishments they assess for their effectiveness. In 2009 with an Ofsted inspection imminent, great efforts went into the creation of evidencing material such as teaching schedules and learning plans. However, teaching often deviated from those virtualities. The following part analyses how teaching and learning was managed in those classrooms. It starts with commonalities, such as the creation of individual learning plans and learner compacts, followed by a discussion of the teaching styles and learning materials in both classrooms.

##### ***Creating virtual learners and behaviour***

Learner compacts were tools to manage individual classroom behaviour. They formed part of classroom entry rituals. Marissa is handed a document with a list of distinct rules for each classroom and class. She has to sign this document. In ICT,

rules outlined the printing regulations. In SE, the handling of material and tools was emphasised. In addition, all compacts outlined acceptable classroom behaviour. At one time a tea and coffee compact was introduced. Marissa affirms with her signature that that tea and coffee are hot beverages and should not be spilled on equipment and others. Many women just signed the compacts without reading them (observational notes). The compacts did not ensure Marissa had understood the rules. It ensured Marissa's deviations could be legitimately being punished through the IEP system.

Each course also started with the creation of an individual learning plan (ILP). In the ILP Marissa can indicate her preferred learning style (haptic, visual, auditory). She is also asked to note down three smart learning targets relating to the course. In ICT, she will be handed a list of targets compiled by the tutor corresponding to individual units. Each unit required a new ILP. In SE, smart targets were written on a whiteboard. Marissa copies three targets into her ILP and signs the first part. Although she can ask questions, there is no emphasis on understanding the course/unit aims or smart targets. Gisela explained 'we were all told to make smart targets' (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Most learners had little knowledge about the software and targets 'gave them a feeling of what the course contained' (*ibid*). Smart targets, therefore, substituted introductory lessons and demonstrations. Marissa's ILP will be filed away. Her entries have no immediate effect on her learning. She will receive the same learning material as anyone else and be taught in the same way.

ILP's returned at the end of each course. Marissa is asked to fill in the second part. She reports whether or not she met the targets, felt safe and can add comments on future plans, the positives and negatives of the class taken. None of the information provided has an immediate impact on Marissa, her learning or future placements. She will be moved to the next 'employment', asking her to fill in the

same form that tutors have no time to act on. Her answers, however, return in management reports as ethnic and safety data points.

Compacts, ILP's and smart targets control and enforce specific learning outcomes. They document and evidence virtual not actual learning. Little impact and involvement is required of Marissa to engage with and reflect on her learning and her learner information remain fragmented.

### ***ICT learning and teaching***

No formal teaching took place in ICT classrooms. ICT learning and teaching was structured through the qualifications women worked towards. Learning material was based on the assessment frameworks of assessment boards from which qualifications were purchased. Marissa starts with E3 word processing and excel before being able to move to CLAIT level 1 and 2 qualifications.

Marissa's learning is evidenced through the different portfolios she creates for each unit. Portfolios differed in standards and blueprints for NOCN and CLAIT. NOCN portfolios could be more individual. Marissa can choose her own images and formats (type, paragraphs). Although exercises for NOCN portfolios could be changed, 'women couldn't just come in and do anything they wanted, that came from management [...] because that's a waste of time people could get certificates with, cause that what it was about, it had to be structured' (ibid). Marissa's portfolio had to demonstrate that she had developed a set of generic skills (such as opening and closing documents, typing, formatting). Those are matched against the unit's requirements. Tutors and classroom assistants acted on individually requested tutorials to ensure women could complete tasks. They also marked exams and portfolios. Marissa receives written instructions to 'learn in her own pace' (ibid). This required discipline and concentration. She is expected to individually develop

the capacity to translate instructions into learning activities, work with representational objects but also recover from errors. Her progress is monitored every day by the tutor recording page numbers in workbooks reached, exams taken and units completed. Both insisted monitoring helped them to assist women in their learning. However, this did not include providing learning material to suit additional learner needs.

CLAIT evidence required a precise following of set instructions outlined in the workbooks. Each deviation (e.g. formatting) counted as an error. CLAIT unit exercises (portfolios) were checked carefully against blue prints, for errors, and their severity counted. There was no room for individual interpretation of tasks or creativity. Numbers of errors were the measure of Marissa's learning success, her meeting 'the units assessment objectives' (OCR, 2008, p.11). She is now allowed to take a mock exam. The mock exam would again be checked for errors. She can only proceed to the actual exam with a limited number of minor mistakes. Marissa can repeat the mock 2-3 times. She also has two attempts to pass the exam and finish the unit. If she fails both attempts she would need to request to repeat the ICT class at a later time.

Learning activities, routines and outcomes were pre-designed, manifested in books and geared towards training women to copy tasks, replicate blueprints and remember steps for exams. Marissa's successful learning and the tutor's successful 'teaching' were evidenced through qualifications. This did not necessarily require women to understand the potential use of technology and/or software hidden behind book tasks (HMIP/Ofsted, 2015). There was also little emphasis on learning to apply knowledge in professional/non-professional settings. Book content substituted vocational training through written instructions. OCR's own recommendations, however, include to reference 'to real vocational situations, through the utilisation of

appropriate work-based contact, vocationally experienced delivery personnel, and real life case studies' (OCR 2008, p.11). The connection to the world of work, real jobs or integration of digital technology into one's private life remained virtual.

Asked about additional learners' requests and deviations Gisela explained 'we had our syllabus so there was not much room for anything else' (interview, 27/09/2011). Requests, for instance, included Internet research, more images, printing individual poetry and stories, and designing cards and websites. Women could only deviate by not finishing their portfolios, or risking an IEP by printing personal documents.

Marissa's engagement with computer technology usually ends with the course. However, she can book library appointments to use the library computers for personal work or apply for distance learning. Both, Carla and Gisela commented that classes were not enough to create proficient ICT users. This became particularly evident when equipment malfunctioned. Non-working equipment/resources disrupted pre-designed workflows of tasks. Files became unavailable with networks not working, and broken printers rendered tasks incomplete without printouts (a touchable object) to be added to women's folders. As workbooks trained for step-by step approaches, women often lacked an understanding of alternatives (as storing files for a later printout). Dependencies on workbooks were high. A woman in my pilot had taken the ICT classes twice and had passed exams. She was unable to create a simple excel table and requested a CLAIT book. Others also struggled to connect learned content with other computer-mediated work. Those were predominantly women with lower level qualifications, little work experiences and problems connecting ICT to employability. The inability to use computer technology further deepens that gap. Certificates, therefore, evidence virtual sufficiencies predominantly feeding the prisons economic trajectories.

CLAIT books had been designed by the exam board responsible for verifying the qualifications. The exam board controlled tutors and their teaching as well as students and their learning from a distance. It defined content, measurable outcomes and learning and teaching engagements.

The workbooks for NOCN, however, were created by tutors themselves and reflected their teaching styles and preferences. The first tutor, an experienced ICT college tutor, developed workbooks introducing hard- and software as the first unit, before women could move on to units for word and excel. His instructions booklets were minimal, open to interpretation, designed with taught elements in mind rather than independent individual work. They required frequent interactions with learners and groups of learners. He explained to me that he wanted women to develop an understanding of the software, not just copy tasks. This, he thought, would enable learners to apply their learning to their own work. This tutor- and teaching-centred approach meant, classroom assistants and myself were often unable to help women in his absence, as teaching could not be as easily delegated to others. Moreover, the high demand on teaching required through this approach meant his certificate quota was low. Women took longer to create their portfolios and he could not mark individual work on time. Waiting times and subsequently tensions/frictions were high in the classroom. Additionally, management questioned his teaching abilities based on qualification numbers produced.

The second tutor, Gisela, developed workbooks for word and excel only. They were designed for independent individual work, containing a variety of exercises women could follow for their portfolios. She included the assistants in the development but also asked learners for feedback. ‘I changed those books a few good

times [layout, font sizes and colours] [...] it is surprising how some people read instructions completely wrong and started typing the instructions' (interview, Gisela, 27/10/2011). The new books made tasks very clear, enabling assistants to follow set instructions without having to interpret learning intentions. It enabled students to work more independently. Quotas went up, as the teacher could detach herself from teaching to mark portfolios and exams against blueprints. 'There was quite a lot of admin to do [...] there was an awful lot of turnover for the exams [...] otherwise I would be so behind' (*ibid*). In her absence an officer could supervise her class, as one-to-one teaching could be delegated to her two assistants.

Each NOCN unit passed accounted for 2 credits/unit counting towards a vocational skills certificate pathway Business and Administration, which required a total of 17 credits for the full qualification to be issued<sup>16</sup>. Carla, preceding Gisela as ICT tutor, added more low-level units to make up the full award. She mentioned, however, that many units required the use of email and Internet. CLAIT qualifications required the passing of 3 units for a certificate or 5 for a diploma<sup>17</sup>. She was particularly proud of her web design unit. Whilst this enabled women to get more certificates, designing websites with Power point is not industry practice, hence less relevant for employment, but a virtual technique. ICT classes were also heavily reliant on specific technological resources, such as computers, software, networks and printers. Computers were old and bulky, the software (MS Office 2000), and the operating system (Windows NT) were not up to date at the time. This is now a potential problem, as most software providers use the Internet and cloud services for updates. Further, any IT skills involving data exchange extending from moving files to a local drive, such as email functions (including adding attachments), filling in online forms, and/or internet research were not taught at the time but form

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<sup>16</sup> The information used here were taken from the NOCN website in 2012 ([www.nocn.org.uk](http://www.nocn.org.uk)).

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.ocr.org.uk/Images/69673-centre-handbook.pdf> [accessed 10/07/2013]

increasingly part of NOCN and OCR qualifications. Hence, security risks and budgets, referred to above, also structured teaching and learning activities.

### ***SE learning and teaching***

Individual outcomes, not level indicators, defined SE classes. They were predominantly structured through production sequences of art and craft objects. This included the production of saleable items in craft or items for exhibitions, such as the Koestler's, in art and design classes. Tutors utilised instructions, individual tutorials and supervision to teach toward those outcomes. Newly designed courses had added a low-level, NOCN enterprise certificate. The certificate, however, provided little structure to the teaching itself. Women worked on individual, but also group projects.

Craft classes had clear visual outcomes and physical outputs. Women would produce items for sale, but also for their own consumption, such as cards to send to relatives or bracelets. Such opportunities were often an incentive to both choosing and, more importantly, finishing classes. Art and design classes were often topic-led but allowed room for women's own interpretations and approaches. Outcomes were less visible and concrete at the start. Not all women finished their work. However, this became problematic only when certificates were added to learning outcomes.

On day one, after ILP's and compacts had been stored away, tutors would usually explain the overall aims and outcomes to the whole class. The following teaching would then concentrate on bite-sized input (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011) of individual steps, often via one-to-one tutorials rather than group teaching. Tutors asserted this approach corresponded best to women's different pace of working, their very different abilities and ambitions.

Ideally, tutors wanted women to plan and finish specific pieces of work. Deviations were possible in most art related classes, such as a change of material or products. Craft classes required structure in order to, for instance, create ‘good quality cards to sell’ (*ibid*). The planning process was essential for all classes creating structured activity outlines for individual products. For jewellery making these included measuring wrists, counting the rows of beads and using a blueprint to draw a bracelet design.

### ***SE learning and teaching objects and spaces***

Tutors created their own instruction sheets. Those were developed to allow for self-directed study. All commented on the importance of using clear, simple and easy to follow steps and incorporated visual material as stimulus (interview, Jane, 27/11/2011). ‘I sometimes use Internet instructions but you have to transform them to suit their [students] language’ (interview, Jana. 27/09/2011). Although level indicators were absent, tutors prepared material to suit students with low-level skills.

Budgets and security were the main concerns in SE. Teaching and learning objects and spaces were designed to allow for control of material and tools. Instruction sheets were designed to allow tutors to distance themselves from teaching duties. Classroom assistants would carry out those tasks in their absence. Craft objects, designed by assistants, demonstrated steps and functioned as blueprints and references for activities. The material placed on the tables would reflect and restrict women to carrying out specific steps. The setting up of individual work places, activities and shared resources was useful to fix women’s position in the classroom and avoid unnecessary movement. Tutors would check activities and approve work continuation. Art and craft material would then be supplied in distinct quantities for individual usage depending on the activity. Tool use also needed approval. Working

with specific machines such as sewing machines, also had to be supervised by a tutor. An open access cupboard with art books could be used for individual research. Marissa can also request Internet printouts of specific images ranging from artwork to animals and objects she wants to use for her work.

New class designs focused on craft and employment and self-employment skills (sewing, jewellery, graphic design) adding low-level NOCN qualification. For NOCN entry qualifications, formal instruction sheets were handed out at the beginning of the course, e.g. in classes for self-employment skills with jewellery making. Those outlined and evidenced the completion of tasks as in-class or homework, to be carried out over the duration of the course. Women would fill pre-formatted tables evidencing, for instance, their own customer research and design development. Those forms were mostly filled out on the very last day on teacher request. Teaching rarely included explanations of how those tasks fitted into and aligned with the practical work undertaken. Maureen would tell Marissa to find 5 people in class she could interview for product preferences; bead colours, design patterns and similar, ask her to summarise her results and move to the next task. Marissa would not necessarily, know why she did those tasks. Her product(s) had already been created according to her own taste rather than others. Nevertheless, the evidence could then be collected and Marissa would receive her qualification. Many women did not finish the qualification but rather focused on their products.

#### *From creative cards to structured cards*

The following example best highlights how economic and security concerns influence teaching practice. When I arrived creative card classes were largely unstructured. Some teaching activities took place to show individual techniques. Students had to produce a minimum of six cards. One could be claimed for self-use.

Resources were placed onto the middle table. Students could choose from a variety of materials from small flowers, to glitter and other bought-in material to decorate their cards. Students received individual folders to store their work, material, and a set of empty pre-folded cards. Over time, the access to those decorative elements became more and more restricted. Women produced cards that did not sell whilst 'excessively' using decorative elements. Women also had a tendency to hoard material in their folders leaving little for others. Although most women behaved in class, this created tensions. Additionally, assistants spent hours removing elements as flowers from unsold items for re-use in classes. Manja started to remove items from folders after each session.

Rules were introduced restricting the use of resources per card such as two flowers/card. Structured daily teaching activities of particular techniques and designs were developed to control activities. Most of those used minimal resources such as colour paper to control spending. It removed frictions between women. However, ownership problems were displaced by discussions over creative freedom with tutors and assistants. Additional material for designs could be requested. Assistants or the tutor had now better control over the number of items per individual student. Restrictions were also influenced by individual classroom incidents. An unsupervised and bored group of women decided to, instead of decorating their cards, decorate each other. They giggled, sprinkling glitter into their hair and cleavage. One even wore a tinsel crown at some point. When the tutor returned from answering a phone call in the office, the space was a mess. She issued IEP warnings, but also permanently removed glitter from open access boxes and tables.

Structured activities also freed Manja from teaching duties. Written instructions were handed out and assistants trained to teach those specific techniques. It allowed her to carry out her additional security and economic duties, such as orders and role

counts. Frictions and tensions were often high on the last day when items could be claimed as personal property. If they had not produced the required amount, all work was confiscated. Many worked only on personal items, spending hours decorating cards for family and loved ones. Women struggled to choose, having to leave some of their personal work behind. Some ripped their work, shouted, cried, pleaded but again ‘they knew the rules, they should have worked harder’. ‘I cannot allow one to get it because she has a good story, rules apply to all’ (informal conversation, Manja, field notes, 06/01/2012).

#### **8.4. Summary**

Education became the major provider of purposeful activity in the prison. This private prison managed education costs, content and outcomes, internally. It was, nevertheless, bound by contractual obligations (including monthly and yearly targets) allowing the government to ‘act at a distance’ (Massumi, 1992; Garland, 1997) and control its educational provision. As the previous chapter highlighted level indicators mask not only a variety of other needs, but also individual strength. Induction procedures capture information aligned with those pre-formatted needs categorisation reducing prison learner to their educational deficiencies. Those virtual learner identities transform into educational provision and educational targets and move into the managerial design of prison education.

Educational targets, however, focus on accounting for deficiency removal. In education, this became measured through qualification numbers and attendance. Attendance and qualifications, therefore, contributed to meeting prison targets and secure future funding. This placed education firmly into the economic trajectory of the prison. Provision unable to contribute to targets became nonviable and risky, such as the work of the writer-in-residence. The design of provision, including content,

level and length of classes, was based on very specific population characteristics: **the average length of stay and assessed literacy and numeracy levels**. Those numbers ensured minimal economic risks for the institution (Ecclestone, 2000) as HOR affirmed.

Educational provision focused heavily on its administration and management (Liebling, 2004). Targets but also inspections ensured a focus on institutional accountability and the recording and evidencing of teaching and learning. Thus, it informed the design of distinct classroom and activity allocation procedures but also furthered the focus on virtual rather than actual learning. Teaching and learning virtualities and data trails were produced in response to targets and to satisfy inspectors. Schemes of work and detailed weekly teaching schedules were mere virtual representations and differed specifically in ICT greatly from actual teaching practice.

Individual ILP's were produced on prison entry, functioning as mere data collectors. The individual classroom ILP's were, similarly, producers of virtualities. As virtual objects they contributed to managerial reports, responding to prison targets yet not addressing immediate learning needs or understanding individual strength. Their design corresponded to the procedural language of databases (Hayles 2012) allowing for effective insertion into information systems. The design and instrumentalisation, however, neglected human reflective practices and sense-making processes (Turkle, 2015) including social interactions with tutors necessary to form a learner identity and enable identity and relational desistance.

Whilst ICT classes focused on the production of qualifications to secure future funding, SE classes created sales to sustain its operations aligning with neoliberal ideas of education. Despite different learning outcomes and objectives, both spaces

were tightly managed and controlled to secure economic viability. Exam boards acted at a distance through their pre-designed learning materials and exams that were generic not context specific. Their design and materiality created specific ‘teaching and learning’ interactions between students and tutors, whilst asserting quality standards and outcomes from a distance (Latour, 1992). Tutors designed their own learning materials to meet the anticipated virtual low skills levels, low ambitions and low imagination of their student. Those were, however, not just a reflection of the lowest virtualities mixed with classroom actualities. They formed part of distancing techniques implemented in both rooms to enable tutors to carry out administrative and managerial tasks that fed the economic and security virtualities. When asked about their daily routines 7 out of 13 interviewed teaching staff focused predominantly on task relating to prison security and regime management. Only 5 focused on teaching related activities.

Regime procedures, rules and regulations enforced specific institutional identities. Tutors transformed into officers, accountants and counsellors through additional security, economic and rehabilitative functions. Students transformed back into prisoners posing potential security and economic risks affecting local changes to security and economic trajectories. Learning and teaching spaces for tutors and students and their interactions were, therefore, heavily preformatted through institutional economic and security trajectories. However, they tightened even further through structural changes to meet inspection requirements and to respond to local security threats. Generic classrooms, however, ‘[met] the targets, but [missed] the point’ (Champion, 2013, p.17). Those procedural classrooms leave little space for individuality and reflection to take place. The next chapter provides more insight analysing individual identity negotiations.

## **9. Classrooms – virtualities meet realities**

Prison education was tightly organised. Policies inform the development PSOs and PSIs – the blueprints for rehabilitative, security and economic prison objectives. They allow for classrooms and individual prison learners to be managed ‘from a distance’. Education targets and core curricula are semiotic–material actors (Mennicken, 2014; Latour, 2005a) transforming through induction assessments into level indicators aligned with generic learning activities and teaching. Level indicators, however, mask individual complexity – actual learner needs and their strength – however, those unfold in the prison classroom. The local educational department and classrooms were filled with complex individuals interacting in those preformatted spaces.

The following chapter accounts for the interactional spaces of tutors and prison learner. It starts by analysing the spaces tutors create for themselves and their learners. The second part highlights how learners utilise prison education for their own trajectories.

### **9.2. Tutors – managing complexity in pre-designed spaces**

Tutors had to manage various roles and responsibilities. This included managing economic objectives such as student numbers and qualifications, rehabilitative objectives, such as working, learning and teaching, and security objectives, such as learner behaviour and teaching objects. Their multiple roles affected their teaching time. As the previous chapter demonstrated, distancing techniques were developed to fulfil respond to economic and security demands.

Whilst there were official rules, many tutors thought management made those up. Only senior tutors mentioned official rules and local operation procedures. ‘They constantly change’ (interview, Gisela, 27/10/2011). ‘Each incidence required a different form to fill in’ (interview, Jane, 27/11/2011). Only some commented on boundary management and their personal behaviour. For most, the IEP system was the prison rules. IEP warnings or suspensions, however, counteracted building ‘a good rapport with the ladies’ (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). Tutors understood those as ‘a last resort, when everything else failed’ (interview, Lorna, 27/09/2011). Persistent disruptive behaviour, stealing, damaging property, refusal to work, violence and swearing, however, had to be acted upon, and were reasons mentioned to administer IEP warnings. Although rules and compacts had been developed to create ‘fairness’, practices varied. However, it was also tutors’ perception of their own disciplinary behaviour that varied. All insisted on being able to count their IEP warnings on one hand. Students, however, called Lorna the ‘IEP queen’ and, according to her classroom assistant placed bets on daily numbers (informal conversation, field notes, 10/04/2012).

The following parts discuss how tutors create interactional spaces; manage their learner’s needs and resistance within highly regulated classrooms. The main examples are drawn from observations in ICT and SE classrooms. However, other practices were included from tutor interviews.

### ***9.2.1. Managing frictions***

Disruptive women were a problem in all classes. The involuntary nature of educational employment, the opaque nature of class placements, but also behavioural problems, contributed to those problems. Younger women with substance

dependencies were the most vocal and likely to cause problems. They often acted in groups or had problems with particular others in the classroom. Older women with substance dependencies were quieter and used other more covert forms of resistance. Swapping students (even with different levels) was a method literacy tutors used, trying to balance numbers of disruptive women in classrooms.

Tutors commented on increasing managerial demands to keep women in classes. Behaviour control was important for individual classroom management. However, tutors often had little time to explore needs and reasons hidden behind adverse behaviour. However, rude language and occasional threats of violence had to be answered with IEPs. ‘The danger is you allow one to do it, then the next asks, why am I getting an IEP’ (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). ‘You will be seen as push over or soft touch’ (interview, Lorna, 27/09/2011). Fair and equal treatment were more important than individualised responses. Women with behavioural problems were the most likely to possess multiple needs. They were also the most likely to receive IEP warnings and suspensions and leave classes prematurely reinforcing failure.

Core curriculum classes, such as ICT, allowed for little movement opportunities and learning flexibility. Computer failure was frequent. Classes were also often oversubscribed. Gisela could, therefore, sometimes choose which women were sent back to the house blocks. On occasions she ‘made up’ computer failure to remove a woman without having to administer an IEP. ‘Its classroom management, one person can spoil it for all’ (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Those were women such as Jo (20 W-B) who constantly disrupted the class, women too unwell or unable to concentrate due to medical or relational problems, or those who complained that they had never chosen ICT. ‘Why would I want to keep them here? They obviously don’t want to learn anything. They just occupy spaces others could use to gain

qualifications' (*ibid*). The very objects that controlled her classes became the objects used to resist managerial demands but also to control her outputs.

### ***9.2.2. Converting resisters into learners***

Motivation, reflections and acceptance by others are vital parts of desistance (Nugent and Schinkel 2016). Asked about engaging difficult learners and resisters, two tutors insisted that they treated everybody the same. They simply prepared themselves for every eventuality. Others mentioned using corrective behaviour techniques (3), changing their teaching to accommodate different abilities (4), using encouragement to overcome fears (5) and incorporating women in deciding over learning activities (2).

Resistance, however, came in various forms. Predominantly younger women with behaviour issues and/or substance dependencies, such as Jo refused to work and were either sent back, if possible, or received IEP's and suspensions. However, tutors stressed that women's resistance often related to their fear to fail in classes. Engaging with computer technology was frightening for some women, such as Joanna. 'The first day I went to IT I was shaking' (interview, Joanna, 15/11/2010). For younger women peer pressure was an additional factor (Walker, et al., 2006). Sitting on a desk for longer periods was also difficult. This is hardly surprising, looking at the statistical background data of HMP Bronzefield's women. Health issues were constantly raised to avoid interactions, specifically, with computer technology. Women needed glasses; their inhalers and/or performed gender (Butler, 2010). This ranged from period pains and migraines to 'Miss, my period is running down my leg' (interactions, Corey, field notes, 06/01/2012).

'I coax them with certificates and let them try the low levels. Once they manage to print one document, they get hooked' (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Although playing Solitaire was punished with an IEP 'I let them play a bit so they can practice their mouse movements. I just tell them to be careful in case management peaks in' (ibid). Paul allowed women with severe learning difficulties to explore and play with the installed Encarta database. 'She wouldn't be able to do anything else, at least she is having some fun' (informal conversation, field notes, 06/04/2009). Additionally, tutors tried to place new women next to a 'coach' – a woman that had been in the classroom for a while and knew the rules.

Jana (SE) stressed the need to provide one-to-one support so as not to embarrass, in particular mature, learners in front of other women. She also mentioned pairing keen learners with more resistant ones. She, additionally, tried to involve resisters in choosing specific activities and gave them classroom responsibilities. Whilst this was possible in art and design classes, other classes were less flexible. Overall, converting resisters needed a lot of encouragement and praise – tutor attention and tutor time.

However, resistance could also be temporary when women were preoccupied with other issues, such as sentencing and childcare. Women with mental health problems (66% of the population in 2015) could have episodes of adverse behaviour. Jane, as others, mentioned taking women aside to discuss their issues. The importance here was to listen, being perceived of as empathetic, but also to alleviate the pressure to perform. Women were sometimes allowed to read or talk to a friend during class time. 'Women have this capacity to help each other. They often just sort things amongst themselves' (interview, Jana, 27/09/2011). Some tutors handed out colouring sheets and word puzzles to calm women.

In ICT, resistance could be easily detected, due to the very tightly managed learning activities and spaces. In SE, resisters were harder to detect, as women could more easily pretend engagement, move around and/or swap activities. Overall, observations indicated that tutors responded empathetically to needs with which they could identify as needs. Those often related to shared gendered experiences, such as specific health needs or childcare issues. It also often depended on women's ability to express those needs. Young women, but also foreign nationals, were often unable to articulate their needs and were, therefore more often disciplined or overlooked.

#### ***9.2.4. Building relationships with learners and assistants***

Important for all tutors was to 'develop a good rapport with the ladies' (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). Most commented class times being too short to get to know learners to adequately support them. 'Especially the first few days are hard as you have to establish their levels and abilities. You develop a sixth sense teaching here long enough but sometimes you just get it wrong' (interview, Jana, 27/09/2011). Only two mentioned knowing enough, but both taught longer classes in ICT and ESOL. Individual security trajectories shifted with tutor experience. Longer serving tutors emphasised the necessity of thick borders between prisoners and teachers. They were also more risk averse.

Most tutors used their learning activities to get to know the learners in their class. One-to-one tutorials using teaching objects, such as computers and art and craft projects were often a good starting point for informal conversations. Regime monitoring provided spaces for more informal information exchanges. Carla mentioned conducting an informal interview with women new to the class. Gisela also used interactions with ILPs to introduce herself and the classroom assistants. Being non-judgemental, reliable, professional, respectful towards learners,

approachable and empathetic were characteristics they saw as important. Pastoral care was seen as an important aspect of their work. However, ‘you have to be careful, some women just want to pull a fast one’ (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). Some women were perceived of as manipulative, and as Manja additionally commented, ‘you have to be careful not to become conditioned’ (*ibid*). Most emphasised that women had to initiate those more personal exchanges.

The importance of relationships was mentioned by a number of tutors, including Suzanne: ‘relationships are important to create normality in the prison. They make teaching more effective’ (interview, 25/10/2011). Jana formed relationships with ‘women I share an interest with or that sorted themselves out’ (interview, Jana, 27/09/2011). Sybille commented she was more likely to engage with older women. The majority mentioned no particular groups they formed relationships with. However, practice often differed and relations reflected tutors interests, age, ethnicity, gender roles and responsibilities. Lorene, for instance, mentioned challenging women. She worked on a restorative justice project at the time and saw interacting with this group as a personal challenge. Gisela had ‘her baby’ – a very young and shy black woman that sucked her thumb in class. She also predominantly engaged with women who showed an interest in learning and gaining qualifications whilst ignoring others. I, personally, built stronger relationships with women sharing my interests, such as Sandra and computers and Sally and art. However, I also liked Jo’s and other young women’s honesty but due to their patchy attendance interactions were irregular and fleeting.

Overall, non-disciplinary interactions between women and tutors, myself included, were more common with older women without substance dependencies and/or women causing no disruptions in the classroom. Women with behavioural problems, including mental health problems, often disappeared from classes and

relationships were harder if not impossible to establish. They were also the least likely to approach tutors and were often ignored, due to their unpleasant and rude behaviour (see below – women managing learning spaces). Younger women with drug abuse issues had more problems concentrating and some demanded constant attention. However, I found them more receptive and open to talk to than older ‘prolific’ offenders with substance dependencies. I helped some with art projects. However, they could become distracted and even disruptive when left unsupervised.

Most tutors built deeper relationships with their classroom assistants. ‘We pick them and I rely on them doing their work’ (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011). ‘They are with you for longer’ (interview, Jackie, 14/09/2011). ‘I trust them more but never fully’ (interview, Jana, 27/09/2011). Trust, work relations and time were the dominant factors in building closer relationships. Assistants spent longer times in one place allowing for relationships to develop. They had a set of daily and weekly tasks but were often allowed to work on personal projects. Gisela and Sandra, for instance, knew each other very well and even kept in contact after both had left the prison.

Overall, tutors tried to make time for those learners they felt were worth their efforts and time. Women that outlined possible future selves aligned better with tutors understanding and rehabilitative trajectories. They often added comments in their prisoner greens to move women from basic to enhanced status. Women with multiple needs, who disrupted classes and/or required constant attention, were rarely amongst those. Tutors were often bound up in activities, unrelated to teaching, during class time. Therefore, ‘the women have to learn to be patient’ (interview, Manja, 26/07/2011) and accept waiting times.

Most tutors, however, were cautious about their relationship with learners and their assistants. This seemed to increase with their length of service. ‘They are

prisoners at the end of the day' (interview, Gisela, 27/09/2011). Overall, they agreed that 'building trust takes time, some women keep coming back and you get snippets into their lives each time they come back. Sometimes you think I wish I had known that before' (interview, Jana, 27/09/2011). Class length and limited time for informal interactions to understand women's needs and aspirations were seen as counterproductive to building trust and relationships. 'You get women opening up a bit on the last day and then they get moved to the next class' (interview, Jackie, 14/09/2011). Tutors indicated various obstacles to build relationships vital for rehabilitation, to assist women in constructing learner identities and/or a replacement self. Similarly, women found a variety of obstacles preventing them from developing learner identities.

### **9.3. Learner - managing roles and the self in the classroom**

Becoming prisoner was equally a becoming prison-learner. However, as stated before the virtual learner preceded the actual one. Walker et al.'s (2006) research highlighted the connection between women's prior educational experiences and their engagement in prison education. Interviews and observations confirmed some of those findings. The researchers also identified relationships with tutors and other women as important (*ibid*). However, those relationships only form through a mix of informal and formal interactional spaces available to tutors and women. Women as the preceding chapters highlighted, arrive in pre-formatted spaces, controlling their virtual rehabilitative, economic and security trajectories. Their unique assemblages, however, define their own individual rehabilitative, economic and security trajectories and adaptations to becoming a prison learner. As Rubin stated frictions occur in highly controlled environments (2014, p.24). Negotiating this role was,

therefore, an important step to regain some control in the classroom, but also to manage institutional expectations and demands.

The women, who I taught during my pilot, used the first day to introduce themselves through their needs and learning abilities. They negotiated expectations, outcomes and the learning space. The class was small and I had the time that a normal tutor did not have. This enabled me to get to know the women before starting to teach them, and direct specific activities to individual women. The following part analyses how different women negotiated and managed learning and interactional spaces in the two prison classrooms.

### **9.3.1. Negotiating learner roles and space in ICT**

#### *Jo's and Lara's trajectories – young White-British women with complex needs in ICT*

Jo (interview, 28/10/2011) and Lara (interview, 11/11/2010) were both drug users before coming to the prison. They both reported adverse compulsory schooling experiences and little or no work experience. Jo had finished her GCSEs. Lara had left school without qualifications. Both had initially chosen ICT, but had severe problems adapting to the demands of education - concentrating on book tasks and working independently. They needed constant assistance to advance in their learning and their records showed periods of absences. Concentration issues were particularly severe before the methadone call (usually around 10:00 am).

Jo mentioned, ‘if I would have known its 6 weeks I wouldn’t have [...] its stressful sitting here like this [...] its not healthy, my bum hurts. Last time I was here I did CLAiT level 1 [...] I passed and got certificates [...].’ However, she was unable

to pass mock exams for the level 1 units, she claimed to have passed previously. ‘She came in with this know-it-all attitude. I can’t really help her. I gave her the mock so she can see she needs more practice, now she is off with a migraine’ (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 28/10/2011). Jo needed constant supervision but also reassurance and approval. She repeated steps after they had been verbally and visually explained to her. However, she would distract herself and others if left to work on her own for too long. The tutor and assistants disliked engaging with Jo and often ignored her shouting and demands. Other, predominantly older women also avoided sitting next to her and ignored her questions. She often got up to move across the room and/or moved around on her chair. Therefore, she was daily reminded to stay in her place and work or risking receiving an IEP. She preferred the wing because ‘I don’t have friends here [in education]’. Jo wanted to do art classes knowing ‘they pass the time better’ and applied for the bins and painting party. Jo had two additional entries ‘sent back no computer’ indicating, the tutor wanted to avoid her disruptive behaviour. Overall, she had missed 7 out of 15 recorded sessions at the time of interview and did not pass one unit. She emphasised in the interview and in class that she didn’t need the qualifications although she wanted to use English and ICT later in college. Jo blamed drugs for her inability to work and educational failure, and found any excuse not to engage. ‘IT is boring you just sit [...] I blame the computer for my migraines [...] I don’t want to have this every week the migraine’. ICT and education, however, were necessary, ‘to be honest, I do it to get the money, otherwise I won’t get any’.

Overall, ICT classes were a highly restrictive and punitive place for Jo. Tutor and assistants were unable to understand and meet Jo’s learning needs. She was labelled an attention seeker, ‘just wasting my and the assistant’s time’ (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 28/10/2011) and disappeared in week four right after the

interview. Jo did not communicate a rehabilitative trajectory, desistance narrative or needs explaining her behaviour and learning deviations. Jo only allowed me a small glimpse into her life. That glimpse, however, contained little positive mentioning of significant others. Parents and teachers seemed to have created highly controlled spaces, which Jo had tried to escape from since her early school days. Jo had been in prison before. She knew the system, how to perform to get out of class, but also how much she needed to do to get paid. Her disruptive behaviour made her non-rehabilitative and unable to build relations with tutors. She did not articulate needs using comprehensible scripts and transformed the assigned rehabilitative into her own economic trajectory.

Lara's experiences were different. She fit the classical gendered pathways perspective. Her prior schooling and technological experiences were tainted with abuse. She arrived with an ACCT book outlining her care needs. The tutor had to engage with Lara enquiring about her overall well-being. Lara used those interactions but also learning interactions to inform and remind the tutor about the sexual abuse that she had suffered in the past, but also her additional health needs. The first time I met Lara, a computer task quickly transformed into a long needs discussion. Medication and methadone administration were a great concern for Lara. 'The meds are always late [...] it causes a lot of problems in here'. The tutor subsequently understood her medications were the reason for her inability to work. Lara also liked to stay in her cell 'we all have our days'. Unlike Jo, she communicated and emphasised the need to gain qualifications - rehabilitation – to change her life around, created a desistance narrative. 'I will redo it, it's my last day here today and I have to pass it all [...] I was ill a lot and missed stuff'. Similar to Jo, she was often distracted, but unlike her she kept mostly quiet staring at her book. Like Jo, she also often just worked after receiving assistance or being asked to

proceed with her learning. However, reminders were not accompanied by IEP warnings. ‘I sometimes wish she would just get on with it, I heard her stories so many times now’ (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 11/11/2011). She had, however, formulated and communicated a virtual rehabilitative trajectory that aligned with the rehabilitative trajectory of tutors and the prison. Tutors and assistants helped Lara in class. However, through missing classes, her learning difficulties and inability to stay focused meant she did not manage to transform her virtual trajectory into actual evidencing objects, such as qualifications. She had to reapply for ICT to finish her qualifications. Lara knew she could alleviate performance pressure placed on her through the needs she presented to everybody interacting with her. Her needs informed her classroom interactions (with tutors and learning objects) – made her rehabilitative.

Desistance started for both with ‘coming off drugs and methadone’. This was a common script for women with drug abuse problems (McIvor, et al., 2009; Barry, 2006). However, this rendered even formulated educational-rehabilitative trajectories virtual. Both wanted to write and share their stories. Both tried to keep busy to stay out of trouble, Jo puzzled in her cell and Lara ordered colouring packs.<sup>18</sup> Women without substance dependencies avoided young women like Lara and Jo – their addiction rendered them unpredictable and *other*. They mostly sought the company of women of the same age, but also approval of older women with similar backgrounds (observations). Although relationships were often complicated and ‘trouble’, they shared similar needs, problems and prison experiences. Short-term imprisonment, and being moved between classes meant they could not develop relationships with tutors that might have contributed to actual desistance.

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<sup>18</sup> Those could be ordered through the library. They were meant as gifts for children.

***Cara's and Anita's trajectories – foreign national women with communication needs in ICT***

Cara (interview, 28/10/2011) and Anita (interview, 11/11/2011) were both young, foreign national women. They both reported positive experiences in compulsory education and had no immediate employment or educational needs. Cara wanted to continue studying. Anita wanted to return to her work as freelance nail technician after release. However, they had both just been incarcerated, and as first time offenders, struggled adapting to prison. Cara was sentenced awaiting her asylum decision. Anita was still on remand awaiting her trial for drug importation. They were women with a non-criminal identity. ‘I have never done anything criminal in my life, I did it for my son, they threatened to kill him’ (Anita). Both hated the feeling of loneliness on the wings. ‘I feel like I am dead there’ (Cara). ‘In here there are so many sick people [...] they should be in a mental institute, you never know if they snap at you those mad people’ (Anita). Coming to education formed part of their security trajectory.

Both women were quiet in class and worked through their books with minimal help. They did not make any demands on tutors and assistants. However, both disliked the learning arrangements. ‘I don’t like studying with a book and people have less interest to follow [...] if teacher showed us time is less bad’ (Cara). She also commented on the need to communicate with others in the classroom; ‘its uncomfortable not talking to them as they watch you, they are there’. Knowing others was important to feel safe. Building relationships in the classroom was also an important substitute for missing family relations. ‘Outside I can contact my family, in here I have no one’. Similarly, Anita asserted, ‘here I can chat to people and that takes the mind off things’. Anita’s 4-year-old son was taken into care when she was arrested and later flown back to her country of origin. ‘I can pretend not to be in

prison but I cannot pretend not to be a mum'. She often just sat and stared at her books. 'Sometimes my brain goes blank and then I just sit and do nothing'. The tutor called her lazy. Anita used conversations with other women to understand the circumstances that brought her into the prison. The tutor often had to remind her to work. She also used the interview to rationalise and reflect on events leading to her arrest.

Cara finished her ICT qualifications and became a permanent worker in SE. She was excited about this opportunity, as it allowed her to work with a more stable group of women. Anita moved to the next class. Although both finished qualifications, they did not see those as important. They did not respond to their immediate needs. Education, however, was a safe place – a place to communicate and share experiences – it corresponded to their security trajectories rather than rehabilitation.

Most foreign national women made few demands and did not express any needs. Therefore, unless engaged in ESOL, they moved from class to class. They predominantly sought the company of other foreign nationals - women with similar backgrounds, sharing the same fears and prison experiences. They often felt lonely and isolated in ICT and preferred SE classes that enabled face-to-face communication.

### *Candice's and Melinda's trajectories – older women 'doing me time' in ICT*

Candice (interview, 15/11/2010) and Melinda (interview, 26/10/2010) were both Black-British and had worked in low skilled, precarious work outside of the prison. Candice reported positively on her schooling experiences until the last year. 'I started to rebel [...] family problems no need to go there'. Candice had two children, one at the age of 16 and one at the age of 19. Melinda's schooling experiences were

different. ‘The teachers tried hard with me but I distracted the class’. She was sent to boarding school. Both emphasised knowledge and manners as being important to succeed in life. They did not want to discuss personal feelings or problems. ‘I was fine, no problem at all’ (Melinda). Melinda, a mother of two, served a longer sentence, and was under investigation for rape in the prison. Candice served a shorter sentence. In ICT, they kept mostly to themselves and worked on tasks. Both agreed to take part in the interview because I had helped them with their work. ‘You help me out, so I help you out’ (Candice).

Melinda was keen on gaining qualifications and insisted ‘I don’t find IT hard, I would stop doing it if I would’. However, she was unable to progress beyond entry level 3. Melinda had problems understanding simple steps and instructions. She constantly demanded assistance during her work and exams. Assistants disliked engaging with Melinda. She got easily frustrated and in the end decided ‘most of this is not applicable outside’. The tutor didn’t know how to help her and suspected dyslexia. Melinda rejected this ‘I am fine, no problem’. She continued trying but was eventually moved to another prison. The tutor seemed relieved. ‘She had done this course before but I don’t know if she got any qualifications, she came in here with a know-it-all attitude and didn’t do much, the first week was wasted’ (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 26/10/2011). Melinda mentioned meeting friends in education ‘but my priority is passing time wisely, exercising the brain and staying out of trouble. I am dealing with the here and now’. Although she understood education as a different place, her experiences of its disciplinary side were evident. ‘I want to be treated fairly, some teachers make you feel you are in prison, they are on a power trip, threatening you with IEPs’.

Candice was more communicative and often engaged in small talk with the tutor or her neighbour. She required assistance and progressed slowly. Unlike Melinda, she

acknowledged, ‘you can’t get away from computers if you want a decent job outside’. Like Melinda, she was careful with her inside relations; ‘I don’t mix [...] I learnt not to keep friends, I keep to myself nothing else is really important’. She attended education ‘as a refresher and to keep out of trouble’.

Both were unsure how ICT could help them outside. Candice wanted to work as mentor with troubled children and Melinda loved being a fitness instructor. They wanted to help others after their release. However, education was a place to stay out of trouble – it formed part of their security trajectory. The design of ICT classes suited both. It allowed them to choose how much they wanted to interact with other women and tutors. Melinda rejected most personal exchanges in the class. Although she seemed keener to gain qualifications, her behaviour was unpredictable due to her inability to formulate or admit to needs. She threatened the security trajectory of tutors and assistants. Candice engaged in communications with others but kept private information to herself. Although less keen and dependent on qualifications, her behaviour was predictable and enabled others to work with her.

***Sandra’s and Angela’s trajectories – older women with higher learning needs in***

***ICT***

Sandra (interview, 26/10/2010) and Angela (interview, 26/10/2010) were both older, White-British women with higher qualifications and work experience. Sandra had worked in precarious professional and non-professional positions to support herself and her daughter. Angela was married with two dependent children and had worked as a professional accountant. Sandra’s schooling experiences were mostly negative. She left school without formal qualifications but claimed to have gained professional knowledge during her temporary work and passed an ICT level 3 qualifications later in life. Sandra had just received a 10-year prison sentence.

Angela, on the other hand, did not have any problems in school and progressed up to A-levels. Angela had been moved back to HMP Bronzefield for a few weeks to prepare for her release. Both did not attend ICT to gain the offered qualifications.

Angela wanted to pass time ‘I have been here before and come back to the same courses’. She came to education to socialise ‘but it’s not a good learning experience’. For her education became ‘part of the punishment’. Being placed into classes, such as belly dancing and drama made her feel uncomfortable. ‘If I don’t go, I get an IEP but its meaningless apart from the gym that makes you sleep at night’. Angela moved from class to class, trying to keep herself busy. She thought ‘they should look more into people’s abilities. It’s really hard for people like me to find useful occupations’. In ICT, she kept mostly to herself and did not engage with others. She rarely asked for help and only spoke to the tutor if she approached her. Angela was trusted to work in the overflow room on her own. She didn’t manage to pass a CLAIT exam and asked to be taken off. ‘I cannot see the screens, tests properly [...] I need an appointment with the optician’ (application, 09/11/2010). The tutor was unsure how to keep her engaged. However, she commented that, as an accountant, she should be able to pass the exam (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 26/10/2010).

Sandra wanted to progress to a higher level and study Computer Sciences. ‘I went straight to IT, I didn’t want to do anything else’. To become an assistant she had to do the CLAIT qualifications. Despite a level 3 qualification, ‘I put my attitude in the pocket and did it’. However, she very much disliked working with books, ‘it’s an authority thing, it tells me what to do’. Sandra liked working and learning on her own and on her own terms. She soon became an ICT classroom assistant. This allowed her to extend her professional space and pursue personal projects. She spent a lot of her time in class developing a database for Gisela’s regime monitoring and monthly reports. ‘My data base was a learning curve [...] but you see I did it on my own’.

However, when the management learnt about her project, she was taken off and was unable to finish fixing the last queries. As Gisela explained, ‘she shouldn’t have access to other prisoner’s information’ (*ibid*). Prisoner numbers, names and certificates were, however, not secret, but rather data with which she came into daily contact during her work as assistant. She was suspended ‘over a report issued to security over abuse of position’ (suspension note, 21/02/2010). The case arose when Sandra had decided to write letters for other prisoners asking for compensation for not being able to vote in prison. ‘No evidence to show this was done with malice’ (employment board review, 26/02/2010) allowed her to return but the assistant’s computer was permanently removed after the incident. Sandra had also applied for distance learning. She was adamant that her application had been approved but she waited for months, until moved to another prison. She helped women who showed interest in ICT, ignoring others with bad attitudes. Her teaching attitude changed over time. She played by the rules in the beginning and endured other women calling her ‘officer no keys’. After being suspended and not receiving news of her distant learning course, she started compiling portfolios and finishing tasks for her friends, so they could get their certificates. ‘They [management] do nothing for me so they can stick it’.

Some older women with no virtual rehabilitative needs floated through classes, for instance, Angela. They wanted to be occupied but saw little meaning in their ‘purposeful’ activities. Education formed part of their security trajectories but also their prisoner punishment. Tutors were unable to help in classes designed to gain low-level skills and qualifications. For women such as Sandra, working as assistant was an opportunity to apply and gain professional knowledge – to progress from prisoner status. Her work formed part of her rehabilitative trajectory and future self-working in ICT. However, her self-chosen activities were not pre-formatted and pre-

designed, and therefore threatened the prison's security trajectory. 'She is a prisoner, after all, and needs to do what she is paid for' (informal conversation, Gisela, field notes, 26/10/2010). The prison's inability to act on her rehabilitative needs transformed her back into a prisoner.

### **9.3.1. Negotiating learner roles and space in SE**

#### ***Lisa's and Sally's trajectories – women with complex needs in SE***

Lisa (interview, 31/01/2011) and Sally (interview, 26/01/2011) left school without qualifications. They reported negative compulsory schooling experiences. Whilst Sally commented on being an outsider, Lisa was suspended due to her behavioural problems. 'It was so easy being neglected, no one cared if I went to school or not' (Sally). 'I was in a children's home and was suspended from school, I was naughty' (Lisa). Both had complex needs. Sally, suffering from depression, had been in therapy and taking medication since the age of 11. Lisa had experienced domestic violence and had been a drug user from an early age. A prolific offender, she had never worked outside of the prison. Sally had worked in short term, low skilled, and precarious positions 'never being able to hold a job for longer than two weeks'. Sally served a long sentence for manslaughter and had arrived in the prison on hunger strike. Lisa was waiting to be sentenced. 'I am now looking at six years'.

'I didn't put down for art but they put me here' (Lisa). Lisa was usually employed as wing cleaner or orderly and avoided education. 'To sit in a class is boring'. But 'being on the wing is boring too'. 'I like the gym but I always get the orderly jobs there, it's always the same'. Education broke her usual routine. Lisa was keen to engage with others. 'They all have interesting stories'. She often walked around and

had to be reminded to work. The interview was a means to get out of class for a while. Lisa stuck to a group of friends during class time keeping interaction with group outsiders such as tutors to a minimum. She thought, however, ‘I am quite creative, I like making things’. She was an experienced prisoner as the following statement suggests; ‘in here its important to get your head down, get on with your prison time otherwise you make it harder on you’. Lisa had economic needs that kept her in education. However, she also knew how to escape when needed; ‘usually I sneak out after my methadone’. She mentioned wanting to learn but was unsure where this could lead here and often just lost interest. ‘I would like to work with young offenders [...] I liked the college course [fitness], training and keeping fit’.

Sally was different. Art had been a passion from an early age. She always wanted to study art but never had the money or the right qualifications. In prison, she found the education too restrictive; ‘creative writing, write about your experiences and she makes a tick on her list, how creative is that?’ Additionally, ‘there are no serious standards of education in here. I know Isabelle and Jana do their certificates [PGCerts] but that should be standard’. Having been in Holloway previously, she also commented on the distinction between education and prison; ‘college deals with college there (sic) and prison with security, there is no mix and confusion’. SE was the class she wanted to be in, where she could learn. She understood this as part of her therapy – her rehabilitative trajectory. ‘I would love to be taught more’. ‘New instructions all the time. Before I could do art all day, now it’s courses and they told me to do classes’. Jana helped her to become an assistant without payment, allowing her stay in art education. After Jana left, Sally was asked to carry out classroom assistant duties. She refused to work on more than her paintings, lost her area and work place. ‘Her paintings don’t sell and she is just a strain on our resources if she doesn’t do anything else. She can’t have extra privileges, I have to treat her as

everybody else' (informal conversation, Manja, field notes, 06/01/2012). She complained to higher management and was promised a replacement on her wing. I met her later going into a literacy class. 'I gave up in the end, I have to earn money, though, so I do this and let's see what they put me into next.'

For Lisa education was a distraction, nothing serious. She chose how much she engaged, based on her economic trajectory. Sally saw art education as rehabilitative, however she did not comply with the pre-formatted order. Education transformed from rehabilitation into an economic necessity. Ultimately, both prisoners moved from engagement to engagement, course to course, class to class, that had little meaning for them.

***Kathleen's and Claudia's trajectories – older women with higher learning needs  
in SE***

Kathleen (interview, 24/01/2011) and Claudia (interview, 31/01/2011) had both successful educational pasts and professional working experiences. Claudia wanted to return to her previous occupation on release. Kathleen, however, was unsure and wanted to develop other, more work-related skills. Both worked as classroom assistants in the prison. Kathleen was waiting to be sentenced and Claudia served a short sentence. Claudia was the head jewellery assistant and responsible for orders and accounts. Kathleen was the creative card assistant, responsible for orders and teaching.

Kathleen had tried several classes before being employed as assistant. ICT was one of those. 'It is not applicable knowledge, they don't do anything practical just working with a book [...] who needs the certificate anyway'. She had applied for several other permanent positions but had never received the necessary security clearance. This made her very critical of the prison's security. 'they always think

worst case scenario, they think women build a criminal empire in here, most cannot even switch on a computer'. Kathleen commented positively on her relationships with tutors and other assistants 'Card making is very therapeutic [...] you are respected for what you do by staff, not so much other prisoners, I do something I enjoy'. Teaching formed part of her duties. 'You get shit from other prisoners, I have little patience for people with bad attitude'. She was also very critical of the prison's ability to rehabilitate. 'They come and go, get passed around like parcels [...] they make nothing stick [...] no one works with them in here and teaches them how to behave properly'. However, she liked being able 'to follow my own interests'. Her own workplace was similarly barricaded and signed as Sally's. She also took work to her cells to continue working on her own designs. After a cell search she was suspended from work. Officers had found a box with paper scraps and other materials she had hidden under her bed. They threw it away, ending her rehabilitative trajectory. 'They should be happy I don't cause trouble and work on my skills'.

Claudia had started her position in SE three weeks into her sentence. 'They made me do a literacy class' despite her high assessment levels. She applied for a business course, 'the rest is just boring, too basic [...] Photography would be nice or the TV thing they do in Downview'. SE 'is more creative, over there everything is set, here you can choose, you have to do the work but decide how, you can walk around, there it's so cramped no wonder they have so many behavioural problems'. Her work included helping women with their jewellery project; 'they get stuck every ten seconds'. She also guarded the beads as 'everyone wants to steal them'. Although she knew women stole; 'I turn a blind eye [...] I can't really tell anyone, I have to live with them'. Meeting and engaging with women was important for her. It helped her feeling secure. Disruptive and adverse behaviour was common. 'We always start with a lot of noisy people and at the end of the week there are three left the rest gets

suspended or they don't come back'. She felt 'tutors in here have not enough power to deal with prisoners [...] some women just push it because they know they can, they get a couple of warnings and push even more'. Claudia saw work as means to being occupied. She saw other women in class, however, as a threat to her security trajectory and developed her own strategies to balance work responsibilities with her prisoner status.

Kathleen, like Sandra had tried to progress from prisoner status. She had found occupations corresponding to her rehabilitative trajectory. Like Sandra, she overstepped boundaries to extend pre-formatted learning spaces and reverted back to prisoner. Claudia, serving a short sentence, did not see the necessity to extend her responsibilities or pre-formatted role. Her security trajectory informed her interactions in the classroom.

#### ***Greta's and Jolene's trajectories – foreign national women in SE***

Greta (interview, 24/01/2011) and Jolene (interview, 03/01/2011) had both problems in school. Greta, however, had level 2 qualifications and some precarious work experience in the UK. Jolene never finished school and had worked as cleaner, baby sitter and prostitute in her home country. 'I don't like being a call girl but I do it for the money. I need the money to support my children'. Jolene was on remand, waiting to be sentenced for drug importation. Greta served a short sentence. Both had plans for their release. Greta wanted to open a business with some women she worked with in the prison. Jolene wanted to become a famous singer.

Greta had taken several classes before applying for a permanent position in SE. She 'liked all of it'. However, in SE, 'you can learn things you can use outside, make things out of nothing'. 'I can express myself [...] I can be myself and create something'. She liked working with the other permanent women; 'they help each

other'. Her communication needs were met in SE but also her economic needs. 'I think this is a very good prison, you can work and earn a bit of money'. The tutors, however, mentioned that Greta was a bit lazy and often needed to be reminded to work instead of talking (informal conversation, Isobelle, 24/01/2011).

Jolene had attended several classes before coming to SE. 'I got a certificate in something and another grade from something else'. Nothing, except physical exercise, however, seemed, to matter much; 'I am doing gym and dancing, I need to keep fit so I can go sightseeing on the beach when I am back home. Men all they study is crutches'. Participating in education was an economic decision and she didn't care what she signed up for. 'The only thing that pisses me off, prison is so slow. Someone sent me money in and I still don't have, I need cigarettes'. She wanted to send money to her mum and thought 'the prison should help me write my songs and sell it'. Although she participated in education, she asserted that, 'the system fails, they should support people outside, the system should back up people help them develop their strength'. She continued, 'art classes should be longer I still haven't finished my fucking cushion. I want it to be nice'. Education formed part of her security trajectory; 'I can't stand the wing around those fucking idiots'. However, she also didn't like to chat to anyone in the class and kept to herself.

Both women never challenged the pre-formatted order. The prison had everything Greta needed – a challenging enough occupation, communication and money. For Jolene, money seemed also the most important reason to engage. 'I earn money, I can call my mum, there are courses it ain't that bad'. However, she had dreams 'to become the most famous singer ever'. Whilst prison education could not fulfill those dreams, it could help her to integrate her creative potential into learning activities that enhance her skills levels.

Kieran (interview, 25/02/2011) and Natalie (interview, 25/02/2011) were young women with similar employment histories in low paid, retail positions. Kieran, a recovering alcoholic, had finished school with GCSEs and commented positively on her experiences. Natalie did not finish ‘I got expelled in year 7, they sent me to boarding school and I got myself kicked out, I was so behind I never done no GCSEs’. She tried college and finished an NVQ in ICT. However, ‘it was boring but you get treated like an adult, that’s why I don’t like this place [prison] it reminds me of school, you get told what to do’. Both served short sentences and had plans for their release. Kieran wanted to work with a relative as an accountant and Natalie wanted to work in fashion.

Natalie attended art classes ‘it’s been all right but I have no choice inn’. Education kept her out of trouble. ‘In an adult prison you should have a choice [...] that’s how you loose your independence and your dignity in prison’. She didn’t like socialising on the wings or in education. ‘It’s the wrong crowd, there are some that are innocent and they are okay but most are on drugs and stuff. I have been offered drugs in here [...] I need to be strong in here’. However, ‘prison makes me feel alone and depressed. I have everything outside, a nice house, money’. Natalie liked to learn on her own and didn’t think prison education had much to offer. ‘I take out my books and study what I want. I don’t like to depend on someone’. Natalie needed time to connect with and trust people; ‘I just keep my head down’. After complaining about the work, she slowly started talking to Jana and myself. ‘Natalie makes me laugh, she taught me how to do shop-lifting properly’ (informal conversation, Jana, field notes, 03/01/2011). During one of our chats, she explained to me how to get a free boob job from the NHS. Although acting tough in class she appeared soft and

frightened during the interview. Natalie often drifted off and had to be reminded to work. However, Jana liked her and frequently engaged with her to keep her interested in the work.

Kieran wasn't keen on art and she did not choose it. 'It seemed a bit childish and reminded me of primary school'. She wanted to do more structured classes, such as ICT, literacy and numeracy. They aligned more with her outside plans. 'Art is okay and it's only a week so'. Prison education offered everything she thought she needed and kept her busy. 'My cell is depressing and here you are learning stuff'. Although 'most people are nice here, some girls have fights over silly things and it gets loud'. Despite this Kieran felt safe in education.

Both women were quiet and did not make any unreasonable demands. They had both formulated outside plans. For Kieran, prison education aligned with her rehabilitative trajectory. Although art did not necessarily form part of it, she didn't want any trouble. Sticking it out formed part of her security trajectory. Natalie found it hard to align prison education with her rehabilitative trajectory. She needed more encouragement to participate but also wanted to stay out of trouble. Education formed also part of her security trajectory.

#### **9.4. Summary**

'Education seems different. I am not locked up and am more relaxed and freer up here' (Melinda). This echoed the experience of the majority of women interviewed. However, for most, learning was not the most important aspect of prison education. Classes were 'too basic' for the majority of high and mid-level women. Women with educational needs virtualities, therefore, emphasised on aspects, other than learning;

'I can meet like minded people, I have nothing in common with the women on my spur, I can't even find anyone to play scrabble with' (Angela). 'The cell is like too much noise [...] here I can chat to people and that takes the mind off things' (Anita). 'Education helps to forget' (Joanna). 'If I had to stay in my cell all day I would go mad' (Marlene).

However, women with behavioural problems linked to additional needs and/or adverse schooling experiences, voiced different experiences and priorities; 'I am forced [...] you need to a job so you tick anything really' (Martha). Moreover, she asserted that, 'education is like prison, bars on the windows, officers walking around', and, according to Jo, 'I do it to get the money [...] I would prefer to stay on the wings with work'. 'The place is a constant reminder everywhere, its prison you get rubbed down all the time' (Lara). 'I have no choice, inne. I do education to stay out of trouble [...] but I should have the option' (Natalie).

Educational placements did also not always align with women's needs, perceptions and/or expectations. 'Half of the things I did in here I can't use outside really' (Melinda). Women with mid-level and high-level assessment results were the most likely to comment on the limitations of prison education. Prison education did little to contribute to their future selves and plans. Human interactions, such as meeting friends, adapting to prison life, such as being engaged to forget the prison and to stay out of trouble and free movement, were the most important reasons for most women with high and mid-level results to engage in educational activities. Prison education transformed into individual security trajectories.

However, participation was also an economic necessity for many women. When teaching my pilot, one woman asked me if her contribution was enough to receive payment. She stopped her educational activities as soon as I said yes. As she was

unemployed she also wanted to participate more. She did not return, as I could not ensure payment. Some women calculated carefully how many sessions they needed to attend to afford canteen items. Whilst this is good application of numeracy skills, it also demonstrates how the rehabilitative ideal transforms into individual economic survival. Prison education responded to women's security, but also, arguably more so, to their economic needs. Women appropriated pre-designed educational spaces and interactions to suit their individual economic trajectories but also to satisfy their relational needs.

Relationships between tutors and learners formed in classrooms. However, short classes and constant movement did not allow tutors to develop a good understanding of women's learning and additional needs nor to align education with desistance narratives or provide the conditions for relational desistance with the exception of classroom assistants. Those, however, as chapter 7 demonstrated were not the most in need of assisted desistance.

Resistances and frictions were common. Part of the tutors' work, therefore, included disciplinaries for non-compliance or adverse behaviour, and transforming resisters into potential learners – mitigating for classroom allocation procedures and targets enforcing rather than encouraging a learner identity. However, as Bayliss (2003a; 2003b) suggests, prison education can foster attitudinal and behavioural changes, but it needs to be inclusive, encompassing formal and informal learning. Women with low-level assessment results and/or multiple needs were the least likely to adapt learner identities, due to prior adverse learning experiences in structured environments and educational needs not being their priority (Blanchette and Brown, 2006). However, they received the least support in prison classrooms to transform the virtual into a real learner identity. They were often perceived of as non-rehabilitative due to their inability to voice actual needs and provide desistance narratives.

Tutors had to adhere to rules and compacts to effectively manage their classrooms and treat learners equally. However, as Jane mentioned, ‘sometimes a bit of information would have helped to explain individual behaviour’. Due to the limited information provided to tutors and limited time to explore individual narratives, women with complex needs were the least likely to be ‘transformed’ and the most likely to receive IEP warnings. Disciplinary measures, therefore, counteracted the development of positive identities (Farrell and Calverley, 2006) and relational desistance (Nugent and Schinkel 2016). The women chosen above share distinct characteristics/data categories, nevertheless, each developed their own way to negotiate educational spaces. Structure and pre-designed learning spaces, specifically in ICT, and distancing techniques of tutors, did not support an assisted (Maruna and LeBel, 2003), individual and subjective (learner) journey (Maruna and Farrall 2004, Giordano et al. 2002). Rehabilitative trajectories could develop when women were able to extend and transform learning spaces to fit their needs and strengths as suggested by desistance scholars (Maruna and LeBel, 2003). However, this threatened existing structures and work designs but also the prison’s security and classroom economy.

## **10. Creative spaces in prison education – conclusions and**

### **recommendations**

I started the research with the premise to investigate the use of digital technology in prison education for women. I had been a short-term prison teacher in HMP Downview, a training prison for women, teaching on a BTEC programme. There, I experienced the creative potential of employing technological artefacts in prison education for women. However, I also experienced the narrow accountability frameworks of assessment boards that did not align with my own ideas of documenting individual learning and progress.

As the research took place in a local prison, my emphasis changed, due to the distinct contextual differences. The women I taught in HMP Downview were engaging in learning activities and were enthusiastic about the opportunity to participate in the program. The women I met in HMP Bronzefield resisted and complained about prison education. Their needs and learning abilities differed. Whilst the focus remained on (digital) technologies, other aspects informing local prison education provision moved to the foreground and research questions changed.

The concluding section draws together the main themes explored in the thesis. It revisits the main research questions to highlight the central issues informing classroom realities resulting from the empirical research. The section then focuses on digital technology in prison education, with a list of recommendations to inform future developments and implementations of digital technology for female prison learners with diverse characteristics.

Each of the questions addressed a different aspect of prison education for female offenders. There are overlapping issues, which are acknowledged in the discussion.

Some of the challenges the tutors and the prison education department faced were beyond their control. They are included in the discussion and the recommendations, as they directly influence the design of teaching and learning spaces and learning and teaching practice.

### **10.1. Question 1: How do the virtualities of economic, security and rehabilitative trajectories shape and influence the management of local prison education and female prisoner learners?**

This question was asked to ascertain the various material and non-material actors involved in formatting and designing local educational spaces. Local classroom interactions are affected by the context in which teaching takes place, but also external factors, such as Prison policies. PSOs and prison contracts allow for the government ‘to act at a distance’ assisted and structured through information and communication systems that share information not knowledge. The state’s responsibility to rehabilitate prisoners transforms into sets of statements, such as a core curriculum and accountability measures, that define, pre-design and structure the rehabilitative trajectory of the local prison education context.

KPIs and KPTs are virtualities – semiotic-material actors (Mennicken, 2014) the performance of a prison’s education department is measured against. They render rehabilitation visible through measurable outcomes. Outcome measures enforce a view on offenders’ virtual basic skills deficits (level indicators for numeracy and literacy) and attendance records, to be managed locally. Targets for level indicators and attendance targets are transported from global policies () into local prison

contracts. Prison contracts inform local procedures and the implementation and design of instruments and objects to measure the rehabilitative virtuality of the prison – the ideal-real prison. Those instruments and procedures reduce complex individuals, women's needs and strength, to produce manageable educational data fragments indicating 'deficits' to be transported through information and communication systems. Managerial reports transport those fragments back to re-inform global policies and prison contracts. The rehabilitative virtuality affects future education funding. It affects the economic trajectory of prison education. Information and communication systems foster the exchange of information and data not knowledge about individual prisoners and their procedural nature is echoed in local procedures and interactions. This diverts the focus from individual value and growth through adult education (Council of Europe, 1990) to its administration and management (Liebling, 2004).

In addition, prison inspections undertaken by Ofsted, the Adult Learning Inspectorate and Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prison furthered, aspects of rehabilitative virtualities to meet set standards, but rarely addressed the actually needed rehabilitative production (the recording and transmission of individual needs between classrooms). As the reports, also highlighted prison education in this local prison always required improvements (Ofsted, 2010; HMIP 2013; HMIP/Ofsted, 2015) including structures enabling information sharing about individual learner. This holds true for prison education in general (Ofsted, 2016).

Prison security, additionally, affected the design of prison education. Security trajectories were formed through virtual risk potentialities of human and non-human actors in the prison and in the classrooms. Educational attendance was at once an economic and a security target. Participation in educational activities is seen as enhancing prisoner safety and mitigating the negative effects of imprisonment

(Liebling and Maruna, eds., 2005). Although most risk potentialities were ‘imported’ through PSOs and PSIs, section 9 demonstrated local security trajectories also shifted through actual local events. Risk potentialities particularly affected the implementation of digital technology in prison education. However, those were based on generic prisoner and object risk potentialities rather than the actual risk potential of women engaging with specific technological artefacts in prison education (section 7.2.4.).

Targets informing budgets, but also security constraints and available resources for staff and teaching objects, limited the creative spaces of prison education management. Economic and security trajectories, therefore, compete with and define actual contextual rehabilitation. Chapter 9 demonstrated how local ‘creative’ managerial practices focused on ‘meeting targets but missing the point’ (Champion, 2013). Gender-specific needs seemed not considered or met as those would require the allocation of educational staff time to assist women with complex needs to form an improved self and foster ‘identity and relational desistance’. As educational provision was designed it focused on providing low level educational breaks, however, ignored the reflective processes necessary for desistance to emerge. The statistical breakdown of HMP Bronzefield’s population, but more importantly the women behind those statistical data points, further highlights the diversity of women entering prison classrooms and their distinct (gendered) needs.

## **10.2. Question 2: How are local procedures affected by information and communication technologies and subsequently affect women’s ability to form a prison learner identity?**

This question investigated how rehabilitative, economic and security virtualities affected local procedures and subsequently transport virtual learner identities into and affect actual learner in local classrooms. Education is firstly not a voluntary but mandatory occupation forming part of the ‘new punitiveness’ (Garland, 2001). Procedures employed in the prison, specifically induction, ensure ‘more prisoners are subject to a structured and disciplined environment’ (PSI06/2012, p.6). They are defined by prison targets – rehabilitative, economic and security virtualities and designed to capture information and fragment individuals for effective integration into information and communication systems.

Prison education starts in induction. Induction procedures and educational assessments lead women into the classroom. Those procedures are designed to enable efficient offender management and distribution of virtual learner into purposeful activities. However, ‘its a shock to the system finding yourself in prison and other things like children are more important’ (interview, Lorna, 27/09/2011). ‘Most women are not in their right state of mind, they don’t know what their options are, give them a week’ (informal conversation, Brittany, CA inductions, field notes, 07/07/2010).

As chapter 6 highlighted, induction procedures and limited educational employment options did not emphasise women’s active engagement in choosing their own rehabilitative trajectory. ‘I must have ticked this, but I don’t remember’ (Joanna). ‘I closed my eyes and ticked something’ (Martha). Initial classroom allocation procedures were out of women’s control muting individuality at this vital stage of adaptation to prison culture. Individual reflections and subsequent frictions were displaced into classrooms through automated procedures rendering education part of the punitive side of prison. The legitimacy of the institutional right to educate

was, therefore, often questioned on the very first day of women entering their allocated places of work. ‘I never chose this, why am I here, I don’t want to do this. I just gonna sit here and do nothing’ (Corey).

The artefacts employed in induction furthered a distancing: delegating human competencies and expertise to computers, software and tick lists and distancing fragment of individual narratives from their referents (Poster, 1995). The women disappeared and becomes substituted by sets of disembodied data and information (Lyon 2001). Artefacts were designed to control human interactions, to produce relevant data for the information and communication system in place not to record individual narratives. They were outcome driven ‘enumerating, stabilizing and transmitting knowledge [information] in regularised ways’ (Garland, 1997, pp.182/83). However, they displaced social interactions vital to adapt to prison life and learner identities.

KPIs, targets, payment-by-result schemes and the offender deficit model reduce individual educational complexity into level indicators. Section 8 demonstrated how level indicators mask non-educational and additional learner needs, but also women’s strength, attitudes toward and prior experiences in education and with technology. Those are, however, important to understand women’s ability to adapt to learner identities in prisons (Walker, et al., 2006). To enable desistance narratives that include education and skills development, attention has to be paid to women’s individual needs and strength (Maruna and LeBel, 2003; Giordano et al., 2002). Technocratic solutions (Morosov, 2013) to allocate women efficiently into purposeful activities and structure outputs within, however, emphasised controlling women’s engagement and measurable outcomes (attendance, certificates) rather than focusing on individual journeys to meet their individual needs and enabling active decision-

making processes. This in return creates the perception of rehabilitative punishment (McNeill, 2014) and fosters resistance rather than desistance as evidenced here.

Chapter 9 demonstrated how economic and security trajectories create tightly managed and structured teaching spaces. They influence learning and teaching objects and the roles occupied by tutors and learners in the classroom. Individuals within were managed from a distance through managerial targets, regime procedures and the IEP scheme. Tutors were increasingly responsible for classroom security and budgets, and functioned as officers, work supervisors and accountants, rather than tutors. Exam boards and their qualifications controlled the economic space in ICT – pre-designing teaching and learning activities and subsequent outputs. Computers and networks secured women's learning and tutors' teaching spaces. Additional teaching objects were imported or developed, allowing for educational expertise (exam boards, tutors) to act from a distance. Tutors removed themselves from teaching activities to focus on economic production: marking and monitoring learning. However, for prison education to foster attitudinal and behavioural changes (linking to desistance) it needs to be inclusive, encompassing formal and informal learning (Bayliss, 2003a; 2003b).

SE controlled part of its own economic trajectory through the production of craft and artwork. Teaching activities were designed to maximise control over outputs and resources in order to secure funding for future teaching and learning activities. The greater independence from exam boards and qualifications, however, meant tutors had wider latitude to choose initial learning activities and outcomes. Learners could also deviate from set activities. However, the risk potentiality of teaching objects and activities, transformed parts of teaching and learning into security interactions. Tutors removed themselves from teaching activities to focus on budget and security management: monitoring resources, objects and learner.

Although different in subject and learning technologies employed, similarities are highly evident. Tutors structured learning and learning objects to distance themselves from reflective teaching activities – automating teaching. Smart targets and ILP's are one example. Those create new rehabilitative virtualities detached from actual learning processes. They did not affect women's learning experiences or future engagements, however, created necessary data and outputs to evidence learning and indicate progression.

Outcome-driven education, such as in ICT also allowed very limited space to negotiate learning activities, self-manage outcomes and connect learning objectives with a future self, that employed digital technology. SE learning activities, however, created wider spaces for negotiations and reflections enabling women to connect activities with existing social relations but also provided better ideas of future occupations. However, both learning spaces deployed structured learning activities that did not encourage creative critical thinking and self-assessment (Hawley, et al. 2012; Davidson, ed., 1995; Duguid, 2000). Those are vital for rehabilitation. They enable the development of a real learner identity and possible identity desistance. The influence of information and communication technologies had, therefore, a detrimental effect on desistance.

### **10.3. Question 3: How do local procedures and classroom interactions in different learning spaces affect women's ability to include education into their individual desistance narratives?**

This question reflects on women's ability to form real learner identities in prison classrooms. It investigated how tightly controlled spaces and mandatory engagements are appropriated by the human actors within. As chapter 8 highlighted, prison learners but also tutors are not homogenous groups but arrive in classrooms with distinct characteristics and experiences. Pre-formatted classrooms enable the development of actual learner identities for specific groups of women whilst limiting the opportunities for others. Assisted desistance requires, however, to provide the conditions for subjectivity and individual agency (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009) to initiate rehabilitation.

Chapter 9 demonstrated tutor roles included the maintenance of security and production of economic data flows. A significant part of their work concentrated on managing classroom behaviour rather than individual learning and relational work to transform resistant virtual learner into actual learner. Tutors had very limited knowledge about the women arriving in their classes due to the recording and dissemination technologies employed in the prison. Tutors often extended regime and learning activities to get to know their learners and 'build a good rapport' with women. Tutors developed their own security, rehabilitative and economic trajectories that informed their engagement with individual women in their classes. Most were empathetic towards women's needs and problems and tried to accommodate those if women were either willing to engage in learning activities or provided valuable desistance narratives that incorporated learning.

The transformation of resisters into learners was not always possible due to time and budget constraints imposed by the economics of contextual educational rehabilitation (class lengths, outcome production, etc.). Therefore, women with complex needs placing high transformational demands on tutors whilst producing little actual measurable learning outputs were often excluded. The focus on targets and qualifications, further, limited the recognition of small behavioural changes actual indicators for identity desistance. Many tutors, but also managerial staff understood their importance. ‘Just coming to class regularly’ (Jackie) or ‘opening up to conversations’ (Suzanne) were signs of improvement. However, this vital information often vanished when women were moved to the next class, remained underreported, shared and acknowledged. Subtle changes to ones behaviour can indicate a shift toward desistance and therefore, need to be acknowledged.

As Carlen et al. (1985) rightly asserted ‘there is no such thing as a typical criminal women’ (p. 10). There is also, as chapters 8 and 9 highlighted, no typical female prison learner. Tensions and frictions observed in classrooms indicate virtualities differ from actualities and were exacerbated by the procedures employed. Women arrive with different experiences, needs and strength in the prison classroom. Generic prison classes and class length responded to the high population turnover – the prison’s economic trajectory. However, with some exceptions, they responded little to the educational needs of the women in the sample as outlined in chapter 9.

Many found it, therefore, difficult to understand their mandatory occupation as positively contributing to their future lives outside of the prison. For some it formed part of their punishment (Garland, 2001). They subsequently negotiated their ‘rehabilitative’ learner identity in different ways. Different forms of resistance were used to avoid or escape learning activities. Therefore, learner

identities remained virtual with education aligning to economic and security trajectories of individual women. Especially women with the most needs experienced prison education as disciplinary rather rehabilitative. The limited educational options meant rehabilitation itself remained virtual for other women. Prison education provided the conditions for ‘identity’ and ‘relational’ desistance if women:

- were able to remain in educational spaces for longer periods,
- were enabled to negotiate and appropriate their learning,
- experience a mix of formal and informal teaching and learning
- were enabled to connect learning with their future self.

Those conditions often affected the economic and security trajectories of the prison. However, desistance depends on the kind of social interactions experienced and human relationships formed and maintained inside and outside of institutions (McNeill 2006). New improved identities require acting out and affirmation by others (Nugent and Schinkel 2016, p.580).

Overall, education aligned more with women’s security trajectory than their rehabilitative trajectory, ‘staying out of trouble’ and ‘away from wings’. They placed emphasis on the ability to communicate with other women, on reflective practices enabling individual adaptations to prison life and contextual culture. Education also aligned with women’s economic trajectories. Attendance and engagement were calculated against individual monetary rather than rehabilitative gains.

Although, prison classrooms open communicative spaces to enable softer skills development and behavioural changes, an economic-driven rehabilitation tends to ignore those in their information flows. Additionally, experiences of punishment (through limited provision or behaviour management) devalue and detract from prison education as liberating and forming part of individual crime desistance for women. Tutors and women felt this alike. ‘Education is underhanded [...] there is this acceptance that women return time after time’ (Jane). ‘Is this work or education, what am I producing, I am confused’ (Angela).

#### **10.4. Question 4: How can digital technology potentially be employed to create inclusive prison classrooms for women?**

This question draws together the various issues and concerns raised in this empirical research. It provides recommendations for procedures leading women into the classroom and the design of future prison education for female offender utilising digital technology. The following table summarises the main findings of educational-rehabilitative institutional needs, tutor roles and women’s needs to develop a learner identity and include education into their desistance narrative at the various stages of educational engagement.

Women's needs for learner identity/desistance	Tutor roles	Institutional needs
<b>Induction</b>		
Security and safety	No involvement	Ensuring security and safety
Ability to adapt to prison life	No involvement	Educational needs assessments/ Activity allocation - virtual learner

Ability to sort outside life	No involvement	Service allocation
Communication, reassurance, advice and choice	No involvement with actual learner to provide advice or explain options	Deficit and needs reduction and target response
<b>Pre-classroom</b>		
Sorting economic needs in prison	No involvement	Managing budgets and resources
Security and safety	No involvement	Security and safety
Understanding options available (e.g. applications to work and education, kiosk)  <b>Developing an educational-rehabilitative trajectory</b> (understanding own needs, strengths and interests)	No involvement with actual learner  Designing class material for predominantly low levels to fit virtual learner needs, imported qualification frameworks and allow for distancing	Classes responding to targets/KPI's (needs and deficits - qualifications)  Choosing qualification provider and frameworks  Effective work distribution of learners and tutors
Communication, reassurance, advice and choice – reflective practices	No involvement with actual learner  Designing learning to meet the prison's economic, rehabilitative and security trajectories	Deciding on course development and outcome management to meet the prison's economic, rehabilitative and security targets
<b>Classroom</b>		
Economic needs/salary	Regime monitoring, marking, resource management and output control	Monitoring and reporting of qualification numbers and attendance levels
Security and safety (Including adapting to prison life)	Compacts, Behaviour management - disciplinary roles	Monitoring security and safety
Aligning educational activities with individual educational-rehabilitative trajectories	ILP's, Transforming resisters into learners, advice and	Monitoring procedures and production of evidence trails
Classes and learning activities responding to individual learning abilities, interests and strengths	Teaching (including distant teaching through learning material), Monitoring learner engagement and production	Monitoring virtual learning and learner profiles
Communication, reassurance, advice and choice to develop a learner identity and incorporate education into desistance	Meeting individual classroom targets for attendance and qualifications, managing the prison's economic,	Meeting the prison's economic, rehabilitative and security trajectories

<b>narrative</b>	<b>rehabilitative trajectory</b>	
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**Bold** = main needs or responsibilities

**Red/bold** = areas for change

The following recommendations are ordered using the various stages of learner engagement starting with inductions. They are based on the findings of this research but also incorporate recommendations made in earlier research on female prison education and technology in prison education. There are wider issues, beyond the control of prison education departments, such as prisoner movement interrupting individual educational journeys (Braggins and Talbot, 2003; Wilson 2000), wider prison culture (Pollock, 2002) and individual adaptations to prison life (Matthews, 1999). The recommendations, however, focus predominantly on changes to the institutional learner journey and the utilisation of technological artefacts to support learning and teaching in female establishments. Specifically, classroom interactions will provide recommendations for technology integration and ICT as basic skills, although some respond to wider teaching and learning engagements. Whilst there are limitations as this research focused only on one institution, other research (notably Dixon and Jones, 2014; Walker, et al., 2006; Coates, 2016) cited in this thesis suggests that the evidence from this case study warrants wider applicability and recognition.

#### **10.4.1. Induction interactions**

Prison education starts in induction. The prison invested here in digital technology to assess learner's needs and introduce women to prison life. Whilst assessments are necessary they only determine fragments of women's educational needs and strengths. They do not address their educational aspirations, prior experiences and their ability to develop an educational-rehabilitative trajectory due to procedures limiting reflective

practices (Turkle, 2015). However, women have very distinct needs in induction that do not necessarily include educational needs (PSO 4800, 2008). They require human, not computer-assisted help to adjust to prison life, assurance that their outside is taken care of whilst they are inside and their immediate needs are met. This includes the ability to make informed choices. Digital technology and technology-centred (including non-digital artefacts) procedures inhibit necessary social interactions, needs negotiations and informed decision-making. It creates distinct virtualities responding to learner categories. This arguably facilitates the management of female prisoners but does little at this point to enable women to develop a learner identity or educational-rehabilitative trajectory enabling desistance to emerge from educational activities. As previous research has pointed out, female prisoners have distinct criminogenic needs, engage in learning for different reasons, but also require guidance and support and holistic assessment procedures that include work-related needs (Walker, et al. 2006, p.44). Assessment procedures can be very stressful at the beginning of the sentence, especially for women with substance dependencies (*ibid*, p.44).

Therefore, the first point refers to and extends earlier recommendations on

induction and learner assessment for female prisoner (Dixon and Jones, 2014;

Walker, et al., 2006):

- Assessment procedures and timing need to meet women's needs rather than those of the institution. They need to be holistic and not solely focused on deficits but 'build women's confidence and self-esteem, and validate their experiences and future aspirations' (Dixon and Jones, 2014, p.12).
- Attention needs to be paid to the instruments and artefacts used during assessments and procedures leading women into prison classrooms. Interactions

involving designed artefacts and digital technology need to be carefully planned and scrutinised analysing their distinct affordances (Hayles, 2012) and information production.

- Planning and revision processes should include questions such as:

1. Does technology replace or displace those social interactions vital to meeting women's social needs enabling their adaptation to prison life?

2. Which expertise is made to act at a distance and does the artefact/procedure sufficiently meet women's needs for guidance, advice and support?

3. Does the artefact/procedure allow for women to make informed choices and encourage active decision-making over their future learning engagements and learner identity?

4. Does the artefact/procedure record fragments or does it allow for a holistic recording and processing of individual needs and strengths encouraging desistance through education?

#### ***11.4.2. Pre-classroom design and interactions***

The design of classes and educational provision is influenced by the economic and security trajectories of the prison. It is also based on virtual deficits – learner fragments obtained in inductions, and through prison targets. Women are placed into classes corresponding to their virtual deficits, and ‘choices’ made in inductions, or later through the kiosk. Although, research indicates self-directed rehabilitation

emerges from implementing PSS Kiosk in prison landings (McDougall et.al. 2017).

However, self-directed rehabilitation requires the ability to make informed choices

and align opportunities available with own life narratives.

Planning and placement do not take fully into consideration reasons for women's engagement with prison education nor their individual strengths and/or possible additional learning needs. 30-35% of the women surveyed in 2013 and 2015 (HMIP 2103, 2015) reported a disability and needing help with long-term physical, mental or learning needs. 8 out of the 23 women interviewed mentioned problems during their school education that could be linked to learning difficulties. Educational expertise is not used to plan individual learning and place women into respective classes. Walker et al. (2006) highlighted issues of inconsistent support, advice and guidance on learning opportunities (p.44) that can be here directly linked to the educational fragments transported through information systems. They additionally asserted other learning opportunities should either precede basic skills classes for some learners to build confidence and self-esteem or integrate 'with other development opportunities that will address the social and emotional needs of women offenders' (ibid). 'The learning offer should be flexible and tailored to meet a range of individual needs (Dixon and Jones, 2014, p.12).

Recommendations for pre-classroom procedures and design therefore include:

- Attention needs to be paid to the artefacts (e.g. assessments, information fragments) and actors (e.g. level indicators) guiding planning decisions and actual design – shifting the focus to actual needs and strength, rather than virtual needs and deficits in the design of learning and teaching.
- Staff with educational and employment expertise should be involved in planning and guiding individual placements and learning journeys to enable for real

learner identities to develop and desistance to emerge through education and employment in the prison. They should also connect to other services to understand additional needs that might prevent successful educational engagement.

- Interactions with technological artefacts informing women's educational placements need to be scrutinised.

- Planning and revision processes should include questions such as:

1. Do pre-classroom interactions further the development of educational-rehabilitative trajectories of female prison learners through reflective practices? Do they allow for women to be actively engaged in informed decision-making processes?

2. Do they meet women's social needs?

3. Are the human and non-human actors informing placement decisions and classroom design fit for purpose, e.g. able to respond to individual rather than generic needs?

4. Is educational expertise replaced and/or made to act at a distance?

#### ***10.4.3. Classroom interactions***

Before outlining recommendations in this area, a distinction has to be made between the learning of digital skills, the development of literacy skills and the utilisation of digital technology for learning (e-learning). The first and limited parts of the second set of skills were taught in basic ICT skills leading to pre-designed

qualifications. The third was used for work-related learning of kitchen workers leading to a Health and Safety certification. The second set of skills was underdeveloped. The prison, additionally, had teaching objects, such as interactive whiteboards. The SE classroom later used computer and creative software to teach digital skills. However, the teaching of digital skills was also predefined by qualification frameworks.

Digital learning and teaching spaces were heavily restricted through the prison's security imperatives. This holds also true for other prisons (Rogers, et al., 2014, Coates, 2016). Digital exclusion of (female) prisoners however 'means that a vital requirement for most jobs in the community is prohibited' (Costelloe and Warner, 2014, p.179). They cannot develop necessary digital skills needed for future employment or private use, including digital literacy skills such as email writing and research.

As this research and previous studies highlighted:

'Women's motivation to learn comes from a variety of sources and needs: their desire to raise self-confidence and self-esteem; learning as an avenue to access a different and less chaotic lifestyle; a means of engaging with their children or grandchildren; a route to employment and income; and simply to pass the time more quickly and enjoyably'

(Walker, et al. 2006, p.44).

This includes their engagement and motivation to acquire digital skills. Women needs in education extend from educational needs into social and health needs. Emotional well-being and mental health problems, of the women surveyed, increased to 53% in 2013 (HMIP, 2013) and 66% in 2015 (HMIP, 2015) during incarceration

and with cuts to services provided by the prison. Many, specifically younger women, prefer shared learning spaces and emphasise their social relations in classrooms with teaching staff (Walker, et al., 2006, *ibid*) and other women. Digital learning spaces in the prison restricted social interactions. Economic and security responsibilities of tutors further restricted social engagements and time spent with individual learners.

Female prison learners have different learning styles and abilities to progress in their learning and skills development. This requires more flexibility in the provision, design of learning spaces and opportunities at different levels (Dixon and Jones, 2014; Walker, et al., 2006). It further requires continuation from qualification-framed pre-defined learning of specifically digital skills into work-related but also leisure environments. Levels and engagements were predefined through the qualification frameworks used. Digital skills development was restricted to classrooms and the use of library computers.

Digital technology and access to shared network spaces, such as the Internet, can provide for flexibility in learning and social interactions. It can open different spaces for teaching and learning activities, content development and individual interest-led engagements. However, security considerations effectively ban the Internet in prisons (Coates, 2016, p.48) although, recent developments indicate changes in this area . Additionally, economic-rehabilitative trajectories arrest digital skills development within narrow qualification frameworks. Those are specifically difficult for the 31% (HMIP, 2013) and 42% (HMIP, 2015) of surveyed women that admitted having a drug problem or the 22% (HMIP 2013, 2015) that admitted having an alcohol problem on entry. Those as the gendered pathway perspective indicates link to women's victimisation, health problems and offending histories. Therefore, greater autonomy for tutors, managers and individual institutions are a necessary first step for prison education in general (*ibid*) and prison education for female offenders in

particular (Walker, et al., 2006). Coates (2016) and Stickland (2016) recommended such changes, however effects of those implementations are yet to be determined.

Recommendations for the utilisation of digital technology to create integrative learning spaces therefore include:

- To ensure learning is empowering and motivating (Dixon and Jones, 2014, p.12) learners need to be enabled to bring their prior knowledge and experiences into the classrooms and to define their own learning objectives with the advice of tutors that are appropriately trained.
- Digital technologies are not just computers and software, but include artefacts that enable collaborative learning (participation), such as digital cameras, sound recorders, tablets and other hand-held devices that most women have engaged with, and were comfortable using before coming to prison.
- Digital learning spaces need to enable ‘success through the setting of ‘small-step’ goals’ (Walker, et al., 2006, p.44) rather than qualification frameworks to ensure the very different learning needs of women are met.
- Tutors need access to wider information spaces to design and deliver more flexible classes responding to the needs of women and their development of digital employability skills.
- Women need access to wider information spaces and different digital tools to acquire digital literacy skills, meeting their individual learning and employment needs, but also to engage with challenging learning opportunities at higher levels (Pike and Adams, 2012).

- Digital skills development needs to extend into other areas of prison education and prison work to ensure continuation. It should not reinforce gender stereotypes (Walker, et al., 2006) by being limited to office support work.
- Tutors need to have time, digital and content-specific expertise, to help women, as they ‘need reassurance and opportunities for affirmation and confidence building’ (ibid, p.44).
- Digital learning spaces need to enable social interactions between women, and women and tutors. They should never be seen as a substitute for actual teaching or educational expertise of tutors.
- Planning processes should include questions such as:
  1. Do interactions with digital technology further the development of educational-rehabilitative trajectories of female prison learners? Do they allow for women to be actively engaged in informed decision-making processes?
  2. Are digital learning spaces and artefacts flexible enough to meet women’s social needs as well as their learning needs?
  3. Are learning activities, digital artefacts and spaces designed for learners with mental and physical health needs?
  4. Is educational expertise replaced and/or made to act at a distance?



#### ***10.4.4. Final thoughts***

Prison education has the potential to be a contributory factor in individual crime desistance (Bayliss, 2003; Costelloe and Warner, 2014). Educational needs, however,

are not necessarily at the forefront of female prisoners desistance narratives (Giordano, et al., 2002). They are at the forefront of prison policy desistance narratives (MOJ, 2010; Stickland, 2016), informing local regimes for female prisoners. Bringing those two together requires different approaches and procedures to acquire information but also for additional information to be processed and disseminated through information and communication networks to better match virtual and actual learner.

Accountability – the measurement of success – in prison education ‘means different things to different people’ (Reuss, 1999, p.113). Qualification numbers and attendance might fit prison targets. Those do not necessarily fit with tutor’s measurements of success or women’s ideas of success nor enable the development of actual learner identities. Prison education does little to help Jo and Natalie to engage with learning. It does little to help Lara and Jolene to see prostitution as a past rather than future occupation. It cannot utilise the strength and skills of women such as Sandra, Angela and Corinne. It is, overall, blind to women’s needs and aspirations that do not fit in narrow educational programs. Prison learners cannot be defined through their assessment levels. They are individuals with distinct characteristics and experiences and therefore, actual learner identities are developed in individual rather than generic ways. Managerialism and prison targets focus on outcomes ‘act desistance’ rather than the processes of ‘identity’ and ‘relational desistance’ (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009). Those processes can be fostered through education, however require individual and subject-oriented approaches to learning and teaching.

Digital technology has the potential to open new learning spaces to develop digital skills, digital literacy and provide for low and higher-level subject-specific learning. However, digital solutions for prisons cannot be imported from other learning

environments without carefully considering the implications at every step of the learner journey. They need to be context and learner specific. They should not be a substitute for human educational expertise to create ever more ‘bureaucratic and epistemologically closed’ and ‘minimum of fuss’ educational provision (Ecclestone, 2000, p.158). Nor should they substitute vital human interactions. And, finally, employing digital technology to enhance prison education for female offenders should not divert from finding better-suited alternatives to female imprisonment (Corston, 2007; Annison, et al., 2015; PRT, 2017).

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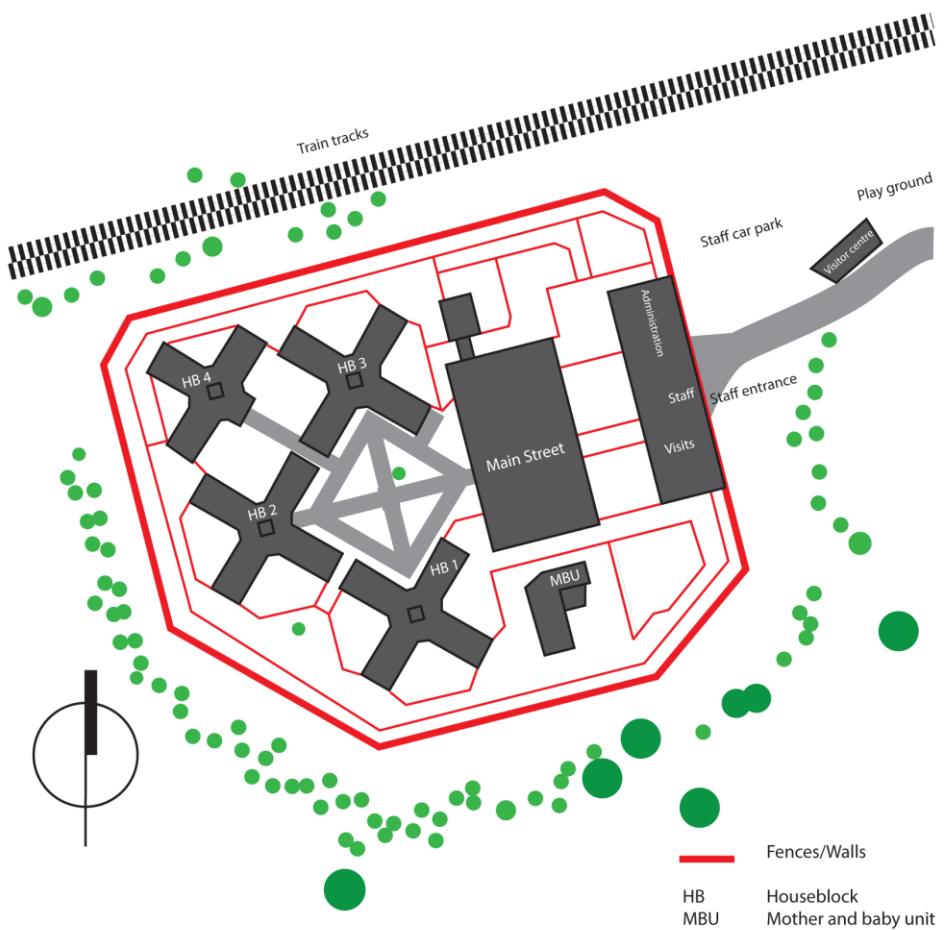
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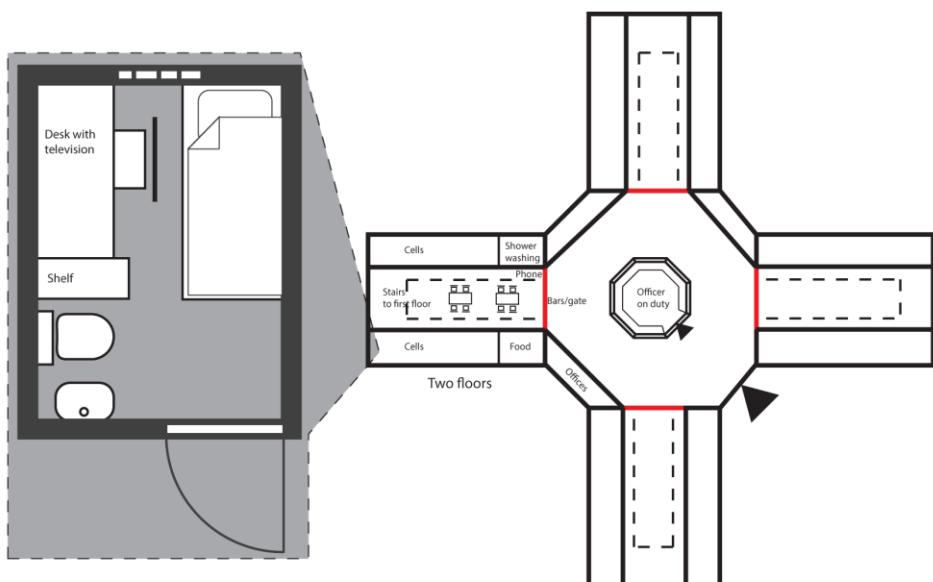
Zedner, L. (1991) *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England.* Clarendon Press: Oxford

## **Appendices**

## **Appendix A –HMP Bronzefield, a house block and a single cell**

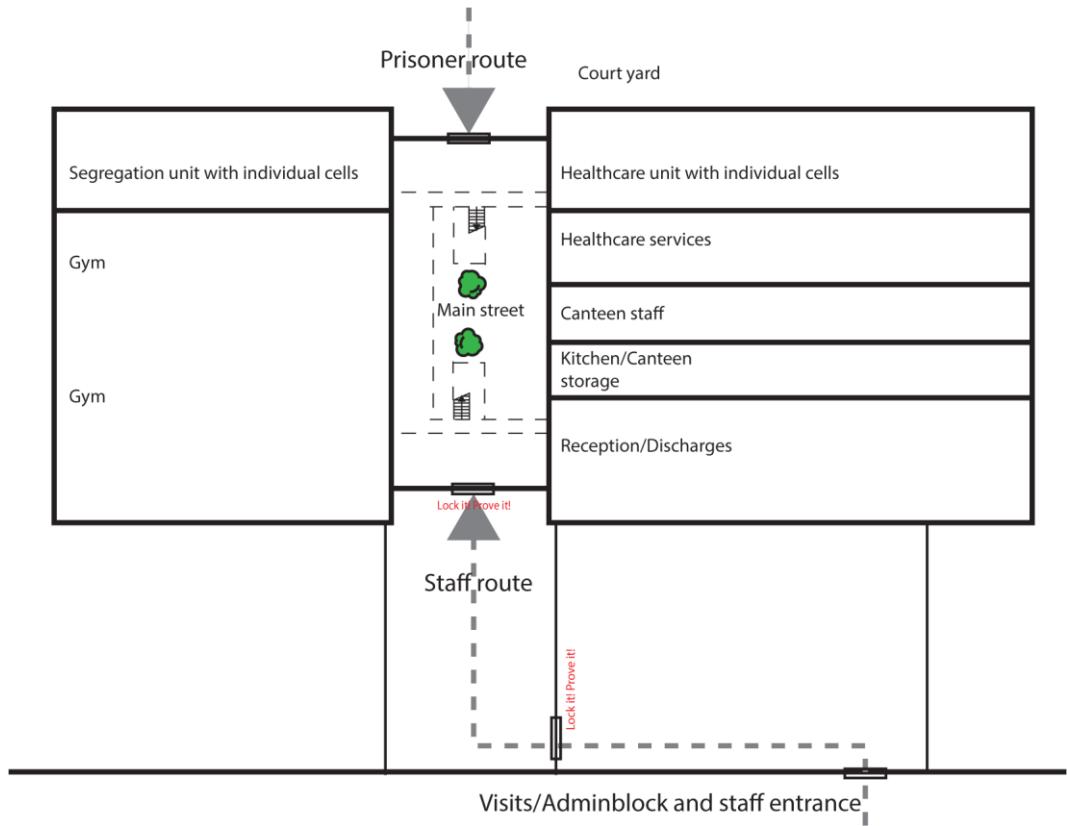


**Schematic Plan, HMP Bronzefield**  
(based on Google Street view and Google Maps, 10/02/2010)

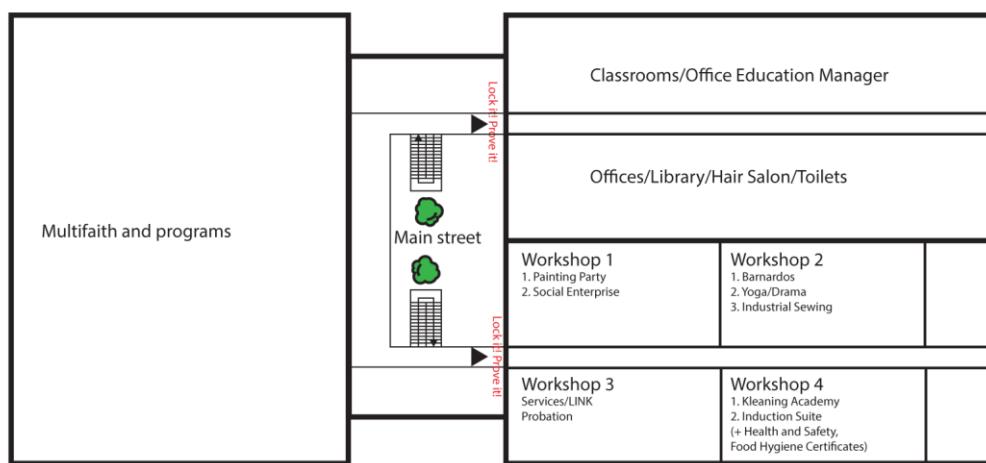


**Single Cell and House block (schematic)**  
(based on observation sketches, 08/02/2010)

## Appendix B – Main Street



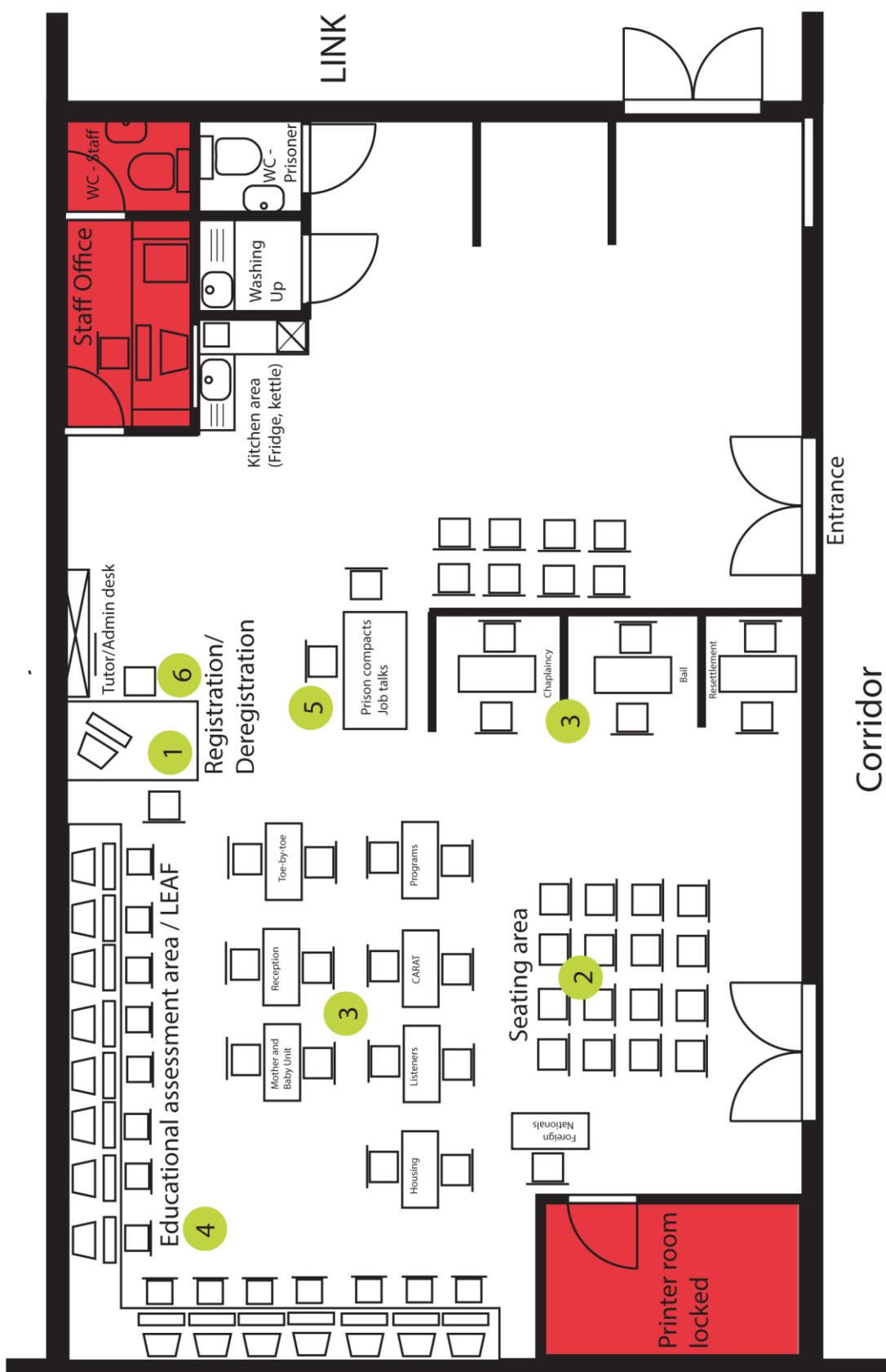
Ground floor



First floor

**Main street (schematic)**  
(based on observation sketches, 08/02/2010)

## Appendix C – Induction Room



Induction room (schematic)  
(based on observation sketches, 08/02/2010)

● Sequence of induction tasks  
 Staff only - areas

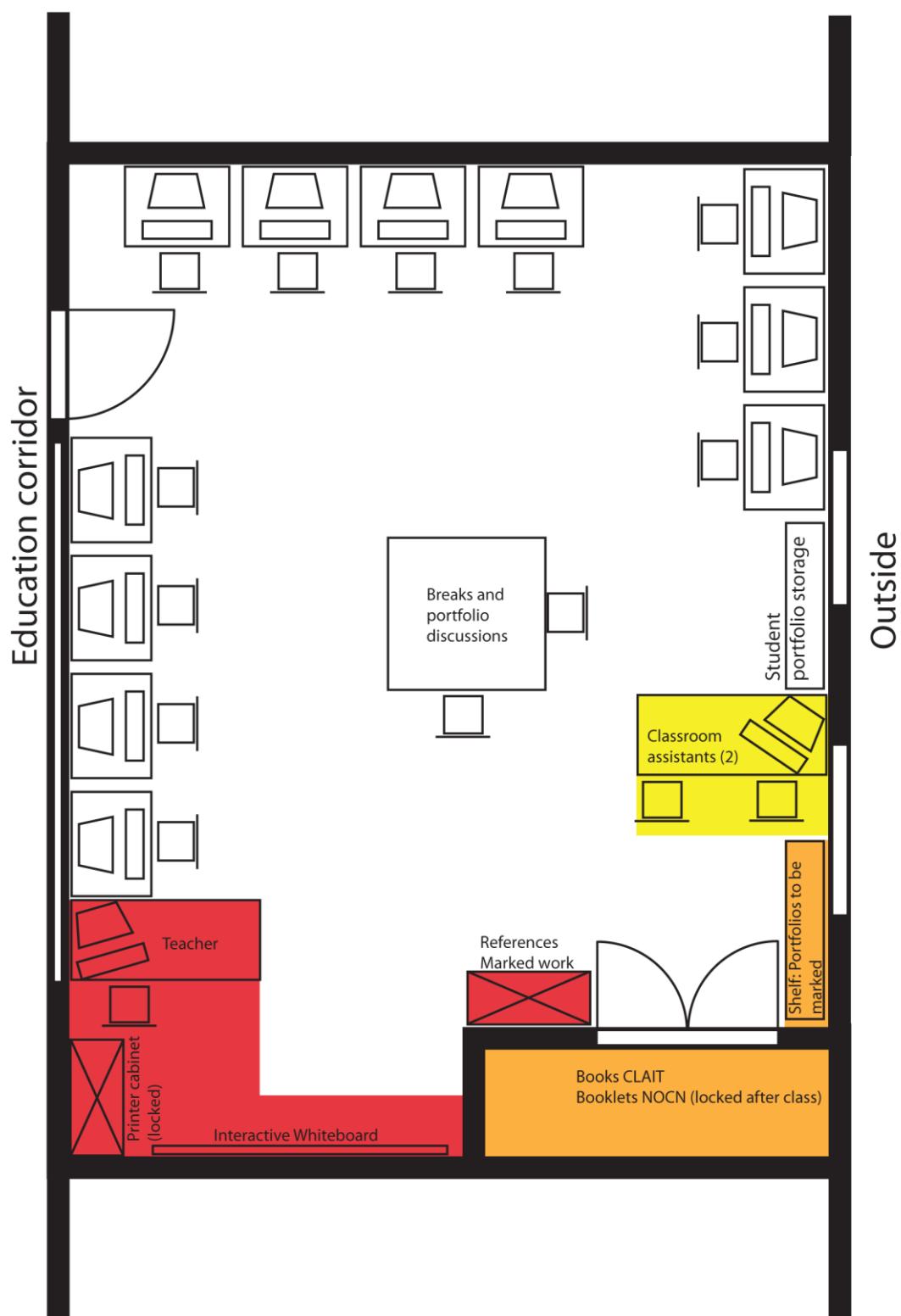
## Appendix D – Education corridor



**Education corridor (schematic)**  
(based on observation sketches, 08/02/2010)

Staff only - areas CA access Orderly access	R1 Registration, main desk R Registration, classroom B Body search
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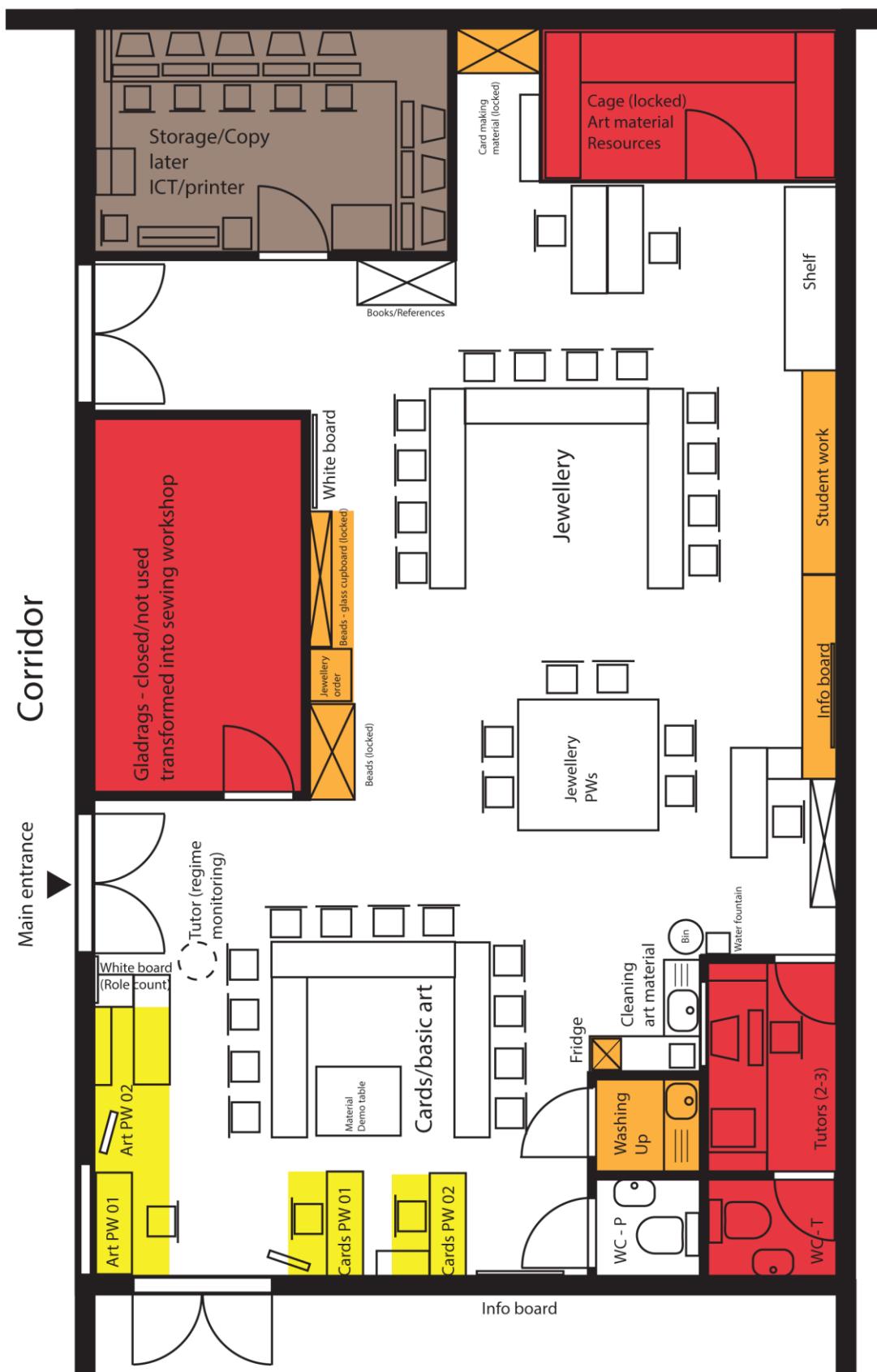
## Appendix E – ICT Room



ICT Room (schematic)  
(based on observation sketches, 08/02/2010)

■ Staff only - areas  
■ CA access  
■ CA work space

## Appendix E – Social Enterprise



Social Enterprise (schematic)  
(based on observation sketches, 08/02/2010)

- Staff only - areas
- Access with tutor only
- CA access
- PW work spaces

### **LEAF – Induction to the prison**

Login page information typed in usually by the CA

- Ethnicity
- English first language or language choice
- Age
- Disability
- Housing situation
- Prior Incarceration
- Employment status
- Register: name, surname, prison number, password

#### **Screen 1:**

5 doors – 4 blue, one red

Blue doors for information and quizzes on the prison system and regime

Red door – additional material as videos and audio comments (often left out as not part of the quiz/assessment – 'word goes round' [Lorna])

**Screen 2 - Blue door 1:** office with shelves, desk– rules, canteen, IEP, visits, mail, phones, parole and bail, ROTL (release on temporary licence)

**Screen 3 - Blue door 2:** Healthcare a doctor's room with drip, desk, fire extinguisher - fire & safety, CARAT, healthcare

**Screen 4 – Blue door 3:** office with lava lamp, phone, and cupboard – violence reduction, chaplaincy, suicide, Samaritans and listeners

**Screen 5 - Blue door 4:** office – employment, general applications, programmes, library, CCRC (Criminal Cases Review Commission) and ombudsman, family days, foreign nationals

**Screen 6 - Red door:** video tutorials on questions, complaining, and red card

Common features screen 2-5:

- The women have to search the room for interactive objects, which highlight in red when hovered over.
- An exit button is placed at the top left corner, which when clicked leads to screen 1.

Common features after object selection (screen uses a book metaphor):

- Clicking an object opens an information screen with a scroll down bar on the right hand side.
- Options on the top left: change the background colour and go back to main room.
- Options on the top right: button leading to a quiz and audio controls to listen to the information displayed on the screen.

Common features after quiz selection (sports metaphor):

- Welcome to basketball, soccer, darts, bowling, pool and start button.
- First question appears - select true or false, select audio controls to listen to the question and submit button on the right bottom corner
- After submit - an animation plays depending on sports metaphor and answer (e.g. bowling - right answer: bowling ball hits all bowling pins and text flies in 'superstrike' - wrong answer a bowling ball travels down on the sidelines and misses pins and text shows 'missed')
- There are usually 3 questions and at the end the scores are displayed with percentage.
- Return to room to select the next object

Common features after all objects and quizzes in the room have been finalised:

- Summary quiz to complete the assessment for the room. The questions are repeated from the quizzes already taken and the screen changes slightly; when an answer is not entered a feedback window opens, which needs to be closed before the woman is able to proceed.
- All rooms have to be visited, all objects have to be found and clicked and all quizzes finished before the system shows a certificate screen with the results. This will then be printed and added to the clipboard.

#### **Comments inductions tutor:**

The system is 5 years old and some things have changed, like healthcare and canteen (they have installed pods now in the house blocks where women type in their requests (order), can check their income, etc.)

#### **My comments:**

The system only runs in the small IT room as well, which women can access if they put in an application. If women can't read then the CAs read the text out for them. I discovered the audio controls during the observations. The tutor seemed surprised but wanted to use them.

## **BKSB assessment tools**

The assessments for literacy and numeracy were developed by bksb and ran on a virtual Internet without real connection to the Internet.

[www://edu-bskb/bksb\\_Portal/](http://edu-bskb/bksb_Portal/)  
[www://edu-bskb/bksb\\_ESOL/](http://edu-bskb/bksb_ESOL/)  
[www://edu-bskb/bksb\\_Ressources/](http://edu-bskb/bksb_Ressources/)  
[www://edu-bskb/bksb\\_SkillCheck/](http://edu-bskb/bksb_SkillCheck/)

The assessment consisted of two parts: a general assessment to determine the level and a diagnostic test. The application was designed using grey and red as main colours (company logo). Interactions were simple click and type in functions. On the bottom of the screen were controls to move from task to task (allows to skip tasks). Each task opened in a new screen. The tasks need not be completed and can be skipped at any time. Often multiple-choice answers were used. Women had to select an answer. There were also occasionally arrows to order items, type in boxes and selection (tick) boxes.

## **Appendix H – Daily Routines**

### **Students and classroom assistants**

7:00	Weekday: wake up call (wing officers)
7:00 – 8:30	<i>Breakfast on spur/in cell</i>
8:30 – 9:00	Morning movement: appointments and work  (Attendance recording: Area – officer, in-class - tutor)
<b>9:00 – 11:30</b>	<b>Appointments and work</b>
<i>9:45 – 10:00</i>	<i>Tea break</i>
11:30 – 12:00	Body check (Officer), movement: spurs
12:00 – 13:30	<i>Lunch break</i>
13:30 – 14:00	Afternoon movement: appointments and work  (Attendance recording: Area – officer, in-class - tutor)
<b>14:00 – 16:30</b>	<b>Appointments, visits, programs and work</b>
<i>15:00 – 15:15</i>	<i>Tea break</i>
16:30 – 17:00	Body check (Officer), movement: spurs
17:00 – 18:00	<i>Dinner and association time</i>
19:00 – 20:00	Lock up for the night

## Tutor routine

8:00	Start of working day/Arrive in staff room
8:00 – 8:45	Preparations
<b>8:45 – 9:00</b>	<b>Register</b> (in-class attendance recording)
<b>9:00 - 11:30</b>	<b>Teaching</b>
<i>9:45 – 10:00</i>	<i>Tea break</i>
11:30 – 12:00	Preparation
12:00 – 13:00	<i>Lunch break</i>
13:00 – 13:45	Preparation
<b>13:45 – 14:00</b>	<b>Register</b> (in-class attendance recording)
<b>14:00 – 16:30</b>	<b>Teaching</b>
<i>15:00 – 15:15</i>	<i>Tea break</i>
16:30 – 17:00	Preparation and other duties
17:00	End of working day

## **Appendix I – Individual Education folder (recording sample)**

### **Folder cover**

Date checked: 18/11/2010

**Fit for work:** Yes

**Detox:** No

**Interview Number:** 04

**Status:** Sentenced

#### **Initial assessment results**

Literacy: no record

Numeracy: no record

LEAF:

### **Folder Content**

#### ***Initial Job Selection (Induction)***

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Level/Type</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Literacy			
Numeracy			
ESOL			
IT			
Life skills	Positive self image Emergency first Aid Stress management Preparation for work	1 week 1 1 1	
Social Enterprise			
Expressive arts	Yoga	1	
GYM	Gym	4	
incell/kleaning academy			
<b>Green Band all to apply</b>	<b>PT FT</b>	<b>Amber band 4 weeks in B</b>	<b>Red Band 6 weeks in B</b>
Edu/Induction centre A.	X	Bins & Recycling	Cleaning Party Mentor
Edu orderly		Cleaning Party	Connections Worker
Gym orderly		Garden Party	Hairdresser A.
Laundry worker		HCC/HDU/SCU O.	Kitchen Worker
Social E/Life skills A.	X X	Painting Party	Library A. PT X FT X
Servery worker (Food & Hygiene 1)		Programmes/Chapel O.	MBU Laundry worker
Wing Cleaner (Kleaning academy 1 & 2)		Reception Orderly	FT X MBU Servery worker
		Resettlement Centre O.	Toe by Toe mentor PT X FT X
		Visits O.	PT X MBU unit cleaner

Blue allocated Violet allocated but not chosen initially Ticked not allocated yet

## ***Work allocation sheets, individual applications and request, suspensions (original wording and spelling)***

<b>Start</b>	<b>End</b>	<b>AM</b>	<b>PM</b>
01/02/10	05/02/10		Intro Powerpoint
08/02/10	12/02/10		Intro Powerpoint
15/02/10	19/02/10		Koestler week

## **Job allocation slip**

---

03/02/2010 IT classroom assistant

## Application

01/03/10

I had a job in education. You subsequently made me unemployed and I want to and need to work! Please sort it out.

- IT 2. Teaching assistant

### **Sentence plan issued**

26/05/2010

## Suspension

### **Employer comment:**

Suspension issued pending further investigation over a report issued to security over abuse of position.

Employee comment:

no comment

## Employment broad review

No evidence to show this was done with any malis, allowed to return to IT, advised personal letters to be done via library booked slot with degree work will need to speak with education manager to resolve.

26/02/2010

### **Comments:**

Cleared amber and red band 13/01/2010

suspended from IT 17/02/2010

## **Appendix J - Field notes: Summaries and coding examples**

Field notes were written during sessions and parts added during break time and on the way home. A sketch, indicating the positions of people in the room, times of arrival and leaving, accompanied those. Notes were analysed looking at the different interactions that had taken place between participants and/or objects. Interactions were categorised into regime, teaching and personal interactions. I also listed, how interactions where used by participants, e.g. admin-regime means interactions focused primarily on the task, but admin-regime-personal indicates the interaction was used to exchange personal information. Interactions for each woman were numbered starting a letter indicating ethnicity, followed by one or two letters and number (due to the large number of women I met, it was impossible to give each a name. However, when I referred to specific interactions in the thesis a name is used instead). I summarised individual woman's personal information at the end to provide more context to each interaction listed. I then colour coded the different interactions but also looked for frequency (see key above). The examples below show two sessions in SE and two in IT with highlighted prison trajectories, and women's needs and strengths.

### **Abbreviations**

- HB – House block
- RM – regime monitoring (attendance)
- MS – Movement slip (L-library), (C-cell), (B- book), (LM – learning material), (LV – legal visit)
- BL – book sign out list
- PR – computer program
- SE – Social Enterprise
- TO – telling off for breaking rules
- ILP – Individual learning plan
- W – White
- A – Asian
- B - Black

### **Colour key**

- Red bold** = security, disciplinary
- Blue bold** = economy, measures
- Purple bold** = rehabilitative (education)
- Green bold** = women's needs
- Orange bold** = Strength

***Incidences***

***Interactions***

**Tutor M (cards)**

admin - regime (objects): **WON2 (telling off) IEP, woman-tea5 (bra)**

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **targets on white board, WDRUM1 (card), woman (glue ribbon)**

teaching (subject):

Teaching - personal (objects):

Teaching – personal (subject):

personal (objects): **woman-tea4 (postcard)**

personal (subject):

Other (specify):

**Tutor I (jewellery)**

admin - regime (objects): opens door for incoming woman, **missing scissors (WDRUM), WIG5 (MS HB)**

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **smart targets, start project, nicking – IEP, WO8 (jew), phone to LINK (copies), helps individual women, WDRUM3 (start jew)**

teaching (subject):

Teaching - personal (objects):

Teaching – personal (subject):

personal (objects): **WIG1 (aspirin), WIG4 (aspirin)**

personal (subject):

Other (specify):

**Tutor J (in Health Care)**

**Researcher**

admin – regime (objects): **counting women (ART M)**

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **WO1 (beads), WO2 (needle), WWC1 (book), WO6 (jew),**

**WWC2 (jew), ART I (copies in LINK), woman (glue card), WDRUM2 (cards),  
WON4 (beads)**

teaching (subject): ART KI (**eye on WO/WON4**)

Teaching - personal (objects):

Teaching – personal (subject):  
personal (objects): WO4 (card), **WME1 (tissue), WIG2 (tea), WIG3 (drink),  
woman-tea (my notebooks), WIG5 (pain), WCM2 (court), WWC3 (medication),  
WO14 (drugs) WON5 (drugs), WO15 (drugs), Woman-tea3 (postcard), WWC4  
(education)**

personal (subject): ART I (slap WO)

Other (specify):

### **Women (students)**

admin - regime (objects): WLOU/WO10 (drink)

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **WLOU1/several (material), WON1/WO (jew), JEW class  
copying smart targets), W4/WO3 (jew), NAT/WO5 (jew), several (lining up for  
beads), NAT/WO7 (jew), NAT/WO8 (jew), Woman/AF (thread), W4 (hands out  
thread), NAT/WO9/AF (beads), WO11/NAT (help), WON3/NAT (help),  
WO11/NAT (help), W4/WO13 (jew), woman/WLOU3 (certificate)**

Teaching - personal (objects): **Woman-tea2/ART M/J/ART I/WO (postcard)**

personal (objects): W20-30/WO (x), WLOU/**WIG (belly aches)**, WCM1/WLOU (x),  
small table (x), WLOU2/WIG/WCM (measuring tape)

personal gesture, mimic: WO3,

Other (specify):

### *Individual women interaction, stories, problems*

**WLOU (CA):** grabs woman's hair – compliments (x), **hands out material for card making**, takes long (1) gives out drinks (several), **makes a tea for one woman with a lot of sugar [not allowed]** (x) gets measuring tape out – measures WIG and giggles (2) **hands out certificate to woman (3)**

**WO:** shows me bag of beads to check if colours match, continues work (1) **on her**

**knees asks me for magnet, friend lost needle (2)** Miss – ART I reply [jokingly]:  
**shut up (3) calls ART I (x) asks WNa to help (x), asks W4 to help (3) asks me if I can draw and to draw her a card** as she is **leaving tomorrow (4) calls for ART I (x) asks me then WNA (5)** bracelet 'its horrible would you wear it? (6) **WNA helps, adding a clasp (7)** wants a different bracelet (8) goes to small table to ask if she could do something else, gets some beads but told off by AF (9) keeps talking but they ignore her (x) **got card from WON** [her friend] 'good luck on the road, dont come bk' (x) wants more drinks but gets told to get water (10) **starts to work with WON** and calls **WNA for help (11) calls WNA for help (12)** W4 compliments on her work, wears two bracelets now (13) **wants to draw something for me**, my name in graffiti, asks if I was scared to come in here, she is a double murderer and in 6 years she is 20, I reply that it does not add up, but **in for 12<sup>th</sup> time supporting her habit, says she will use again, is homeless when she comes out**, WON: try housing – WO: **they have nothing for me (14) says its easy to get drugs in here but harder than Downview/Brownview – colours my graffiti name in**, says she can get me new glasses for 10 pounds – stealing of course (15)

**WO neighbour:** **explains WO how to finish bracelet (1) gets loud (x) hair full of glitter – gets told off by ART M (2) calls ART I (X) calls WNA (3) keeps calling ART I (x) starts sorting bead bags with WO and me (4) clean for 4 months but wants to be recreational user outside**, WO: *you know this is impossible, you will be clipping* but WON insists she can do this

**WWC:** looks for book with pattern, otherwise she cannot continue (1) shows me her work and explains, **has headache and that the wholes are moving (2) gets up for stretch, drowsy as she did not get meds for three days – got today but joints are swollen (3)** asks me what I was doing in here, tells me she has a **Dip Phil from Oxford – long time ago, worked in education 32 years** and wonders how she ended up here, favourite philosopher Tzu art of war [told me a different story last week] (4)

**WDRUM:** **needs help (1) did great cards (2)** starts a bracelet later doing her pattern (3)

**WME:** **gets tissue for another woman** – signs to me that the other needs to clean her nose (1) **tries to get ART I's attention** – signing her (x)

**WIG: wants an aspirin for her belly cramps – annoyed when she is asked to go to HB and ask the nurse (1)** I ask if she wants a tea as she looks bad – only for teachers – **budget cuts (2)** does not want hot drink as she does not want to use the toilet in here (3) **asks for medication again as she is still in pain or to go to HC but needs to go to HB first (4)** keeps complaining about being in pain (5)

**WMe:** moves table to work **keeps asking for material (x)**

**Woman-tea:** **keeps lurking around my table, scratching her leg, bending down, trying to look into my notebook** – I explain my role, finds HMP B a 'shit hole', wants to do a pattern but when I say that would be great *whatever* and leaves (1) **screams** '*how dare you embarrass me like that in front of the whole class*' [to ART M] – **nan died** and wants to send an extra card but is not allowed to take more than one, **drags me in, then ART I but we cannot help**, WO: *its yours you made it you should keep it, 'see what they make me do, they make me rip those cards. I will rip them. Fucking prison.'* (2) I try to calm her but she continues (3) tries **ART M but is reminded of rules – rips cards** (4) feather gets stuck in her bra – **ART M wants to give IEP for stealing** – could have gotten in there whilst ripping – says she will complain (5)

**WCM:** late 3:40, talks to some women and WLOU (1) talks to glitter woman (x) **gets a new court date, a three-day psychiatric assessment and that police did not investigate properly, hopes that will be good news**, moved 7 times HB since February, knows some women on her spur now HB3 (2)

#### *Impressions and comments*

It is noisier than in the morning and a lot of movement, women getting material. It takes a long time for women to start working on both tables, as a lot of material needs to be handed out. ART M disappears a lot from her table and the noise levels rises. The glitter spreads to a lot of women.

Women on the card table often exchange things to stick on – jewellery women only help each other occasionally.

Women often have not the potential to argue their case properly, be reasonable or able to not fight for what they think is their right (woman-tea). At the end of the day woman-tea (postcard) and WO (glitter) get a suspension from art for their behaviour.

ART I had enough of WO's screaming.

ART M is shaking after the meltdown and ART I calls HB's to make sure both don't come back.

I found the glitter incidence funny as one woman ended up looking like a Christmas tree but of course for ART M this was a catastrophe – but why leaving women alone all the time thinking they behave?

Again younger women with drug and other abuse issues are harder to control and often end up getting suspended.

***Incidences***

***Interactions***

**Tutor ART M - cards**

admin - regime (objects): **asks women to go back outside for role count (RM), WDO 2 (open door), WRU3 (door)**, gets **ACCT book for woman**, **asks women to move back to their original tables, woman queuing for 6 minutes (black pen)**,  
admin- regime – personal (objects): **RM postcards**  
teaching (Objects): **scissors/ID card (WWC1), WDO1 (material), WYoung2 (stencil jammed/told off), WFLO 1 (told off), ART M (glitter), WMEL2 (beads), Woman (envelope making), CA SU4 (painting), BJU (certificates), reminds women to pack up in 5 minutes, explains ILP part 2, hands out certificates**,  
teaching (subject):

Teaching - personal (objects): **WIG3 (paintings)**

Teaching – personal (subject):

personal (objects):

personal (subject):

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify):

**Tutor ART I - jewellery**

admin - regime (objects): **WRU (go to HB), WIG 5 (form), Sarah 1(RM),**  
admin- regime – personal (objects):  
teaching (Objects): **WNI 2 (help bracelet), Woman W (take bracelet today – money), prints certificates (CA SU3), WNI4 (bracelet), WNI 5 (necklace fix), fill in ILP's part 2,**

teaching (subject):

Teaching - personal (objects):

Teaching – personal (subject):

personal (objects):

personal (subject):

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify):

## **Tutor ART J (not teaching in SE)**

### **Researcher**

admin – regime (objects): **desk (Personnel only), WMA 2 (watch)**

admin- regime – personal (objects): CA SU 2 (drinks)

teaching (Objects): **WYoung1 (stencil jammed), WFIX 1/2 (black pen), WNI 2 (help bracelet), A1 (fix cards), Other woman (cards), WWC1 4 (bracelet)**

teaching (subject): **ART M (new CA's), WNI3 (me)**

Teaching - personal (objects): **WIG 1 (paintings), WYoung 3 (postcards), BFLU 1 (postcard), WIG2 (paintings), WME 1 (beads), Nanette 1 (painting), WCM 1 (paintings)**

Teaching – personal (subject): **ART M/ART I/ART R (WCM 2)**

personal (objects): **CA IT (PhD)**

personal (subject): WRU 1 (IT N), ART I (WMEL3)

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify): WIG 6 (peanuts)

### **Women (students)**

admin - regime (objects): WIG 4/CA SU (nomination)

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **WNI1/W4 1 (bracelets), CA SU1/WDO1/women (material cards), WME2/bead table (beads)**

Teaching - personal (objects): **WWC1 3 (beads)**

personal (objects): **WWC1 2/other woman (hospital), giggling (B and W), women (heat/rotor), WIG2/CA SU (paintings), WIG3/CA SU (paintings)**

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify): officials/Nanette (x), officer (F)/WNI6 (necklace)

### ***Individual women interaction, stories, problems***

**WNI:** wants her bracelet (1) sits separate from others (x) ask if I was teacher, **needs help (2)** asks what I am doing here (3) wants to finish her bracelet, did not finish last week as she was off for a few days (4) thinks she broke the necklace, **gets told off by ART I (5)** took her two weeks to finish (6)

**W4 (PW):** opens cupboard to get bracelets out (1)

**WWC1:** gets leaflets – puts them away (1) **been to hospital recently after blood test (2)** asks for her beads (3) talk about her bracelets, likes working on her own designs (4)

**WME:** back, speaks low and **works on bracelet (x), looks for black beads**, from Germany, husband Punjabi, 5 years in England (1) still looks for beads (2) gets told to return beads if she wants other ones, never looks people in the eyes (2) **heroin addict (3)** gets bead from bead table (x)

**WDO:** separate and draws (x), wants material (1) leaves earlier did some **colouring of fathers day posters for outside company for ART M** (2) back colouring in (x)

**CA SU (W 40-50):** computer room (x) **gets material out for women from cupboard (1) sorting material and cleaning big room (x)** makes drinks asks me if I want one (2) comments on certificates that if it wasn't Kalyx blue women would not mind as to not be reminded of here (3) asks if she should cut white edges of painting '*I need a professional opinion*' (4) nominated an officer on HB 2 (WIG 4)

**B (PW):** **gets material from bead cupboard (x)**

**WIG:** waterfall pictures made of 4 canvases (1) **fixes painting (x)** turned paintings and wants an opinion (2) wants more opinions on her paintings (3) reads leaflet for Butler trust nominations for a while then asks CA SU, officer nomination: '*I hate them all the same, no favourites*', stuffs nomination form under stationary (4) wants another form (5) '*where are the peanuts*' (HOR comes in with visitors) (6)

**WYoung:** **slammed stencil (1,2); postcards for her partner – full of hearts, misses him a lot (3)**

**WFIX (CA):** **fixing untidy postcards** (1) gets material to cover untidy areas (2)

**BFLU:** show me card, very fluffy, **for boyfriend 'simple does'** (1)

**WRU (CA):** comes over and asks for IT N, liked him a lot (1) goes to HB (2) waits outside the door while teachers are busy (3)

**A:** **very detailed cards**, compliment her (1)

**WFLO:** **gets told off by ART M for using 4 instead of 2 flowers – rips them off 'I am not learning anything here, my four year-old daughter can do that'** (1) gets painting from cupboard and sits (x)

**BJU (B 20-30):** **brings laminated certificates (1)**

**WCM:** late in (x), **paintings 'looking forward'** – CCTV, police, helicopter in social housing area and evolution painting (1) tutors make remarks about ugly gorilla later (2)

**WSA:** **needs to leave (1)**

**CA IT: talk about writing PhD proposal, hard without references and Internet, probably out mid-June**

**WMAN:** Jesus painting, **wants to finish for Koestler entry** but had to do walls in Healthcare and Segregation so needs to rush now, a bit angry, likes the Koestler's the professionalism and to be able to exhibit her work, not sure about selling, but education does not pay much, lots of interest in her Rachel Welch painting – one officer in particular '*I am not selling it to him, he is opening my doors*' (1) wants to sharpen a pencil and **ART M asks me to watch her**, '*watch me that I am not stealing anything or go on the internet [I feel awful], worked in International airport, handling money, people, I was trusted here they have no faith in people, you are not allowed to touch 'no touching it makes you paranoid and when you are back outside you are like that [puts arms around her body in protective gesture]*' (2)

#### ***Impressions and comments***

Rotors are not working and room is hot – discussion. Women chat doing their work on both tables. Art objects are a lot more personal. Discussion between ART K, ART KI and ESOL KI in tutors room. WIG shows clear side taking (nomination form). No big arguments today over cards but there have been no '*trouble-makers*' in.

I feel disturbed by WMA comments and WIG's open hostility towards officers but it is understandable, being watched is hardly something I would feel comfortable with but other women seem not to mind and even play with this. Hard to work with women when everything is so short [courses, interactions, etc.].

***Incidences***

Room was painted all week – they just moved back this morning  
only three classes running (ESOL New, ART I, LIT C not in)  
7 students

***Interactions***

**Tutor IT**

admin - regime (objects): **CA2 6 (poster colour)**  
admin- regime – personal (objects):  
teaching (Objects): **BS2 (mock), BE1 (portfolio), BS3 (mock), BS6 (exam), AYL4 (CLAIT), IT (cartridge order)**  
teaching (subject):  
Teaching - personal (objects): **BE2 (print-outs – Dress), WB8 (good work)**  
Teaching – personal (subject):  
personal (objects): BBH (x), CA2 5 (Inside Times)  
personal (subject): AYL3 (IT bling), CA2 (M baby), CA2 (BPW baby)  
personal gesture, mimic:  
Other (specify): IMB (asks for student), **officer (NCA book)**

**Researcher**

admin – regime (objects): **BS7 (toilet), CA2 6 (poster, help), NCA4 (signs), IT4, CA2 7(letter)**

admin- regime – personal (objects):  
teaching (Objects): **NCA1 (Access book), IT1 (computer, printer), IT2 (equipment), BS1/WB (print-outs), NCA2 (Access book), BVT1 (Pr- PP), NCA3 (database), WB6 (Files)**

teaching (subject): **IT2 (MAN C)**

Teaching – personal (objects):

Teaching – personal (subject):

personal (objects): CA2 1 (nursery school trip J), AYL (snake for J), CA2/IT (packed lunch), AYL1 (release on tag) + **CA2 2, CA2 3/AYL2 (Easter), NCA3 (database), AYL (take care)**

personal (subject): CA2 (BRHS), IT3 (BS), AYL1 (R), **AYL2/CA2 4 (mentally ill**

**women in prison), IT (WWM, WL), CA2 (WL), IT (woman send back this morning), IT (WB8)**

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify): **HE P pulls faces to get IT's attention**

## **CA2**

admin - regime (objects): WB4 (out)

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **BS4 (mock), BS5 (mock), NCA3 (database), WB6 (Files),**

**WB7 (Pr), BBH2 (printer)**

Teaching - personal (objects):

personal (objects): **NCA3 (database), R (Easter break)**

personal gesture, mimic, recognition:

Other (specify):

## **NCA**

admin - regime (objects): **officer (MS Book)**

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **WB2 (portfolio), WB3 (instructions), WB5 (portfolio)**

personal (objects):

personal (subject):

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify):

## **Women (students)**

admin - regime (objects): **WD/CA2 6 (poster, help)**

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **BBH1/AYL (exam)**

Teaching - personal (objects): **AYL/NCA2 (Access book)**

personal (objects): AYL/BE2 (dress)

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify):

**IT:** computer not in network, can't do anything, last week was mess, no log ins but temp1, drive is a mess, NCA fixing it, '*I am just a teacher here, I really don't need a good computer [sarcastic]*' (1) **argument with Manager about equipment and new computers for other room – allocation of budgets** '*I really don't want to care any more and hopefully I don't have to soon, if I get out of here*' (2) about BS '*my baby, she sucks her thumb sometimes*' (3) **leaves to check for a student** – got shipped out (4)

**NCA:** works next door, hoped I would come in today with the **Access book**, hugs it (1) comes over still **hugging the book** - '*I got the right one now*' (2) **later starts working on her database using the book**, *it took me ages to find the mistake and now I fixed it in seconds*' [happy] (3) **prints no access signs for cupboards** (4) holds access book tightly '*I am not letting go*' (5)

**CA2:** her daughter loves fromage frais even in college (1) **hard to find job in private sector with criminal record – only civil service, half-way houses cannot provide for women with complex needs** (2) Easter: '*early lock-up, they are short of staff*' 5 o'clock and only gym open (3) **some women have needs that's why they come back** (4) Inside times online (5) **puts posters back on wall – rules, IEP warnings, etc.** (6) **letter to governor for not paid work [bit rude] – stuffing envelopes for women, was told it gets paid but then no money was allocated** **MAN C** '*thank you for doing it voluntary*', now its the principle [disappointed] (7) photocopies the letter (8)

**AYL:** tells me she will be out soon, her sister helped with paper work, got **accepted to half-way house because she is clean and without mental health issues, wants to go to uni for business degree (did one year already)**, asks about my work, **wants to finish CLAIT outside, wants to be self-employed as criminal record and prefers to work for herself [excited]**, explains halfway house and tagging to me (1) some women time to think why they are in here, **women coming in and out – why would you want to come back here?** (2) comments on ITs bling (3) **wants to finish CLAIT+ before she leaves** (4)

**BS:** gets print-outs and takes for neighbour WB (1) '*no no I don't want that one, Miss, Miss*' [CA2 – refused to help as she is doing a mock] (2) **wants mock marked – wait after break** (3) **wants CA2 to mark – break** (4) '*break is over now*' reading inside times **sucking her thumb** (5) **gets her exam and starts working** (6) needs

toilet (7)

**WD:** bit late with in-cell alcohol information pack, sits down and **starts working** (x) reads (x)

**WB:** **starts sorting word portfolio** (1) **help, file missing** (2) discussion about instructions (3) **leaves room and returns stating she had talked to officer** (4) file missing from portfolio, **NCA creates and prints it** (5) **help with header and automatic file names** (6) **help** (7) gets told she is good (8)

**BVT:** **help – raises arms – wants NCA** – reconsiders, wants to print slides, very polite – offers chair (1)

**BBH:** **help with exam Excel** (1) exam after link visit (x) tries to print – install new printer (2)

**BE:** **sits and reads her word book** (x) **calls IT to check her work** (1) **needs print-outs** (2)

**BRHS:** released, CA2: no real case against her

**BPW:** **had a baby girl**

#### *Impressions and comments*

NetAdmin in with assistant – does not communicate at all what he is doing, just states 'fixed' and leaves. The b/w printer has been taken away and all computers now need to be checked if it is installed as women get confused (IT). As everywhere budgets are allocated to specific things and cannot be used for anything else even if it was more pressing. IT gets more and more fed up with the teaching and the running of this place.

**IT gave suspensions to two women the one in the wheelchair WWM (did not care) and WL (for not attending). IT complains about inhuman system – sent woman to education who just learned her partner has cancer.**

Straight (usually law abiding women) often comment on the 'others' as needing reflection, and to be a bit more like themselves – prisoners group themselves as well – the good ones and the bad ones?

***Incidences***

Free as a bird event in chapel for ½ hour about new service from media for development (not live [02/09/2014])

***Interactions***

**Tutor IT**

admin - regime (objects): **WYC2 (poss. IEP)**, WWM2/WBM1/NCA (work), WYC4, **WYC5 (poss. IEP)**, **WYC10 (ILP)**

admin- regime – personal (objects): WBS1 (x), **WWM1 (RM)**, **WC1 (RM)**, **IT3/NCA4 (pen, MS)**

teaching (Objects): **BRSH1 (free computer)**, **WYC5 (computer)**, **WYC7 (Pr Word)**, **WYC8 (encouragement)**, **WC2 (Pr Word)**,

teaching (subject):

Teaching - personal (objects): **WYC1 (computer)**, **WYC9 (work)**, **WYC13 (book)**

Teaching – personal (subject):

personal (objects): **NCA1 (sentence, studies)**

personal (subject): IT5/NCA5 (WBM)

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify): Salon CA (printed labels for salon CA1 was working on)

**Researcher**

admin – regime (objects): **IT2 (WWM's ACCT)**, **WWM3 (ACCT)**, **CA2 4 (NCA4 pen)**

admin- regime – personal (objects): WBR3 (drinks), **WYC11 (ILP)**

teaching (Objects): **BK1 (print-out)**, **WBR 4 (instructions, simple interactions)**, **BRHS4 (Monitor)**, **BRHS5 (Monitor - print-outs)**

teaching (subject):

Teaching - personal (objects): **WYC6 (Pr word)**, **WBR2 (Pr Word)**, **WBR4 (Pr Word)**, **WYC12 (encouragement)**, **BRSH6 (print-outs)**

Teaching – personal (subject): **WLI2 (CA2)**

personal (objects): IT1/CA2 1 (free as a bird), WBM2 (free as a bird), BRSH3 (TO), NCA3 (help in salon), WBR5 (language)

personal (subject): IT3 (WWM work)

personal gesture, mimic: WBR5 (hand-shake)

Other (specify): IT (toilet)

## CA2

admin - regime (objects): **various (ID-books), WYC3 (ID-book), various (books - ID), various (ID-books),**

admin- regime – personal (objects): **BL1 (ID-book),**

teaching (Objects): **WLI1 (Pr), WM2 2 (toe-by-toe book), WM2 3 (typing exercise), WBR1 (instructions), WLI3 (Pr), BRSH2 (exam), WLI4 (book), WBM4 (instructions), WLI6/BL (instructions)**

Teaching - personal (objects):

personal (objects):

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify):

## NCA

admin - regime (objects):

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **WBM3 (Pr - long), BL2 (Pr), WBM5 (Pr), WBR6 (book instructions), WBM7 (Pr), BK2 (portfolio)**

Teaching - personal (objects): **WYC12 (encouragement)**

personal (objects):

personal (subject):

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify): salon tutor (drawer stuck)

## Women (students)

admin - regime (objects):

admin- regime – personal (objects):

teaching (Objects): **BK/WM2 4 (log in), WWM5/WBM4 (instructions), WLI5/BL (Pr), WBR5/NCA2/R (Middle ages waste disposal/loo word origin/joke), WLI8/BL (Pr), WWM7/WLI9 (Pr)**

Teaching - personal (objects): **WWM2/WBM1/NCA (table - x)**

personal (objects): WBM/WWM4 (x), **CA2 2/BRHS/WBR (allergies), WBR/CA2 2 (salt water sniffing techniques), WBM6/NCA2 (toilet), BP/WLI7 (x)**

personal gesture, mimic:

Other (specify): woman pops in (on tag and out), inmate (free as a bird in chapel), chaplain (free as a bird in chapel),

### ***Individual women interaction, stories, problems***

**IT:** asks me if I want to go with women (1) **ACCT book instructions** (2) tells me she is going to make WWM work next week no matter what (3) looking for her pens (4) asks NCA if she has favourites as WBM (5)

**NCA:** sits with her on table, **being sentenced and dealing with it**- its like grieving: '*you go through three phases, shock, anger, acceptance. I think I am in phase three now*', **started planning her studies to not waste time in here, spoke to LIT C already about her chances**, brother that did not turn up for trial to help her '*the he is black sheep of the family, but I need to believe that he didn't know, he is family*' he left after funeral fearing to be prosecuted, '*I have been so naïve*' (1) just go to loo (2) helps salon teacher, we joke about her inflated chest, mother said to her it started with her (straight not angled) weirdly formed feet, had to wear special shoes (3) **took one of ITs pens, got IEP for carrying one without MS** – shows hide in pullover fold (4) **WBM on her landing, supported her during her court time (5)**

**CA2:** probably interesting for you (1) got flowers from her daughter, triggered her allergy, **had to wait for long to get medicine** (2) asks WWM to help WLI (3) pen issue as I don't get it – *there is one officer that likes dangling her keys if you know what I mean* (4)

**WYC:** comes in clenching a book, sits on table, *I hate IT I am not going to do anything* (1) **IT tells her to work or get an IEP, today there are enough computer so I cannot send you back** (2) gets a word intro (3) thinks Free as a bird is religious and wants to go (4) reads book in chapel (X) back later than others from chapel – gets WM2's computer but moans again *I hate computers never ticked the box for me* – **IT threatens with IEP** (5) doing word – done in school already (6) plays with word-art and formatting, IT helps, eye rolling but to me '*at least she is doing something*' (7) IT tells her she is doing well (8) stops working to read on table before time is up – IT: *I expect more from you*, WYC: *but you need to show me* (9) **fills in ILP on ITs request** (10) I look at her ILP, **need more help, boyfriend played computer games, made her feel stupid not being fast enough, hates him for paying no attention to her**, thinks now she needs longer than anybody else (11)

encouragement from me and NCA [smiling] (12) continues reading her book, series written by women for women (13)

**BL:** name wrong on ID, sue the prison [joke] (1) help (2)

**WLI:** **calls CA2 for help (1) calls CA2 but busy – wants to wait for CA2 (2) gets help (3) looks for CA2 again and walks over with book (4) wants CA2 again but CA2 is busy so goes to BL but BL cannot help (5) CA2 comes over to help – CA2 on computer/BL reading instructions**, WLI disengaged (6) chats to BP (7), goes to BL for help (8) leaves room (x) comes back and looks for help (9)

**BWS:** works next door (1)

**WWM:** in **wheelchair on ACCT book**, moans about being here as she had done this for **her A-levels and at university** (1) same spur (2) leaves with WBM so I have to follow (3) sits next to WBM without computer (4) starts helping WBM but '*I can't do this, I can't get the instructions*' (5) comes to CA table moaning that she had done this in school, IT: *what do you want to do?* Reply: *Can't do much in here I am handicapped* (6) rolls over to help WLI puts book away (7)

**WM2:** sits on one computer but moves to number 3 (1) did not bring her **toe-by-toe** as she claims not to have one yet (2) gets typing exercise from CA2 (3) needs to re-log in (4)

**BRSH:** **waits for a computer to do her exam** but is not on the list (1) uses WWM's computer as she doesn't want to do anything (x) **gets help from CA2** (2) laughs and tells me off for using the word shit in '*happy times when someone could just throw their shit on your head*' (3) [confused, irritated] about graphics on her screen that she had deleted – monitor slow to refresh (4) still confused about screen – gets print-out to show its okay (5) asks my name and for print-outs (6)

**WBM:** same spur as NCA and WWM (1) *nothing for me* and leaves chapel (2) **help – takes a long time, formatting (3) helped by WWM but back to CA2 (4) calls for NCA (5)** stated she needs to wee (6) needs help (7)

**WBR:** calls CA2, **can't understand instructions** (1) looks for help, from Moscow, studied and met husband there, since 1981 in England, husband computer programmer but never explained it to her, she destroyed one of his programmes and never tried again, Moscow before reform – I say that I am from East Germany, been to Moscow in 1987 and say something in Russian, she is happy, we chat more about word, worked as typesetter and graphics producer and how fascinating computers are for this now, Winter in Moscow, **divorced**, (2) the need to drink in here to avoid sickness (3) help scrolling, highlighting, I use short-cuts – she notes them down '*its*

*little things that make me happy* (4) discussion about Middle ages (5) '*I want to print here but my mouse won't move there*' – NCA shows her instructions in book and to follow them (6) leaves room (x) back asks me about dropdown menus, loves fonts remind her of her former job, recognises some from analogue printing (4) says good bye shaking my hand, happy I speak a bit of Russian (5)

**BK:** **works quiet and later starts ordering portfolio** – misses file (1) asks for portfolio marking (2)

**WC:** came late (1), **save and print** (2)

### ***Impressions and comments***

Women do not react to first call for free as a bird but once they learn it's in the chapel and they get some information (and probably free time from IT) most of them go. I accompany them carrying WWM's ACCT book and try to keep an eye on them in the chapel.

FREE AS A BIRD: need email address to access help services – most women state they do not have one; recruit 5 women get a £10 boots voucher, internet content, being safe (remark: *I shouldn't write and then I sucked his cock* – *a good example thank you*) – most women seem a bit puzzled and angry as they have no email and don't see the usefulness of this but copies of info-material are passed around.

When we return to seating order has changed.

IT has changed from persuasion to IEP threats I notice first with WYC. She had enough of listening to her boyfriend stories. Thinks BRHS should not do exam if she cannot do it (because she called for my help a lot). I had the first, a bit more personal encounter with her today asking my name.

New forms from ESOL K – individual learning plans that students have to fill at the beginning and end of class with smart targets (on a separate paper) – IT moans about more paperwork. Getting an IEP for carrying an unauthorised pen is a bit narrow-minded.

## ***Appendix K – HMP Bronzefield, statistical data***

### **Population breakdown by sentence length**

Sentence	18-20 year olds 2013	21 and over 2013	% 2013	18-20 year olds 2015	21 and over 2015	% 2015
Unsentenced	7	118	27.06	11	109	23.7
Less than 6 months	0	58	12.55	2	77	15.6
6 months to less than 12 months	2	22	5.19	1	38	7.7
12 months to less than 2 years	3	64	14.50	2	59	12.1
2 years to less than 4 years	4	81	18.40	3	73	15.0
4 years to less than 10 years	6	57	13.64	1	72	14.4
10 years and over (not life)	0	9	1.95	0	18	3.6
ISPP	0	4	0.87	0	7	1.4
Life	0	27	5.84	0	33	7.9
Total	22	440	100	20	486	100

The above table shows a population breakdown by sentence length for 2013 and 2015 (HMIP, 2013 and 2015).

## Population breakdown by age and offence

Main offence	18–20 yr olds	21 and over	%
Violence against the person	4	131	28.50%
Sexual offences	1	9	2.10%
Burglary	1	26	5.70%
Robbery	2	23	5.30%
Theft and handling	2	66	14.40%
Fraud and forgery	1	38	8.20%
Drugs offences	5	55	12.70%
Other offences	3	91	19.90%
Civil offences	0	1	0.20%
Offence not recorded / holding warrant	0	14	3.00%
Total	19	454	100.00%

Table of offences HMIP report of 2015, Section 6 – Appendix III: Prison population,  
p.80

## Average age range of the prison population

Age range	Average 2013/ 2015 %
Under 21	5
21-29	28
30-39	33
40-49	21
50 and over	13

Average age of prison population 2013 and 2015 (HMIP 2013, 2015)

## **Appendix L – Educational Profiles of individual women**

Interview Number/ Name/	Age/ Ethnicity	Initial assessment results	Sentenced Remand Books	Detox Fit for work security clearance Incidences	Educational Qualifications	Further education/ Employment	Outside Relations/ Children	10 initial options (bold allocated)	Classes/jobs applied for (A)/removed by student (R)	Classes added by administration
<b>High levels IT Class</b>										
3. Angela	51 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: Amber (garden)	GCSE's A-Levels	Professional CPD Accountant	Married 2 children (Siblings)	<b>Higher Numeracy 1/2</b> <b>New CLAIT</b> <b>Dance,</b> <b>Yoga</b> <b>Gym</b> Laundry worker Serving worker Wing cleaner	A: Garden party, <b>gym</b> R: NEW CLAIT	Drama
4. Sandra	48 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: L1/2	Remand to sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: amber and red	None	NVQ Level 3 IT Precarious work: Receptionist, administration,	Divorced (mother [died]) 1 child	<b>IT classroom assistant (FT)</b> <b>OU studies – computer sciences</b>	Intro Powerpoint Koestler week	
9. Candice	41 B-B	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: green and amber	GCSE's	NVQ hotel management and accountancy	Single 2 children	<b>Intro IT</b> New Clait <b>Emergency first aid</b> <b>Planning and cooking for a healthy lifestyle</b> Developing a jewellery product, Jewellery making <b>Gym</b> Education orderly Wing cleaner	A: Citizenship CLAIT	Higher Numeracy 1

10. Joanna	53 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Remand later sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	NVQ or similar Window dresser, Post office worker	Divorced 2 children	None Higher Numeracy 1/2
11. Iva	28 B-FN	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Remand	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's A-Levels	3 <sup>rd</sup> year BA International Relations (UK)	Higher Literacy 1/2 Higher Numeracy 1/2 <b>New CLAIT</b> <b>Communication,</b> <b>Stress management</b> <b>Healthy living</b> Preparation for work, Emergency first aid, Positive self image, Developing own personal skills	A: IT NEW CLAIT (level 2)  <b>IT classroom assistant</b>
<b>High levels SE Class</b>								
14. Corinne	43 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: L1/2	Remand (interview) later Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	Own horse braiding business Multimedia course Administration and office management <i>Support role for husbands business</i>	Married 4 children	A: Servery Connexions worker <b>Social Enterprise Assistant</b>

18.	Claudia W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: L1/2	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's A-Levels	1 year BA Law and Accountancy HND Psychology and Computing	Relationship (parents) No children
						<b>Higher Literacy</b> NEW CLAIT <b>Emergency first aid</b> Basic Art and Design: Introduction, Developing a jewellery product, Jewellery making, <b>Dance,</b> <b>Yoga</b> <b>Gym</b>	<b>A: Social Enterprise Assistant (FT)</b> Koestler week Creative Cards
<b>Mid-levels IT Class</b>							
1.	Melinda B-B	Lit: L1 Num: E2/3	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	NVQ level 1 Advanced Fitness and costume service	Single 2 children
						<b>Higher Numeracy 1/2</b> New CLAIT Healthy living Citizenship <b>Jewellery making</b> <b>Gym</b> Educational Assistant Social enterprise assistant Life skills assistant Wing cleaner	<b>None</b>
2.	Martha	Lit: E3 Num: L1 (derived from interview data)	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	Precarious work: Shop assistant and waitress	Single No children (Parents)
						No data	No data

5. Cara	22 A-FN	Lit: E3 Num: L1	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's A-Levels	BA Genetics <i>Plans: BA Dentistry, PHD</i>	Single (Parents, friends) No children	Higher Literacy 1/2 <b>New Clait</b> Advanced art and design Basic art and design <b>Creative cards</b> Developing a jewellery product Jewellery making <b>Gym</b> Induction assistant Education assistant
6. Jo	20 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Sentenced	Detox: yes (drugs) Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	2 unfinished college courses	Single No children	Higher Literacy 1/2 Basic Numeracy E 2/3 Higher Numeracy 1/2 <b>New Clait</b> <b>Creative cards</b> <b>Gym</b> Kleaning academy Induction assistant Education assistant servery worker Wing cleaner
<b>Mid-levels SE class</b>								
21. Marlene	32 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	NVQ Level 1 health and social care	Single (Mother) 1 child	Intro IT Finance, Benefit and debt Stress management, <b>Emergency first aid</b> Jewellery making Yoga Laundry worker, Social Enterprise/Life skills assistant, Wing Cleaner
								Drama Gym Accommodation Skills for living Advanced art and design Developing own personal skills

15. Kathleen	48 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: E3	Remand	GCSE's A-Levels	Detox: no Fit for work: yes light duties only Clearance: no (red band declined)	BA English Literature MA English Lit MA Theatre Directing	Divorced (Mother) No children	<b>NEW CLAIT</b> Emergency first aid <b>Koestler week</b> Basic Art and Design Advanced Art and Design <b>Creative Cards</b> Developing a Jewellery Product Self-employment skills with Jewellery Making <b>Yoga</b> <b>Performance (Drama)</b> Education/Induction Centre Assistant Education orderly SE Assistant
16. Greta	27 W-FN	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Sentenced	GCSE's	Detox: no Fit for work: yes (light duties only) Clearance: no	NVQ level 2 Dress design NVQ level 2 administration NVQ level 2 childcare (UK)	Single (Siblings, parents) No children	<b>ESOL 3: Higher Level</b> <b>English</b> <b>Communication</b> Emergency first aid <b>Planning and cooking for</b> <b>healthy lifestyle</b> Basic Art and Design <b>Developing a Jewellery</b> <b>Product</b> Jewellery Making <b>Dance</b> Gym (light duties) Education/Induction Centre Assistant Servery worker

17. Charlene	32 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Remand (interview) later sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no, declined amber band	GCSE's A-Levels	BTEC National in technical theatre HND Musical Theatre	Single 1 child
						Singing and acting coach Pharmaceutical assistant	Introduction <b>Basic Art and Design:</b> recycled material Fine art painting, Fine art sculpture, Teaching children craft <b>Yoga</b>
							Addition, subtraction and multiplication <b>Intro Word Processing</b> Emergency first aid Planning and cooking for healthy lifestyle <b>Basic Art and Design:</b> Introduction <b>Basic Art and Design:</b> recycled material Fine art painting, Fine art sculpture, Teaching children craft <b>Yoga</b>
<b>Low-levels IT class</b>							
07. Lara	23 W-B	Lit: E3 Num: E3	Remand ACCT	Detox: yes (drugs) Fit for work: partly Clearance: no	None	Trainee manager retail and fast food - never completed	Single (Mother) 2 children
						Escort and prostitution	Higher Numeracy 1/2 <b>Intro IT</b> New Clait <b>Developing a jewellery product</b> Jewellery making Koestler art <b>Dance</b>
						<i>Plans: finish GCSE's Back-up: Prostitution</i>	<b>Basic literacy E2/3</b> Higher Literacy 1/2 <b>Basic Numeracy E 2/3</b> Higher Numeracy 1/2 <b>Intro IT</b> New Clait <b>Citizenship</b> Emergency first aid Making life choices
8. Anita	24 B-FN	Lit: E3 Num: E2	Remand	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	NVQ equivalent in hairdressing and business Self-employed nail technician	<b>Basic literacy E2/3</b> Higher Literacy 1/2 <b>Basic Numeracy E 2/3</b> Higher Numeracy 1/2 <b>Intro IT</b> New Clait <b>Developing interpersonal skills</b> Healthy living Developing a jewellery product

12. Nina	26 W-B	Lit E3/L1: Num: E3	Sentenced ACCT	Detox: yes (drugs) Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	GCSE's	Precarious work: Shop assistant Labourer (family business)	In relationship (Father) 1 child	None
						<i>Plans: work in family business</i>		Koestler Literacy Koestler Art Higher Numeracy 1
<b>Low-levels SE class</b>								
13. Sally	53 A-FN	Lit: no e. Num: n. e. (hunger strike on arrival)	Sentenced ACCT but closed at time of interview	Detox: no Fit for work: 1. Unfit needs doctor to fit patient; 2. No medical restrictions Clearance: red band	None	Precarious work: Book shop sales assistant, warehouse assistant UK: nude model, house and pet sitter	Single No children	Basic art and design Developing a product (SE) Creative cards Fine art developing a painting Koestler week Creating a better environment Self- employment skills with Jewellery Yoga

19. Lisa	32 W-B	Lit: E1/2 Num: E3	Remand	Detox: yes (drugs) Fit for work: yes Clearance: amber band	None	NVQ level 1 fitness instructor (prison) NVQ level 2 (college)	Single (Mother?) No children	<b>Accommodation and finance</b>  Stress management <b>Gym</b> Education/Induction centre assistant Education orderly Gym orderly Laundry worker Social enterprise/life skills assistant Servery worker <b>Wing cleaner</b>	A: <b>Wing Cleaner</b> <b>Painting Party</b>	Drama Making life choices Koestler week Dance Basic art and design Skills for life
20. Jolene	26 B-FN	Lit: E2/3 Num: E2/3	Remand	Detox: no information (mentioned drug use) Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	None	Precarious work: Cleaning, baby sitting Prostitution	Single (Mother) 2 children	<b>Basic Literacy 2/3</b>  Basic Numeracy 2/3 Healthy living, Advanced art and design <b>Koestler</b> Drama, Drama, <b>Yoga</b> <b>Gym</b>	A: <b>Higher</b> <b>Numeracy L1</b> Business skills Arts and crafts <b>Gym</b> <b>Yoga</b> Dance	Intro IT Accommodation n
22. Natalie	24 B-B	Lit: E2 Num: E3	Sentenced	Detox: no Fit for work: yes Clearance: no	None	Uncompleted Fashion and ICT level 2 in college	Single No children	<b>Basic Literacy E2/3</b>  Higher Numeracy Accommodation Communication Emergency first aid <b>Making life choices</b> Basic art and design Jewellery making <b>Drama</b> Dance	None	Advanced art and design Developing own personal skills Basic Numeracy Healthy living

23. Kieran A-B	21 Lit: E3/4 Num: E3	Sentenced	Detox: yes (Alcohol) Fit for work: yes except food Clearance: no	GCSE's	Entry to Employment course in college	Single (Parents, uncle) No children	<b>Higher Literacy 1/2</b> Higher Numeracy Intro IT Accommodation, Healthy living <b>Making life choices</b> <b>Skills for living</b> Stress management Creative cards Jewellery making <b>Drama</b> Dance

**Green** – Good experiences in compulsory education

**Orange** – some problems in school

**Dark orange** – bad experiences in compulsory education

**Red** - bad experiences in compulsory education and suspected or indicated learning difficulties

## **Appendix M – Individual women's experiences with ICT**

Interview Number/ Name	Age/ Ethnicity	Initial assessment results	IT use with H=Home E=Education, W=Work M = Mobile C = Computer	Age started using computer technology (Devices)	IT devices owned - activities and/or purpose of IT use at home <b>Rejected use</b>	IT for education (Devices, software)	IT at work (Devices, software)	Anticipated IT use after prison	IT chosen as initial option (If removed by student Bold allocated) <b>FAILS</b>
<b>Natives IT class</b>									
1. Melinda	34 B-B	Lit L1 Num: E2/3	General public (W)	Childhood (Pager, banana phone)	Computer: for children to do homework and play (not her) Mobile: call no text Camera: take pictures  <b>Social networks (Facebook, email)</b>	None	Security (scanner)	None	<b>Level 1 – U1 fail (return to E3)</b> <b>E3</b>
2. Martha	28 W-FN	Lit E3 Num: L1 (Derived from interview data)	Friends (H/C + M) Ex-boyfriend (H/C)	Secondary school (computer)	2 mobiles: one friends, one business – call no text Computer: Chat rooms (aged 16/17), Flight bookings  <b>Social networks (Facebook)</b>	School (word/excel)	Shop assistant and waitress (tills)	None	<b>E3</b> <b>L1 - Unit 1, 2</b>
5. Cara	22 A-FN	Lit E3 Num: L1	Private tutor (E/C) Family and friends (H + E/C + M)	Childhood	Laptop: Internet research Social networking (anti-filtering software) Mobile: call+ text Camera	school homework university (MS Office) Research, Recorder (lectures)	No	Education and work	<b>E3</b> <b>L1 and L2</b>
6. Jo	20 W-B	Lit L1 Num: E3	Friends (H/M)	Childhood	Computer (mum): Homework, Games Mobile (mum): call	College (IT course unfinished) Google research Prior Prison IT course	No	None	<b>L1 – U2 and U5 fail (disappeared)</b>
07. Lara	23 W-B	Lit E3 Num: E3	Ex-boyfriend (H/C) Online friends (H/C)	Childhood	Computer (broken by ex): chat rooms, Internet searches Mobile: call + text + pictures +alarm + torch	Computer for school homework and research	Internet cafes – Business (prostitution) Trainee manager fast food - till, computer	Private	<b>E3</b> <b>L1 U1 and U2</b>

8. Anita	24 B-FN	Lit: E3 Num: E2	Ex-boyfriend (E + H/C) Son (H/C)	School age	Computer: social networking (Facebook), entertainment (movies, songs, pictures, games and nursery rhymes), research Mobile: call + no text, pictures Camera: family pictures	No	Private	E3 L1 U1	Intro IT New Clait
11. Iva	28 B-FN	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Friends V (H/C)	Childhood	Computer/laptop: social networking, job search Mobile: call Camera	University research, essay writing	Work	E3 L1 and L2	New CLAIT CA for IT class
12. Nina	26 W-B	Lit E3/L1: Num: E3	Friends V (H/C)	Childhood (little interest)	Computer (Mum's house): research, social networking (not much), entertainment (video games), email Mobile: text, pictures	No	Shop (label printing)	Work maybe	Intro IT New Clait
<b>Natives SE class</b>									
16. Greta	27 W-FN	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Siblings M/C/CA	Childhood	Computer: social networking (restricted to family and real friends), research (Google) Mobile: txt and talk and email Camera	College NVQ	Tills	None	No IT
17. Charlene	32 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Cousin/C Friends/M	University	Laptop: social networking, email, research (phobia) Mobile: photos, talk not text (screen) <b>No games</b>	University: essay writing and research	Computer: research	None	E3 ( <b>fail</b> )
18. Claudia	29 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: L2	Boyfriend/C and M (H+W) Friends, family/M (H)	Childhood	Computer: research, social networking, shopping Mobile: text and phone	University: essay writing and research, practical tasks (design and coding)	Computer: design, campaigning Camera: design	Work	No IT
19. Lisa	32 W-B	Lit: E1/2 Num: E3	Mum [pays]/M and C (H)	Later childhood	Computer: not interested one email sent Mobile: text only but prefers to talk	None (Learn in prison maybe due to long sentence)	None	None	Not chosen

20.	Jolene	26 B-FN	Lit: E2/3 Num: E2/3	Mum/Top up phone, camera	Prisoner	None	None	E3 word
21.	Marlene	32 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: E3	Son + friends /C (H)	Childhood	Computer: homework (son), social networking, letters, research Mobile: photos, text and talk	College	Milling machine
22.	Natalie	24 B-B	Lit: E2 Num: E3	Cat/M (H) E (C)	Childhood	Mobile: talk, no text, photos Computer: music	College course ICT level 2 (not finished)	Tills
23.	Kieran	21 A-B	Lit: E3/4 Num: E3	Friends/C and M (E+H)	Childhood	No social networks Laptop: social networking, entertainment, research, shopping, letter writing Mobile: text and talk, photos and music Printer and scanner	College course E to E and Sage	Shop: scanner, price tags
<b>Immigrants IT class</b>								
3.	Angela	51 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Husband (H/C) Children (H/C) Family V (H/C)	Working age	Computer: Internet research Family contact, Email, Skype Social networks Mobile: call + text Camera, Scanner, Fax, Printer	Professional development	Computer (Sage, Excel, Iris, Exchequer)
4.	Sandra	48 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: L1/2	Co-worker (W)	Working age	Computer: Internet research Job search Entertainment (Bingo) Mobile: call less text	NVQ Level 3 IT	Switchboards Computer (from Windows 2.1)
								New CLAIT R
								E3 <b>L1 - U 1 fail (self-removed)</b>
								No but CA for IT class

9. Candice	41 B-B	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Children (H/C)	Working age	Mobile: call + text Computer: bit of internet <b>No dating, social networking, shopping networks, data input</b>	No	Accountant 6 months (till)	Work Private	E3	<b>Intro IT</b> New Clait
10. Joanna	53 W-B	Lit: L1 Num: L1	Sons (H/C)	Working age	Mobile: emergency calls only Computer: research	No	Post office work (touch screen)	Work Private	E3	<b>Intro IT</b>
<b>Immigrants SE Class</b>										
13. Sally	53 A-FN	Lit: no e. Num: n. e. (hunger strike on arrival)	W: computer	Working age	Mobile: talk, email and pictures	None	Newspaper: register new users, phone House sitting: computer for games, online search	None	No IT	IT second choice – all art and expressive art subjects chosen
14. Corinne	43 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: L1/2	Family: Computer, camera W/C	Working age	Computer: kids homework, banking, online research, emails Mobile: talk and text	Multimedia course (software training)	Shop computer: design research, accounts Cameras; artwork images for web	Work Private	No IT	Not chosen (too low)
15. Kathleen	48 W-B	Lit: L1/2 Num: E3/L1	W/C Friends: M	Working age	Computer: online research, shopping Mobile: phone only (likes privacy)  <b>No facebook/online dating</b>	Late university: essay writing	Computer: MS Office	None	<b>Level 1</b>	<b>NEW CLAIT</b> App to finish diploma