

Correctional Education: A Theoretical Analysis for Change

Amanda Brazil
Mount Saint Vincent University

A thesis submitted to the Department of Education

in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

December 2006

Dedication

This is dedicated to my loving and very patient family. Steve and Tate, thank you for your support and understanding. This is also dedicated to anyone who has ever had a dream and followed it through.

Abstract

This thesis examines correctional education in Canadian federal prisons. A critical analysis of Social Learning Theory, which informs current correctional practices implemented by the Correctional Service of Canada, is conducted and identifies the problematic nature associated with the personal focus on criminality. A synthesis of criminological theories including Differential Association, Marxism, and critical educational frameworks, set the basis for arguing the need for changes in the current implementation of correctional education. These changes should include a more social focus, both in theory and practice. Crime and education are recognized as being commodities in a capitalist society and to challenge this, offenders need to critically examine their place in society through a dialogical and reflective educational opportunity. This opportunity should lead to a change in perspective and comprehension, resulting in personal and potential social transformation. This thesis calls for reformation due to the prescriptive nature of the current curriculum and recommends a more holistic approach to pedagogical style and course offerings within Canadian correctional education classrooms.

An argument will be made that offering offenders simple adult basic education and employability skills in the areas of cleaning and maintenance are only preserving the socio-economic hierarchy and maintaining the status quo; not helping offenders become autonomous, empowered, and active citizens. This thesis will compare the technical rational approach to correctional education to the approach offered in the Irish prison service, where education is inarguably more holistic and liberal. Critical adult educators such as Paulo Freire, Jack Mezirow, and Michael Collins advocate this critical approach

and their contributions to the field are examined.

An example of practical critical pedagogy, which occurred in Long Kesh prison in Northern Ireland, will demonstrate the authenticity of education for social action and active citizenship. In addition, examples from the field of correctional education will reveal how critical education can be implemented in institutional classrooms while recognizing that barriers to this do exist.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone in my past and present who has challenged me, encouraged me, and believed in me.

I would like to thank Nancy Taber for her vision, intellect, and patience.

I would also like to offer my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Patricia Gouthro. It is your wisdom and dedication that has made this possible.

Finally, a thank you to people who are willing to question what is happening in the world today and who are trying and make a difference.

Table of Contents

Chapter One	1
Methodology.....	1
Correctional Background Information.....	3
Research Parameters.....	6
Current Trends in Canadian Correctional Education.....	8
Inside the Prison.....	12
Theories of Crime.....	15
Critical Pedagogy.....	17
Freirean Pedagogy.....	19
Ireland’s Critical Framework.....	21
Research Overview.....	23
Chapter Two	25
Canada’s Correctional History.....	25
Who are the Criminals?.....	28
Understanding Crime.....	31
Academic Schools of Thought.....	32
Conflict Theory.....	36
Symbolic Interaction and Differential Association.....	39
Critical Education.....	44
Canada’s Current Correctional Philosophy.....	47
The Need for Understanding.....	49
Chapter Three	51
The Correctional Plan.....	51
The Prison School.....	54
The Irony of “Correctional” Education.....	58
Critical Analysis.....	62
The Question of Success.....	68

Chapter Four	70
Critical Pedagogy.....	71
Paulo Freire.....	73
Jack Mezirow.....	76
Michael Collins.....	78
Critical Commonalities.....	81
European Correctional Education.....	84
Ireland’s Holistic Correctional Education.....	86
Chapter Five	92
Challenges in Implementing Critical Pedagogy.....	92
Critical Pedagogy in Long Kesh.....	95
Innovative Applications.....	98
Humanities.....	101
Alternative Pedagogy in Canadian Prisons.....	104
Conclusion.....	107
References	111

Chapter One

Prison education in Canadian federal institutions is in need of a change. The current pedagogical approach is technical, rational, and skills-based. It is lacking a critically reflective, dialogical component and holism with regards to course offerings and pedagogical strategies. This research study will argue for a more critical approach to correctional education as a means of providing all citizens with the tools needed for the realization of their full potential as active, responsible, and engaged members of society. The theories of Marxist criminology, Differential Association, and Critical Education will be used to inform the research. The methodological tools used are discourse, policy and evaluation analysis. This thesis also includes a comparison of Canadian correctional education and Irish correctional educational as the Irish system implements a more critical approach when educating offenders.

Methodology

My interest in this subject stems from the experiences I have gained working within the field of corrections as a volunteer and employee over the last eight years. I understand the challenges and realities around the rehabilitation of offenders and as a result, I recognize the need to critically look at areas I feel require enhancement: correctional educational opportunities. The research for this paper is done through a critical or discourse analysis and a policy and evaluation analysis of the existing written material including primary government documents, previous research studies, and academic journal articles and books. This thesis involves theorizing and engaging with the existing literature in order to develop an alternative critical curriculum. Discourse Analysis “is concerned with the way knowledge is produced within a particular discourse

through the use of distinctive language...or through the adoption of implicit theories in order to make sense of social action” (Spencer, Ritchie, & O’Connor, 2004, p.200).

Policy and Evaluation Analysis “is targeted towards providing ‘answers’ about the contexts for social policies and programmes and the effectiveness of their delivery and impact” (Spencer, Ritchie, & O’Connor, 2004, p.201). I use the combination of these two types of analysis for my research because academic and political writing is never neutral. These analytical tools help to uncover the subjectivities associated with what is written about correctional and adult education. “Using just words, those in power, or wishing to be so, can misdirect our concerns for persistent, larger systematic issues of class, gender, age, religion, or culture seem petty or nonexistent” (McGregor, 2005, Understanding the Theory of Critical Discourse Analysis section, ¶ 6).

The documents to be examined are journal articles and book chapters written by contemporary, critical correctional educators and critical adult educators. I also investigated some of the Commissioner’s Directives and Standing Operating Procedures of the Correctional Service of Canada. An examination of the Irish Prison Education Association and the European Prison Education Association will then be conducted with focus on the mandate and work of the Prison Education Service of Ireland. Critical educational and sociological theoretical frameworks will be examined through an analysis of primary documents and subsequent secondary documents.

The theoretical framework I use is based on critical sociological and educational theory. The initial analysis for the research was inspired by the work of Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy. Freire offers a pedagogy of transformation, where, through problem posing education and dialogue, individuals are able to question and challenge the

dominant power structures within society. As the research progressed, the offerings of other critical adult educators, such as Michael Collins, Stephen Brookfield, and Jack Mezirow, became pertinent to the argument. The work of these theorists have helped to shape my critical analysis of the existing policies and teaching practices used in Canadian correctional education, by providing both theoretical and pedagogical insights into alternative frameworks for understanding and developing prison education. By examining correctional education in light of these theorists' contributions, the limiting nature of what is currently available in Canadian prison classrooms is uncovered. Critical theory also provides the basis for the cross-cultural comparison done between Canadian and Irish correctional educational efforts; the Prison Education Service of Ireland currently offers educational opportunities that reflect a more critical pedagogical approach.

Correctional Background Information

Education in prison is a controversial yet very important subject that affects all of us because most offenders, whether we approve or not, will return to the street. "At any one time, approximately 14,000 offenders are incarcerated in federal penitentiaries. Most will eventually be released to the community, either on parole or statutory release, prior to serving their full sentence or at the end of their sentence" (Auditor General of Canada, 1996, Introduction section, ¶1). Research by The National Parole Board shows that "federal releases from institutions increased 4.1% in 2005/06 to 8,146" (National Parole Board, p. v/vi, 2006). This figure is high relative to the number of people incarcerated. "Since 1997, the federal population of men in-custody decreased 12% (from 13,825 to 12,158), however, historical times series analysis projects this group to increase by 245

offenders (or 2%) over the next 5-years (a net annual average increase of less than one-half of one percent)” (Research Branch, 2006, Highlight section, ¶ 2). Therefore, almost forty percent of the offender population is living in the community. The costs associated with incarceration are also astounding. According to CSC the cost to incarcerate a male inmate for a year in federal prison is about \$80,000. This number decreases greatly for an offender on supervised release at about \$20,500 (Speakers Binder, 2006, Cost of Incarceration section, ¶ 1). Therefore, economically speaking it is in the public’s best interest to invest in all members of society particularly if this investment yields a pro-social, active citizen. Yet education should contribute towards an offender’s rehabilitative process rather than simply as a means to control future criminal behaviour. Economics will always play a part in an offender’s rehabilitation, but the offender’s broader social needs should be the focus of correctional education reform. A critical approach to education could provide offenders with the opportunity to become full citizens of society, people who are active, socially aware community members.

It has been commonly stated that, “some regard education as a privilege that inmates do not deserve” (John Howard Society [JHS] of Alberta, 2002, p.12) due to the punitive nature of prison. Yet, the United Nations has recognized education in prison as a right (de Mayer, 2001, p.117). This right could only be in the best interest of offenders because “federal inmates are usually the country’s most poorly educated citizens: 64 per cent have not completed high school; 30 per cent have not even completed grade 8. In standard literacy testing, the average inmate scores at grade 7.5” (Harris, 2002. p.29). Based on these numbers the connection between education and criminal behaviour cannot be seen as mere coincidence.

For sure, illiterate or poorly-educated people are no more dangerous than others; for sure, these people are not delinquents by nature, yet, and it's a fact, the proportions of semi-literate and illiterate individuals is greater in prison than in any other social group (de Maeyer, 2001, p.121).

To deal with the problem of educational attainment, Correctional Services Canada (CSC) regulations state "any inmate with less than a grade 10 is offered a placement in school" (Harris, 2002, p.29). The debate, therefore, is not whether education should be provided in prison, but how these educational programs are best implemented behind bars. By examining correctional education in Canada, the question can be raised of whether the offender student is receiving the right kind of education for his or her need and if it is the best educational model for a society that claims to invest in all of its citizens equally and a correctional service that supports the notion of rehabilitation and reintegration.

Correctional education, specifically in Canada's federal prisons, is often mechanical and skill-based and is in need of reform. The focus of this current approach to prison education is based on measurable outcomes and is encompassed in competence-based learning.

Competence-based learning is a means for determining competence. In the end it consists of a system of procedures for that determination. The system sets parameters on factors such as the identification of tasks, how these tasks are categorized, and the criteria and devices to be used during assessment (Peruniak, 1998, p.315).

Competence-based learning is limiting because it only concentrates on the technical skills a student learns while omitting the learning opportunities available through alternate educational methods such as critical reflection and dialogue. These methods could further challenge the intellectual potential of the learner.

Through critical pedagogical philosophies and Western European examples, inmates may experience a more holistic and liberating educational experience. The examination of criminological and educational theory is the basis for critically exploring how current Canadian correctional education efforts are executed, the effects it has on offenders, and what changes could be made to correctional education methods that could teach offenders more than the basics. The Irish Prison Service will prove to be a flagship in the area of correctional education because of its more progressive, holistic, and voluntary approach to correctional education. The Irish approach is also inspired by Freirean pedagogy and his influence is apparent in the voluntary, liberating nature of the course offerings and pedagogic style.

Research Parameters

This research study excludes an analysis of a number of specific offender populations whom receive treatment and interventions in prison that are, in most cases, handled differently from the general population. These include female offenders, mentally ill offenders, Aboriginal offenders, and sex offenders. Female offenders are omitted because, “compared with men, women in conflict with the law have a lower offence severity, and a lower probability of recidivism. It is often said that women pose little *risk* but have great *need*” (Elizabeth Fry Society, 2004). The resources available to

women are also regulated somewhat differently. Sex offenders are also treated differently as,

The treatment of sexual offenders is a therapeutic and semi-structured intervention aimed at reducing the risk of recidivism through the use of effective self-management. It deals with cognitive distortions, deviant arousal and fantasy, social competence, anger and emotion management, empathy, and victim awareness (CSC, 2002, Offender Treatment section, ¶ 1).

Aboriginal offenders are offered culturally specific correctional programming. “CSC is currently adopting a new national strategy that will further expand and focus its efforts to ensuring an Aboriginal-specific correctional process is in place throughout an Aboriginal offender’s sentence” (CSC, 2003). In some cases these interventions replace traditional CSC programming. Finally, mentally ill offenders are placed in programs tailored to their intellectual abilities and crimes. The African-Canadian male offenders who do not fit in the aforementioned categories will not be considered apart from the population in question in this thesis. They receive the same correctional programming as white males in the general population. An analysis of specific racial discrimination will not be done due to the scope of the problem within the Canadian penal and justice systems. The understood disadvantage of the offenders being researched in this thesis is that of socio-economic status and low education level. These two factors are commonalities among the general inmate population and play an integral part in criminality. “Once arrested, indigent defendants with limited education are more likely to be convicted, to receive longer sentences and to be denied probation or parole than are middle-class defendants

charged with similar offences” (Davidson, 1998, 247). This research also does not represent the provincial correctional system (although problematic in its own right). The provincial system is different from the federal system in that the scope of the programming and educational efforts are limited due to the shorter length of offenders’ sentences.

In this study the type of education under scrutiny is primarily education at a junior high and high school level. Other types of programs will also be addressed in terms of what is offered to occupy offenders’ time. These programs, known as *core programs*, are the correctional programs offered to inmates to help address factors contributing to their criminality. These include programs such as anger management and substance abuse programming. These programs address the behavioural problems associated with crime. University academics will not be a priority of this research as “fewer than 10% of participants in education programs opt for post-secondary education. Offender’s usually pay for their own post-secondary studies, unless it can be demonstrated that the education addresses a very specific need” (CSC, 2002, Education section, ¶ 7). For these reasons university education in prison is highly unlikely and therefore is not at the forefront of this research study.

Current Trends in Canadian Correctional Education

The trends in the literature regarding correctional education fall along a continuum based on perspectives of adult education. This continuum begins with a technical rational, skills-based approach to education on one end and radical or critical pedagogy on the other. In North America, practitioner and government initiated studies indicate that the correctional educational based on self-directed, skills-based learning presently

offered in Canadian prisons is sufficient and rehabilitative as measured by recidivism rates. “Overall, previous research studies have found that educational progress while incarcerated serves to reduce the likelihood of re-incarceration” (Nuttall, Hollmen, & Staley, 2003, p.91). This success in reducing recidivism rates through education is achieved by controlling and measuring educational outcomes within the prison setting, reminiscent of the technical paradigm.

“The technical conceptual paradigm is most visible in the tendencies of modern adult education to control the learning processes” (Plumb & Welton, 2001, p.71). Critical adult educators recognize the technical-rational educational approach as problematic. Michael Collins (1995) states that “technical rationality is exemplified in the jargon of scientific management and legitimized in the discourse on CBE (competency based education)” (p.85). “Habermas observes that the physical sciences are the prototype institution for the technical paradigm” (Plumb & Welton, 2001, p.70). Measurable outcomes and accreditation is key in technical education and it is no wonder that institutions adopt this style of education; success and achievement can be rated. “This is especially true in our time when all things seem subject to ‘economic’ evaluative criteria (productivity, efficiency, cost-effectiveness)” (Plumb & Welton, 2001, p.70). Per this tendency, “...in many places (and in North America, in particular) education is given a narrower, criminogenic-focused task” (Warner, 2002, p.32) with the focus on changing specific behaviours and skills sets without examining the greater social context.

Studies also indicate that “those offenders who earned a GED while incarcerated were less likely to return to state prison than a comparable sample of offenders who did not earn a GED” (Nuttall, Hollmen, & Staley, 2003, p. 94). The Correctional Service of

Canada's main concern in regard to the offender population is that they do not re-offend and that their risk is managed. Recidivism, "the rate at which offenders who have been through the system commit new crimes" (Harris, 2002, p.236) can be considered a misleading measure of programming success because "many obvious reoffenders become new offenders through a number of loopholes contrived by CSC" (Harris, 2002, p.337). For example, offenders who commit new crimes after having reached the expiry of a sentence will not be considered recidivists.

Under the current system, an offender can commit a murder or rape the day after his writ of expiry and it would not affect CSC 'success rates'. If a paroled inmate commits a crime that receives a provincial sentence, it is not counted as an offence at all (Harris, 2002, p.337).

Because CSC reports lower recidivism rates they are able to claim that "...it is obvious that education programs in correctional institutions are beneficial for all parties involved, including members of society, government, and individual inmates" (JHS of Alberta, 2002, p.12). One investigation of recidivism rates would challenge the success of correctional programming and education. "Unofficially, various CSC sources estimate that 35 to 50 per cent of federal offenders will reoffend, figures consistent with the 47 per cent figure published by the Kingston police in their recidivism study, much to the consternation of CSC" (Harris, 2002, p.338). If an actual reported fifty percent of offenders reoffend, then there is room for improvement. Correctional programs and education do offer some benefits to offenders, such as practical skills and knowledge, but it can be argued that: "rehabilitation and educational programs have largely become a means to satisfy parole boards and keep prisoners occupied rather than a way to help

prisoners, who essentially become captive/resistant participants” (Rivera, 1995, p.160).

Some prisoners submit to programming schedules on a daily basis as a means of fulfilling the requirements laid out in their correctional plan with the hopes of a satisfying the parole board and to earn pay. The monetary incentive for program participation is important, because it is with this money that personal items and tobacco can be purchase and subsequently used as currency among the inmate population. This is an example of how education is commodified not only by society, but by the inmate population as well.

The prescriptive form of correctional education may be costly for the inmate. For example “MacLean finds that prisoner education poised as moral education is really social control, which will be evaluated in terms of reducing recidivism rather than pedagogical merit” (Sbarbaro, 1995, p.145). This style of education might appear to set acceptable goals for offenders but they need more than this to become fully participating citizens. In correctional programs that address moral issues, the skills taught are as technical as those for numeracy. Offenders learn the lingo and buzz words associated with the program objectives and are able to recite them when needed. I have heard offender’s refer to using the ‘time-out’ skill when avoiding a staff member who is addressing their inappropriate behaviour. As it sounds, a time-out is when an offender leaves a situation that may escalate and become volatile, yet it can also be used to avoid facing problems or issues. This new acquisition of knowledge does not guarantee a change in the offender’s beliefs and values rather they have learned what to say and when to say it.

Along with social control it appears that the government also reaps the benefits of correctional education through increased human capital.

Human capital...represents 'those abilities and information that have economic value'. The intangible inner resources of human beings thus replace material assets as the defining dimension of wealth. Furthermore, human capital is a renewable resource and, unlike other forms of capital, there is no theoretical limit to its supply (Bouchard, 1998, p.129).

A critical perspective on prison education would suggest that the government seemingly has more to gain from the little being offered to offenders than the offenders do.

"Theoretically, the added human capital of an education makes future crime less likely because the legitimate opportunities available to the returning prisoners are now at least comparable to the illegitimate opportunities available to them" (Cordella, 1995, p.150).

Questions then arise around the goals of CSC and government. Aside from reducing recidivism, the aim of corrections is social control and saving money. "Also borne out of lower recidivism rates are the economic efficiencies that government enjoys by reducing expenditure on the outrageous costs of incarceration" (JHS of Alberta, 2002, p.13).

Inside the Prison

The theoretical approach that Correctional Service Canada has employed in developing treatments and interventions is Social Learning Theory, developed by psychologist Albert Bandura. It is a psychologically based, cognitive-behavioural approach traditionally used to explain aggressive behaviour. Social Learning Theory "emphasizes the point that behaviour may be reinforced not only through actual rewards or punishments, but also through expectations that are learned by watching what happens to other people" (Vold & Bernard, 1986, p.207). According to Bandura:

Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behaviour is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action (1977, p. 22).

In Canada the approach to corrections and correctional programs is developed in light of this theory and target areas that are identified as contributing to criminality. “Staff look closely at seven areas believed to have impact on criminal actions: employment, associates, community functioning, attitudes, and marital or family situation, substance abuse, and emotional problems” (Harris, 2002, p.22). CSC gathers information about these contributing factors by conducting an intake assessment on the offender. They also solicit post sentence community assessments, which are conducted on the offender’s identified community supports including family and friends. This is done to gain a greater understanding of the offender so as to develop a criminogenic profile. Once factors are identified as having contributed to the offence, they are addressed in priority according to the offender’s correctional plan.

The Correctional Strategy goes beyond good programming. It ensures that the offenders’ needs relating specifically to his or her criminal behaviour are addressed. It also guides the establishment of program priorities. For example, in the case of an illiterate sex offender who has a substance abuse problem, a strategy is developed to prioritise the delivery of the

various programs and make sure that all his needs are addressed in a systematic fashion (Correctional Services Canada, 1999, p.145).

Academic education it is available only when it mandated or recommended in an offender's correctional plan or if an offender's literacy level is so low that he or she requires literacy training to participate in the other programs in their correctional plan.

Incentives are also offered to inmates regarding program participation. In the Commissioner's Directive on Inmate Program Assignment and Payments (CSC, 1999), program participants are both rewarded and punished financially for their performance in programs.

Pay shall be reduced or increases shall be refused, only for failure to meet the performance standards of a program to which an inmate has been assigned. Following completion of a program assignment, inmates shall be expected to maintain behaviour that can reasonably be considered to be consistent with the program's performance standards. Failure to do so within six months following program completion may result in either a reduction in pay or the denial of an increase in pay (CSC, Principles section, ¶ 3).

Reports question whether or not these strategies are working. As reported in the March 2004 CSC Performance Report, "one area of concern relates to the number of offenders who complete programs. Currently, approximately one-half of offenders do not complete programs that they are enrolled in" (CSC, 2004, p.13). This does not bode well for CSC and its mandatory programming of offenders. Perhaps this is an indication that a new approach to educational efforts that invests in and engages with the offender could be

beneficial, an approach that is more holistic, critical and voluntary and is based on alternate theoretical approaches.

Theories of Crime

In order to argue for changes in dealing with offender's educational pursuits, it must be understood as to why they break the law in the first place. This thesis will examine some of the different sociological theories of crime. An overview of these theories will be provided, but for this analysis, the focus will be on the theory of Differential Association and Marxism. With regards to explaining criminality, classical theories examined deviance, those behaviours which deviate from acceptable social norms. But from deviance theories came the more contemporary criminology theories. Sociologist Desmond Ellis (1987) explained the connection between deviance and crime. "Deviants violate the non-legal norms of the groups to which they belong. Criminals violate legal norms...crime is a sub-category of deviance" (p.3). It can be understood then, that when deviance theorists refer to deviance, it is inclusive of crime.

The theory of Differential Association, a sociological and learning perspective on deviance, was developed to explain delinquency by Edwin Sutherland. "This theory conceives of criminality as participation in a cultural tradition and as the result of association with representatives of that culture" (Sutherland, 1973, p.5). This approach to criminality focuses on the informal learning that takes place within a community or society and therefore is a useful guideline for addressing other forms of offender learning. Sutherland (1973) states:

The tendencies and inhibitions at the moment of the criminal behaviour are, to be sure, largely a product of the earlier history of the person, but the

expression of these tendencies and inhibitions is a reaction to the immediate situation as defined by the person (p.8).

Differential association does not place the blame for deviance on societal pressures or consider the offender as a mindless mimic. Rather it assumes intelligence and an active value system, which can be challenged. If criminality can be learned through association, so too can non-criminal behaviour. Correctional education in its present form does not provide offenders with many learning opportunities to develop new associations that may counter those criminal associations already made. Although offenders may be introduced to new teachers and staff whom hold new ideas and perceptions, without dialogue and social interaction, the development of alternative socially generated associations will be difficult. A more critical and reflective approach to educational programming in prison could possibly allow for these new associations to be made by means of a social and interactive classroom.

Marxist theories of criminology also provide insights into why people break the law. Rather than explaining how offenders learn to become criminal, Marxist analysts of deviance focus on the social factors, which contribute to criminality. Marxist theory of criminology suggests that:

The state acts, not as a neutral party to balance the inevitable conflicts between the two groups, but mainly as a shield to protect the ruling class against threats from the ruled masses. It works primarily to foster the interests of the rulers. Marx believed that developing capitalism would force proliferation of criminal laws to act as important mechanisms by which the rulers could maintain order (Clinard & Meier, 1998, p.118).

Capitalist control has yielded the formation of criminal laws, which control and criminalize the working class. These criminal behaviours may then permeate through lower-class societies through the socializing process of differential association. It is obvious that not all working class people become criminalized but the propensity is there because there are fewer feasible options, which can bring about wealth, status or simply survival.

Critical Pedagogy

Based on the literature regarding the state of Canadian correctional education, offenders have yet to be offered access to the benefits of a more critical, holistic education due to the strict rules around participation for rehabilitation and outcomes that are measured by recidivism rates. Education for rehabilitation has also been considered problematic because the very concept of offender rehabilitation is often times erroneous; “rehabilitation implies restoration to a former condition or competence. But many prisoners may have never known a condition of honour or dignity to which they could be restored” (Cayley, 1998, p.98). The focus should not be only on rehabilitation, but for some it should be on habilitation. Based on statistics provided by CSC researchers L. Motiuk, R. Boe, and M. Nafekh, offenders are entering the system in a position of disadvantage, with low levels of education and literacy. But according to Paulo Freire “barriers can be treated as insurmountable obstacles or, as Freire calls them, limit situations that can be understood, challenged and overcome in our continuous striving to become more fully human” (Allman & Wallis, 1997, p.115). It is for this reason that a critical pedagogical approach to correctional programming is being recommended for the prison. Critical pedagogy,

Applies the tenets of critical social theory to the educational arena and takes on the task of examining how schools reproduce inequality and injustice, yet may also be sites for individuals to gain critical consciousness and participate in the transformation of their society (Beck, 2005, p.393).

Critical pedagogy is also known as emancipatory education. “This emancipatory (or ‘critical’) knowledge grows out of our desire to be free from unjust constraints. We create it in our efforts to identify, evaluate and, where necessary, change the cultural forces that limit the way we live” (Newman, 1999, p.43). Simply teaching offenders the mechanics of reading and writing will not change their world because “merely teaching men [*sic*] to read and write does not work miracles; if there are not enough jobs for men able to work, teaching more men to read and write will not create them” (Freire, 1998, p.483). Yet if offenders were able to understand the how capitalism contributes to they way in which wealth and status are divided between classes, they may begin to understand where they fit in that picture and they might have a better chance changing their situation. “Learning to recognize hegemony, for example, is linked to the development of political movements that fight class oppression, racism, sexism, and homophobia” (Brookfield, 2005, p.104). Economic inequality creates divided classes and hegemony creates the oppression of social groups such as women, GLBT people, and visible minorities. “If adults start to see situations in their private lives as concrete manifestations of broader social and political contradictions, they will see that changing their individual lives is impossible without political action” (Brookfield, 2002, p.108). This political action may have to start small, as a grassroots organization, but there is

power in numbers and power in knowledge. Unfortunately with respect to most social institutions, including the prison, the education offered rarely provides this opportunity for critical reflection and awareness.

As such, social institutions such as schools and other educational establishments are not ‘neutral’; rather, they serve to cement the existing hegemony, and are therefore intimately tied to the interests of the most powerful social groups, especially the bourgeoisie (Mayo, 1999, p.36).

Offenders should have the opportunity to leave the prison with a greater understanding of how society is structured and where and how they fit into that structure. With this knowledge they will be better prepared to comfortably exist in that position or to challenge it. This is the ideal for radical educator Paulo Freire.

Freirean Pedagogy

Paulo Freire is one of the names synonymous with critical pedagogical thought and in turn, becoming familiar with his concepts is imperative to understanding the inspiration for this thesis. “It can be argued that education, at any level or of whatever formal or informal definitions, is not genuine education unless it is a transaction that includes elements of critical reflection, defined by education theorists such as Paulo Freire (1970)” (Germanotta, 1995, p.106). Paulo Freire is critical of educational opportunities that dictate to the learner what knowledge is relevant and what is not. He conceives of an educational experience, which takes into account the learners voices, where they may be the initiator of their own learning experiences with the help of a facilitator who directs questions as a means of eliciting discussion. Dialogue based education can aid in a more critical approach in prison classrooms because:

Once critical reflection begins, in the context of formal education being pursued in a prison setting, prisoner-students find their own life history placed in a new perspective, and they begin to see the possibilities of genuine personal transformation and eventually of transformation of the world (Germanotta, 1995, p.111).

I argue that critical pedagogy should be the inspiration behind prison educational methods for it is a process of rehumanization.

Any ontology involves a theory of being, of what it means to be a human being. However, Freire's is a radical ontology based on a critique of 'being', the present human condition, and a promise, a radical concept of 'becoming' which involves the striving to become more fully human thus realizing our human potential (Allman & Wallis, 1997, pp.113-114)

The prison is the place where this process of becoming more fully human is most needed.

Prisons tend to be violent, exploitative environments that are not felt to be just by their inmates; the selection of prisoners tends to reflect the distribution of social power as much as the distribution of crime; and the generally accepted reasons for their incarceration, like deterrence, makes prisoners an object lesson to other citizens rather than ends in themselves. Instead of extending the greatest leniency to those with the least experience of justice in their lives, criminal courts often treat them the most harshly" (Caley, 1998, p.96).

Freire's initial purpose was to free "illiterate peasants from oppression through reading and writing" (Baird, 1999, p.105). This is the inspiration for critical correctional educators such as Baird when arguing that an alternative approach to correctional education may be developed to help break down the barriers created by years of marginalization. For the educator it is a change in ideology, understanding, and methodology and the commitment must be sincere. "While many educators adopt correctional aims that focus on functional skills, a significant group of liberal educators have expressed a genuine concern for promoting self-actualization, autonomy, and individual empowerment..."(Davidson, 1998, p.230). Some critical educators have attempted to create opportunities of self-actualization and autonomy for their students by arguing for more democratic, dialogical based classrooms addressing the needs of the entire person rather than only the academic need.

Ireland's Critical Framework

England's prisons are currently in the process of adopting the cognitive skills based programming of North America, much to the consternation of critical educators there. British Professor P. Bayliss (2003) states "the introduction of cognitive psychology programmes, adopted from the 'correctional regimes' of North America, have come to dominate systems in prisons at the expense of educational programmes" (p.160). This introduction of North American cognitive programs has been taxing on educational programs because as resources go toward these new core programs, money is taken away from educative programs. Bayliss (2003) also states "not everyone celebrates the apparent success, as it can be argued that the development of these psychology

programmes within prison is an extension of Government oppression and control...”(p.160).

In Ireland the situation is different. Although there is limited information available to the public regarding the correctional programming in Ireland, it appears that the Irish prison system has a more critical and holistic focus.

Prison education aims to provide a high quality, broadly based and flexible programme of education to meet the needs of those under sentence through helping them

- i. To cope with their sentence
- ii. To achieve personal development
- iii. To prepare for life after release
- iv. To establish the appetite and capacity for further education after release (Warner, 2002, p.34).

The Prison Education Service, Ireland seems to understand the power structures at play regarding adult education. As a means of reducing the effects of unequal power in the prison, it contracts out the teaching positions to various educational institutions. Program coordinator Kevin Warner (2002) states, “given that alienation from society is generally such a key element to criminality...it is helpful that most of those who provide education in our prisons (teachers, librarians, artists etc.) are employed by outside bodies” (p.35).

Small yet significant suggestions have also been made such as calling offenders involved in correctional education ‘students’ as it has positive associations and is “said to challenge everything that prison institutionalization is about” (Bayliss, 2003, p.160). The Irish prison system takes an empathetic approach to liberating education through

methodology and course offerings which include music, environmental studies, and information technology (Warner, 2002, p.36).

Research Overview

This research study argues the problematic nature of Canada's correctional approach pertaining to educational recommendations as a means for reducing recidivism. There is more at stake than statistics.

Prisoners discuss the source of alienation, which lies in domination and control, and they explain how this leads to a loss of dignity and humanity. They are empowered by the opportunities to make problematic their experience of alienation within the context of larger social problems of society. In this light, it can be seen how prisons are not places of rehabilitation but rather "crime factories" (Sbarbaro, 1995, p.99).

In chapter 2, this thesis will examine Canadian correctional models of the past and present and will look at the offender population. It will then look at sociological theories of deviance and argue for the use of Differential Association and Marxist criminology as being the most relevant with regards to the social influences on crime. An overview of critical education will also be provided. Finally an argument will be made against the sole use of Social Learning theory as a means of rehabilitation and risk reduction, which is the theoretical approach informing correctional practices in Canada today.

In chapter 3 the correctional plan will be discussed along with the prison classroom and the irony of correctional education. A critical analysis of the current correctional curriculum will then be done with reference to human capital and social control. Chapter 4 examines critical education and pedagogy and focuses on the writings

of Paulo Freire, Jack Mezirow, and Michael Collins. It also examines the European Prison Education Association's purpose and outlines the mandate and strategy of the Prison Education Service, Ireland for a comparative analysis to Canada.

Chapter 5 opens with the challenges of implementing a critical approach to education but then looks at practical examples of critical pedagogy executed by both offenders and educators. Through the synthesis of theories and best practices, recognition of the need for innovative initiatives will be made for possible change in correctional programming and education, as we know it in Canada.

Chapter Two

In order to argue for changes to a national institution such as the Correctional Service of Canada, it is beneficial to become familiar with its history, be introduced to the prison population in question, and consider various reasons for criminal behaviour. Statistical information on topics such as crime and the criminal justice system are produced and released to the public periodically by Statistics Canada as a means of informing the Canadian public. In isolation, statistical information can be static and empirical, yet it paints a broad picture and provides a basis for qualitative researchers to proceed from, resulting in complementary data analysis. This chapter examines the Canadian correctional system, further explores statistical information on the offenders in question, and discusses the possible theories as to why they have committed their crimes. This information will provide the backdrop and understanding for further discussion on how and why correctional educational efforts should be changed.

Canada's Correctional History

Canada's approach to corrections has been changing since the end of World War 2. The troops return home to over-population and poverty and as a result the crime rate rose and the prison population doubled (Corrections in Canada, 2006, Struggles & Solutions section, ¶ 1). Between the years of 1945-1975 the *medical model* was driving the operations in federal penitentiaries. This model "took an approach to criminal behaviour that understands it as an illness" (Clements, 2004, p.170). By identifying the offenders as being ill and easily diagnosed, treatment could come in a number of forms and one of those forms was education. "According to this model, the deployment of education and training programs will lead to a reduction in recidivism rates and

successful rehabilitation of former prisoners in ‘normal’ society” (Collins, 1988, p.104). Albeit misconstrued on the grounds that criminality was an illness, this approach did make provisions for correctional education. Yet this model did not last as it was threatened and inevitably abolished with the coming of a new and short-lived model that was prevalent for only about four years (Clements, 2004, p.170). This new theory, simply stated, implied that with regard to rehabilitation and recidivism, nothing works.

Researchers:

described a tremendous waste of money and resources throughout the ‘corrections’ business and concluded that even though some prison programs might be effective in reducing rates of recidivism, that was a ‘pipsqueak of an issue’ compared with the more important (and sociological) issue of reducing the crime rate itself (Duguid, 2000, p.72).

This approach challenged the prison as a place of rehabilitation on the grounds of its violent nature. Yet to operate under the belief that nothing works could not be an option for the correctional service for long. The following decade brought in a new and progressive model of corrections known as the *opportunities model*. The opportunities model afforded offenders chances to participate in schooling at any level. It saw the “re-emergence of an educational paradigm consisting of five components: cognitive instruction (critical thinking), participative decision-making (choice), moral education, criminal personality, and a focus on the humanities” (Clements, 2004, p.170). Education programs were flourishing as a result of contractual agreements being made with outside educational agencies to bring education behind bars (Duguid, 2000). Yet this model eventually succumbed to a new era of thought regarding corrections and the *new medical*

model was implemented. According to Clements (2004) “here the direct programming of cognitive skills became independent of educational input” (p.170). This model is still implemented in prisons today.

The cognitive approach concentrates on the faulty thinking patterns that seem to propel offenders toward reinvolvement in criminal activities.

According to the model, offenders lack a variety of cognitive skills - the capacity to appreciate the perspectives of others, the skills required to approach interpersonal difficulties in a constructive, problem-solving fashion, and the ability to think before acting (CSC, 1990, p.1)

The ever-changing models presented in Canada’s historical approaches to corrections is representative of the fact that solving the problem of crime is challenging, but it leaves the door open to the possibility of further change in the future.

After many years of growing and adapting to changing times, evidence of the transformation of correctional services is reflected in its modern day philosophy. Its mission statement, written in 1989, states:

The Correctional Service of Canada (CSC), as part of the criminal justice system and respecting the rule of law, contributes to the protection of society by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law-abiding citizens, while exercising reasonable, safe, secure and humane control (Correctional Service of Canada, 2006, Our Mission section, ¶ 1).

This mission statement supports the correctional ethos of Canada’s federal prisons. The aim is to encourage and assist offenders but the primary focus is on control.

Who are the Criminals?

Canada's offender population has fluctuated over the last decade and currently, according to Statistics Canada: "on an average day in 2004/2005, there were approximately 152,600 adults in custody or under community supervision" (Beattie, 2006, p.1). The International Centre for Prison Studies (2005) reports that Canada only incarcerates 107 per 100,000 of the national population, ranking Canada 122nd out of 212 countries for the highest incarceration rate. The United States ranks number one as it incarcerates 724 per 100,000 people. The Republic of Ireland incarcerates 85 per 100,000 ranking 143rd, and in England and Wales, 144 people per 100,000 are incarcerated ranking 93rd. Although situated very close to the United States, Canada's incarceration rate is comparable to those of Western European countries.

Canada's prison population is divided between the provincial correctional system and the federal system. The determining factor of where a sentenced offender will serve his or her time is dependent upon the length of the sentence. A sentence of two years less a day or less will be served in the provincial jail, whereas a sentence of two years plus a day or more will be served in the federal system. The International Centre for Prison Studies (2005) reports that in Canada there are currently 12,641 adult offenders serving time in Canada's federal prisons and 19,366 adult offenders serving time in Canada's provincial jails. These provincial offenders include people on remand who are awaiting trial or sentencing. In many cases offenders will move back and forth from provincial to federal supervision throughout their lives due to recidivism, remand, and offence severity.

The following statistical overview, determined by a 2003 study conducted by Correctional Services Canada (CSC), illustrates some of the characteristics of federal inmates. The data pertaining to an offender's personal characteristics is obtained through intake assessments and community assessments.

- 26% are homicide offenders.
- 18% are sex offenders.
- 35% have a robbery conviction.
- 21% are drug offenders.
- About 78% have no high school diploma.
- 74% had unstable job histories.
- Most (two thirds) are single.
- 52% claim to have had dysfunctional parents.
- About 80% have abused alcohol and/or drugs.
- 80% are poor at problem solving, 72% are unable to generate choices, and 79% are considered to be impulsive.
- At admission, 20% have been hospitalized in a mental health facility, 11% have a current psychiatric diagnosis, and 18% have been prescribed medication. (Motiuk, Boe, Nafekh, 2003, Federal Inmates in Custody section, ¶ 1).

Research also indicates that “more than one-sixth of male offenders in federal custody have gang affiliations and this phenomenon has been dramatically increasing since 1997 (12% to 16%, or +33%)” (Research Branch, 2006, Changing Criminal Associations section, ¶ 1). From this overview it can be concluded that Canada’s federal prison

population is lacking in educational achievement, employment opportunities both pre and post incarceration, and strong familial bonds. A high frequency of substance abuse and criminal associations are also evident. Fifty-six percent of the federal prison population is serving time for robbery and drug offences and it is this population I will focus on when arguing for changes to correctional education. Obviously generalizations are inevitable when addressing a large population of people therefore, it is important to remember that each individual has his own story and history.

In the general prison population it was found that “almost 90 per cent of federal inmates - there are more than twelve thousand of them - have a criminal history, as either young or provincial offenders” (Harris, 2002, p.9). When it comes to rates of re-offending or recidivism rates among property offenders:

Recidivist property offenders had the highest proportion of prior convictions of the same offence type with 80% having had at least one prior property crime conviction. Among this group, 37% had one prior property crime conviction, 21% had two earlier property crime convictions, and 42% had three or more previous property crime convictions (Thomas, Hurley, Grimes, 2002, Highlights section, ¶ 2)

It can be said that male offenders in this research have a relatively high rate of recidivism, raising the question of whether prison rehabilitation efforts for risk reduction are deficient or if recidivism should be a measure of success at all.

From my personal experience working with offenders in the community, I have seen that offenders involved in property related crimes usually have a lower socio-economic status. According to Duguid (2000) “pre-incarceration unemployment rates for

prisoners run as high as 40 per cent, and of those employed a majority report earning less than recognized poverty levels of income” (p.86). Research also indicates, “while there is no direct cause and effect relationship between poverty and crime, the conditions arising out of poverty combine to create “high” risk populations who are overrepresented in the criminal justice system” (Community Safety and Crime Prevention Council, 1996, p.6). Social inequality issues surface time and again with regard to crime and criminality. The divided between the socio-economic classes is great.

Offenders are largely seen as “unequal” by mainstream society. While this may occasionally be seen as requiring reform, the tendency is toward a negative evaluation of their worth and contribution (or lack of it) to society, and of their low social status (“deserved and with only themselves to blame”). They are a “them”, different to “us” in terms of inner values and external behaviors (South, 2005, p.357).

The disadvantageous factors of unemployment or underemployment, lack of education, and substance abuse, which afflict these offenders, are symptoms of the underlying causes for their criminal behaviour. These causes go beyond just the psychological; they are sociological in nature as well.

Understanding Crime

Criminal behaviour has been examined and theorized for centuries, and as our definitions of what might be considered criminal or deviant have evolved, so too have these theories. In the late 1800’s, Cesare Lombroso, known as the founder of the biological approach to deviance, theorized that criminals have specific physical characteristics, that they are “atavists, or genetic throwbacks to an earlier human species”

(Gibbons, 1992, p.19). Franz Gall and John Spurzheim developed another biological theory. They “argued that certain conformations of the skull reveal faculties or propensities to behaviour that are inherited. Criminals were held to be deficient in some of the normal faculties influencing behaviour” (Gibbons, 1992, p.21). Along with these naïve and discredited biological theories of deviance were other similarly unfounded suggestions for deviant behaviour such as demonology or psychosis. Deviance theories have come a long way in recent decades, particularly sociological theories of deviance. Through the years they have been tailored to specifically explain crime rather than deviance, resulting in the study of criminology.

Only by applying a theory to our understanding of crime and criminality are we able to argue changes for its management. Naturally, there is some discord between sociological and psychological theories of deviance or criminal behaviour, but when examining a group of criminals who offend because of their socially constructed deficits (education, employment, and wealth), psychological theory alone is insufficient at tackling the task of explaining the resultant behaviour. Sociological explanations of deviance “concentrate on deviance at both the individual level and the group and aggregate levels”, and also explain deviance “...as a process of active designation in which the more powerful can actively define the less powerful as deviants” (McDermid Gomme, 1998, p.35). It is apparent that Sociological theory comprises the social and personal components of criminal behaviour.

Academic Schools of Thought

The four sociological schools of thought pertaining to deviance are Social Control Theory, Strain Theory, Conflict Theory, and Symbolic Interaction and provide the basis

for much of our current understanding of crime. By touching on each, it becomes apparent why certain theories are more useful than others. Through an examination of each I have chosen to apply theories from the Symbolic Interaction perspective (which is the theoretical perspective of Sutherland's Differential Association) and the Conflict perspective. I believe they are the most explanative for the offender population being considered.

Social Control Theory examines what restrains people from doing anything they want. Society systematically endorses socially constructed values and norms upon people. Although not necessarily agreed upon by all, these social norms are usually upheld because of the implied comfort and safety that comes with adherence.

A component of these norms and values are hegemonic beliefs. Defined by critical adult educator Stephen Brookfield (2005), "hegemony is the process by which we learn to embrace enthusiastically a system of beliefs and practices that end up harming us and working to support the interests of others who have power over us" (p.93). Brookfield goes on to say that "hegemony is lived out a thousand times a day in our intimate behaviours, glances, body postures, in the fleeting calculations we make on how to look at and speak to each other, and in the continuous micro-decisions that coalesce into a life" (pp.96-97). Brookfield goes on to say that "people are not forced against their will to assimilate dominant ideology. They learn to do this, quite willingly, and in the process they believe that this ideology represents their best interests" although some hegemony is still inevitable (p.94). Brookfield offers an example of hegemony, which is raised as problematic throughout this thesis. "Education as vocation becomes a metaphor

that supports the commodification of learning, the turning of schools and colleges into centres of production concerned to minimized expenditure and maximize output” (p.102).

Social Control theorists argue that socialization to a community’s norms and hegemonic beliefs starts with a strong familial bond, which, if broken, increases the likelihood of deviant behaviour (Hagan, 1991, p.95). Social Control theories have been tested empirically on numerous occasions and have been found to be substantiated but primarily with trivial offences. It has a difficult time explaining more violent and serious crimes, and attempts to do so by referring to the animalistic side of human nature. Yet this hypothesis itself is very difficult to prove and weakens the social control theory argument (Vold & Bernard, 1986, p.247). The Social Control theory is generalized and has been adapted to focus more on familial bonds, though it does not explain why crime can be, and in some cases, is rampant among very tight knit communities and families.

Strain Theory (also know as Anomie Theory) was developed from the functionalist tradition of Emile Durkheim. Durkheim suggested that disruptions in social order, known as anomie, cause deviant behaviour; social norms prevent deviant behaviour. Anomie was illustrated in Durkheim’s (1966, c.1951) renowned study on suicide. According to the study, when there was social disorder, there was an increase in suicide, a form of deviant behaviour. “The norms keep deviance in check; and absence of the norms – anomie – results in deviance” (Goode, 1997, p.79). Although anomie has and does occur in times of social disorder the opposite is also true; social disorder is also known to bring about unification and altruism in people. The stories of social interaction during Hurricane Katrina both support and refute the theory of anomie. On one hand social conditions were dire. One headline read "Looting, carjacking and other violence

spreads, and the military decides to increase National Guard deployment to 30,000" (CBC News Online, 2005, Sept. 1, 2005 Section). Yet other reports showed altruism and social cohesion. For example one story told of contractors who came to New Orleans to help rebuild homes free of charge.

The contractors are all volunteers with the North Carolina Baptist Men, just one of the hundreds of faith-based organizations whose members have sacrificed weekends, vacations and even sick days to come to the Gulf Coast and do what the government and insurance agencies seem unable to do (CBS Evening News, 2006, ¶ 3).

Theorist Robert Merton applied the Strain Theory differently by proposing that anomie was a “disjunction between culturally defined goals and structurally available opportunities” (Goode, 1997, p.79). That is to say that anomie occurs when an individual with a culturally defined goal, such as obtaining an expensive car, is unable to legitimately achieve this goal, due to a lack of money and therefore steals it. This theory is limited by its inability to explain why only some culturally defined goals are obtained through illegitimate means while others are not. For example, people are generally not robbing others and using the money for university tuition, yet a higher education is a culturally defined goal in most developed societies. It also does not explain why some people do not try to obtain out of reach goals at all. I believe that by suggesting all culturally defined goals are materialistic, Merton minimizes the profundity of human nature and subsequently labels the poor as being without values and self-control.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theorists argue that there are competing values systems between groups in society and that for some groups to gain, other groups will lose. They believe that laws are created to protect those with status and punish those without (Goode, 1997, p.119). Conflict theoretical approaches to deviance are rooted in Marxism and do not concentrate on attempting to explain why people commit crime, but why the act is deemed criminal in the first place. According to Marx's theory "capitalism, with its major class division and antagonistic relations, its inequality, its exploitation of both human labour and nature in the interests of capital accumulation, dehumanizes, alienates, and 'denatures' human beings" (Ellis, 1987, p.65). As such, criminologists have taken Marx's theory further and applied it to crime and deviance. Theorists Taylor, Walton, and Young proposed a generalized and criticized version of Marxist criminology. "Inequality, in short, is a major cause of crime" (Ellis, 1987, p.67). The differences between the haves and have-nots are great and they are magnified by the laws that are created to protect the property and safety of the elite. Taylor, Walton, and Young (1987) go on to state that capitalist exploitation creates inequality and in turn crime and therefore crime is a product of inequality (p.67) as "crime arises out of economic oppression of the working masses by the capitalist ruling class" (Gibbons, 1992, p.124). Evidence is easily found to support the fact that very often white-collared and corporate crimes are not punished as severely or as often as property and drug offences. "More non-white-collar criminals received long prison sentences (five years or more), and white-collar offenders more often were placed on probation or fined" (Gibbons, 1997, p.308). In many ways, corporate crimes are not looked at as criminal at all. "The white-collar criminals are

segregated administratively from other criminals and, largely as a consequence of this, are not regarded as real criminals by themselves, the general public, or the criminologists”(Vold & Bernard, 1986, p.330). Yet when you examine the costs associated with white-collar crime, it is far more costly than street crime. “The financial cost of white-collar crime is probably several times as great as the financial cost of all the crimes which are customarily included in the crime problem” (Sutherland, 1973, p.51). Because crime is usually defined by the upper class, there is a propensity to decriminalize corporate or white-collar crime. Yet counter to what most people think, white-collar crime is not victimless. Crime within the medical profession is classified as white-collar, but consider the victims associated with it. “Illegal sale of alcohol and narcotics...illegal services to underworld criminals, fraudulent reports and testimony in accident cases, extreme cases of unnecessary treatment, fake specialists, restriction of competition, and fee-splitting” (Sutherland, 1973, p.48).

From such inequality as described above often comes a sense of alienation. “Men [*sic*] are alienated from their property and therefore compelled, if they are to avoid starving and becoming vagabonds, to sell their labour power to the capitalist entrepreneurs awaiting them” (Zeitlin, 2001, pp.142-143). It can then be said “these workers are likely to feel alienated from society, showing an ‘alienative involvement’ in it – a lack of attachment to it. Consequently, they are likely to engage in criminal activities” (Thio, 1998, p.47).

In a social order in which one-half of one percent of the population owns more than 90% of the nation's property, resources, and productive capacity (not to mention the control of the means of education and information), it

is understandable that those who have the least will take some stumbling steps to restore a more natural balance of wealth (Mead, 2000, pp.12-13).

With the creation of criminal laws that further subordinate the working class and the alienation associated with it, another opportunity for the elite to benefit from the division of classes comes with the commodification of crime. “Commodification – the process by which a human quality or relationship becomes regarded as product, good, or commodity to be bought and sold on the open market – is a Marxist notion” (Brookfield, 2001, p.9). The implementation of criminal laws and the criminalization of the working class generated a niche for people with the knowledge, skills, and techniques required to address it. This further divided the criminal from the elite. As cited in Taylor, Walton and Young (1979), Marx himself commented on such.

The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc., and all of these different lines of business, which form equally many categories of the social division of labour, develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs, and new ways of satisfying them. Torture alone has given new rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions, and employed many honourable craftsmen in the production of its instruments (p.211).

Marx recognized that crime was a valuable commodity to society when people, such as lawyers, judges, for example, began to make money from it. In contemporary society crime is still a commodity. Take for example the privatization of prisons in the United States or how the media, television, and movies make millions from crime. *CSI* (Crime Scene Investigation) is one of the most watched shows on television. “The *CSI* franchise

continues to reach new milestones worldwide, and strong ratings performance in the U.S. and international markets ensure that sales remain strong and continue to grow” (Alliance Atlantis, 2007, Entertainment Section). As society makes crime a commodity, crime becomes a useful tool in the division of classes and the maintenance of the status quo. The reason for the overrepresentation of people in prison from lower socio-economic status is due to the socially constructed definition of what is criminal, the commodification and value placed on crime, and their alienation from society.

Because the Marxist theory of criminality is macro-sociological and offers an overarching, evidentiary explanation of why offenders in the demographic in question are considered criminal, it proves to be a fitting tool to analyze crime. The use of this Marxist theory in this thesis is not to justify crime, particularly violent crime. It is used rather to raise awareness that criminality always plays out in a social context and it is this social context that needs to be considered and understood as a determinant for habilitation or rehabilitation. Offenders are released into a diverse and social world, not like the prison bubble they are leaving, where everyone knows what “using my (cognitive) skills” means. I do not propose that this theory of crime is exhaustive and free from errors, but I feel that it sheds some light on what is happening in the margins of today’s society. Therefore, I have opted to use its propositions as a point of reference. .

Symbolic Interaction & Differential Association

Symbolic Interaction is the final school of thought and it approaches deviance from a micro-sociological perspective. This social psychological approach examines deviance as an “interactional product; its properties and impact cannot be known until we understand how it is defined, conceptualized, interpreted, apprehended, and evaluated; in

short, what it means to participants and relevant observers alike” (Goode, 1997, p.103). Social Interactionists look to understand deviance at a more personally social level. In the symbolic interactionist tradition, Edwin Sutherland developed his theory of Differential Association, which is concerned with deviation, and conformity alike, both of which, he argues, are behaviours learned through interaction with others (Ellis, 1987, p.61). According to the theory of Differential Association, “the individual who is most likely to become a criminal is the one whose family and long-time (boyhood) [*sic*] close neighbourhood friends hold definitions favourable to the violations of laws” (Ellis, 1987, p.62). Therefore, it can be deduced that behaviours, criminal or not, are learned through the close interaction of people sharing strong bonds, such as those shared by family members. Unlike social control theory, differential association views close family bonds as having either positive or negative impacts on individuals.

As laid out by Sykes (1967), Sutherland’s theory is presented in nine propositions. “1. Criminal behaviour is learned, not inherited, or invented” (p.113). This assumption implies that people are not inherently criminal, but rather they are intelligent and constantly gaining knowledge from their peers and family around them. It also suggests that people are able to learn other behaviours and, therefore, have the potential to learn to be law-abiding.

“2. Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of both verbal and non-verbal communication” (1967, p.113). Again, the emphasis here is on an intelligible attentive person who is capable of learning through verbal and non-verbal cues.

“3. The principle part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups. Impersonal agencies of communications, such as the mass media, are relatively unimportant” (1967, p.113). It is this proposition that has raised some controversy for Sutherland because, in contemporary Western states, the media is frequently blamed for negatively influencing people, particularly the young and vulnerable. Nevertheless, research has done little to prove whether people who have criminal tendencies are drawn to deviant multimedia such as movies, TV, or videogames or that deviant multimedia is making people criminal, albeit regular exposure to violent multimedia has shown to lead to desensitization to the effects of violence. Either way, an individual must have some propensity toward crime in order to act out what is seen or heard through violent media.

“4. When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple; and (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes” (1967, p.113). According to Sutherland’s theory, learning to be criminal encompasses more than just replicating the criminal act, one must understand and learn why the act is permissible according to a new value system.

“5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of legal codes as favourable or unfavourable” (1967, p.113). Depending on one’s social network, laws may be strictly adhered to or broken.

“6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law. This refers to criminal and non-criminal associations” (1967, p.113). According to Sutherland “When persons become criminals, they do so because of

contacts with criminal patterns and also because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns. Any person inevitably assimilates the surrounding culture unless other patterns are in conflict..." (1973, p.9). He goes on to say that neutral behaviour has very little effect on one's propensity to become criminal. Criminals are usually immersed in a criminal lifestyle prior to committing their first offence, although there are some criminals who come from law-abiding families.

"7. Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity" (1967, p.113). Therefore, people who engage in criminal activity are not all equally criminal and cannot be treated or diagnosed the same because the measurements (i.e. frequency, intensity) of criminality are dynamic.

"8. The process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning" (1967, p.113). Criminals learn how to be criminal. Each individual has the potential to learn, in his or her own style and at their own pace, the tools to become non-criminal and create non-criminal associations.

"9. Though criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values, since noncriminal behaviour is an expression of those same needs and values" (1967, pp.113-114). Sutherland is stating here that although certain crimes are committed in order to enhance lifestyle or ensure provisions, non-criminal acts are also played out to enhance lifestyle and ensure provisions such as going to work and paying bills. Sutherland does not look to blame need and lack of resources for criminal behaviour; rather, he blames associations made through the process of learning.

The theory of Differential Association has implications with regard to incarceration and the lack of productive, thought provoking programs during that period of incarceration. Sutherland noted that an individual with an excess of criminal definitions will be more open to new criminal definitions and that individuals will be less receptive to anticriminal definitions. The theory does not emphasize whom one's associates are but rather upon the definitions provided by those associations. Once techniques are learned, values (or definitions) supporting that criminal behaviour may be learned from just about anyone (DeMelo, 1999, p.2). By housing criminals together and have them engage in repetitive, self-directed tasks, prisons are not actively working at trying to teach offenders new, pro-social associations. Sutherland supports the notion that interactive, problem-posing education can have an effect on fighting criminal associations.

Finally, I believe that the prison education system can be made the central agency for changing the prison community. This cannot be accomplished, of course, in the drab and humdrum school that is found in many of the institutions. But this school can be developed into the principle agency of public opinion in the prison community (Sutherland, 1973, pp.165-166).

Sutherland's theory of Differential Association explains deviance on the personal level, the individual process of becoming deviant, by describing deviance as occurring through social interaction and learning, thereby assuming some level of intelligence. It is a theory which accounts for many types of crimes, particularly property offences, drug offences, and gang related criminal behaviour. It also offers an explanation for why some people deviate and others do not. It is for these reasons that the theory of Differential

Association is the micro sociological theory that is most applicable to the offender population under investigation. Differential Association complements the Marxist theory of criminology as the concept of power and law creation resonates both within the Marxist theory of crime and Differential Association theory of crime. The following illustrates this connection as is it said of Sutherland's theory, "crime was the result of culture conflict...the presence of conflict over what specifically should be outlawed gives rise to criminal laws and ultimately law" (Matsueda, 1988, p.291).

Critical Education

Critical theoretical perspectives can set a solid foundation from which one may explain the world and the institutions in it. Critical approaches inform the work of theorists, academics, practitioners, and advocates in many fields. Rooted in Marxist ideology, critical theory is based on investigating unequal distribution of power and wealth. Karl Marx (1998, c.1848) wrote at length on class struggle and the capitalist mode of production. He detailed how the capitalist elite separated themselves from all workers and became the governing and dominant class. "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx, 1998, c.1848, p.37). Ownership and wealth are flagships of the capitalist mode of production to the point where everything could be deemed a commodity including education and crime. These commonalities, commodification, alienation, and class oppression, can then be addressed through theories of critical criminology and critical education.

Critical theory springs from the desire to extend democratic socialist values and processes, to create a world in which a commitment to the

common good is the foundation of individual well-being and adult development. A critical theory of adult learning will always come back to the ways in which adults learn to do this (Brookfield, 2001, p.21)

I posit that if crime and education have become casualties of capitalism through commodification and maintenance of the status quo, then addressing them both with critical pedagogical philosophies is necessary for change. Crime is a by-product of capitalism and individuals are socialized in crime through the process of differential association. Therefore, I feel that in order to challenge the effects of capitalist influence offenders must be provided with the tools to potentially change their criminal associations through critical thinking and communicative action in a voluntary, reflective, and holistic educational classroom while incarcerated. It is not enough to address criminality as an individual psychological state. One must draw on other theoretical frameworks to understand the social contexts in which crime is committed. Societal influence often determines who is socialized to commit crime.

Adult educator Michael Welton states that “critical theory works close to the ground to detect where the potential for a new, more just way of ordering our lives is breaking into being” (2005, p.19). Although critical adult education focuses more on the cultural, socio-economic, and gender differences that inhibit equality, the theory has roots in those same Marxist ideologies as critical sociology.

An understanding of the connection between the relationships of power and the distribution of knowledge is seen as crucial for the planning of strategies towards political and social equality and, hence, for a critical practice of adult education (Collins, 1998, p.56).

Interestingly, there is a connection between crime and education in how they both benefit capitalism. As described above, commodification places a monetary value on more than just tangible items; it has placed value on crime and education as well. Crime is valuable as a commodity, although not for the criminal in this sense, but for those experts who make money from it. Education is also a valuable commodity. The more educated one becomes, the more he or she is worth to the market because specialized, skilled workers can produce more.

The exchange value for learning to read in adulthood (how such learning will help the adult become more successful in the job market) overshadows its use value (how it helps the adult develop self-confidence, draw new meanings from life, become open to new perspectives on the world, and develop the capacity to imagine more congenial, humane ways of living together on the planet) (Brookfield, 2001, p.11).

Adults are routinely instructed in the methods of a skills-based technical curriculum such as computer applications training and the trades. This acquisition of knowledge benefits the learner and the creation of literate and skilled labourers to perform in the division of labour benefits the market. “Schools do not ‘merely’ act as mechanisms for the distribution of a hidden curriculum and the distribution of people to their ‘proper’ places outside of them. They are important elements in the mode of commodity production in a society” (Apple, 1995, p.43). Critical adult education, education to expose such manipulation and coercion, is an important component for addressing the commodification of the world. As a critical theorist, I seek to “break closed systems of thought and cultural traditions which prevent analysis and re-examination” (Spencer,

1998, p.67), and it is this approach that should be the aim for correctional and adult educators everywhere, yet it is not.

Canada's Current Correctional Philosophy

Social Learning Theory is a psychological theory of delinquency that Correctional Service Canada applies to their rehabilitative and risk reduction efforts. Unlike sociological theories of deviance, psychological theories of deviance usually offer practical means of curing or counteracting deviant behaviours. When discussing individuals, Albert Bandura (1977) states “through self-generated inducements and consequences they can exercise some influence over their own behaviour” (p.vii).

Although Social Learning Theory is similar to the theory of Differential Association in that they both argue criminal behaviour is a normal learned behaviour, social learning theory combines cognitive psychology with operant conditioning (the use of rewards and punishments to reinforce certain behaviours). Bandura “believes that people cognitively represent the behaviour of others and then sometimes adopt this behaviour themselves...expectations are important in Bandura's model” (Santrock, 1996, pp.48-49).

Social Learning Theory has since changed to the modern day title of Social Cognitive Theory because it includes “many ideas that cognitivists hold” (Ormrod, 2004, p.124). It has four general principles:

- (1) People can learn by observing the behaviours of others, as well as by observing the outcomes of those behaviours.
- (2) Learning can occur without a change of behaviour.
- (3) The consequences of behaviour play a role in learning.
- (4) Cognition plays a role in learning (Ormrod, 2004, p.125).

Cognitive processes include “how people perceive, interpret, remember, and otherwise think about the environmental events they experience”(Ormrod, 2004, p.154). Therefore, cognition is central to learning, when it is placed in its social context. This social context is not readily evident in the prison classroom as institutional life and societal life are literally dichotomised. I have heard a number of offenders say that while incarcerated, they feel and think that they are able to overcome their addictions and stay clean, but as soon as they leave the prison and enter back into society, they feel exactly the same as they did on the day they initially entered prison. “One cannot speak of adult learning in a generic, abstract way or as a decontextualized model of stages or phases” (Brookfield, 2005, p.104). The cognitive based learning done in correctional programs is not contextual for most offenders’ problems.

The premise of the theory is that behaviours are learned through modeling the behaviours of others and whether or not these behaviours will be repeated is based on positive or negative reinforcements. From this theory, the Correctional Service of Canada has developed a treatment and intervention plan for its inmates which have resulted in the following: “ no one intervention will work with everyone: treatment needs to be tailored to the offender; treatment must specifically target criminogenic needs; and the higher the risk level of the offender, the more comprehensive and intensive the intervention required” (Correctional Service of Canada, 1999, pg. 50). This plan reflects how highly individualized this approach is to addressing criminality. Adhering to Social Learning Theory, the principles of effective correctional programming have been developed and the following major risk factors to offending have been identified:

- Attitudes, values, beliefs, rationalizations, and cognitive emotional states specifically supportive of criminal behaviour;
- Immediate interpersonal and social supports for antisocial behaviour;
- Fundamental personality and temperamental supports such as weak self-control, restless aggressive energy and adventurous play seeking;
- A history of antisocial behaviour including early onset;
- Problematic circumstances in the domains of home, school/work, and leisure/recreation;
- Substance abuse. (Andrews, 2006, p.2)

Correctional Service Canada places a lot of emphasis on the individual offender.

Personal responsibility as contributing to both crime and rehabilitation is paramount.

Society and the social pressures facing offenders are not viewed as being liable factors in the commission of offences. The blame is solely on the offender, which is problematic.

The Need for Understanding

Social Learning Theory and Differential Association are similar in that they both recognize that criminality is learned, but Sutherland's theory removes the focus of criminology away from the biological and psychological abnormalities that could be blamed for offending behaviour. Differential association gave rise to the view that "crime is the result of environmental influences acting on biologically and psychologically normal individuals" (Vold & Bernard, 1986, p.225). It must be understood that nothing, including criminology and deviance, can be completely understood in a vacuum, through the lens of one isolated theory. In order to argue for or against practices and policy, aligning and adhering to a number of complementary

theories becomes a necessary course of action. With the groundwork laid out by Marx, Sutherland, and critical adult education theorists, an argument will be made for changes to correctional programming and education.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, a critical look will be taken at how offenders access correctional education, the role education has in current correctional settings, the prison school and how it is problematic, and the domesticating effect of current correctional educational practices.

The Correctional Plan

When an offender is sentenced to federal time an intake process commences which includes the development of a correctional plan. A correctional plan maps out an offender's sentence, primarily what cognitive based correctional programs he is required to take and in what priority order. These correctional programs are derived from the Social Learning Theory. Correctional Services Canada identifies the factors that contribute to an offender's criminality, known as criminogenic factors, based on the major risk factors that contribute to offending. These criminogenic factors are then categorized and calculated according to severity. Once an offender's criminogenic factors are identified, he is given placement in various correctional, educational, and social programs, albeit with an emphasis on core correctional programs that are focused on rehabilitation and risk reduction.

Cognitive skills programs also were much more overtly 'correctional' than education programs. While improving literacy, earning a high school diploma, or even university credits might be seen to have some connection with correctional objectives, they were no where near as direct as the targeting of specific 'criminogenic needs' by cognitive skills, needs that

were seen to be directly rather than indirectly related to rehabilitation (Duguid, 2000, p.193).

The Correctional Service of Canada took great pride in the development and acquisition of its cognitive based programming and marketed its claimed success throughout the developed world. By the 1990's Elizabeth Fabiano was in charge of implementing and testing the new cognitive skills approach to correctional programming, and she looked to make a return on her efforts. She "had formed a private consulting firm with the sole purpose of selling cognitive skills and was being sought out by corrections systems across Europe and North America"(Duguid, 2000, p.199). The marketing of 'cog skills' has become a lucrative business and commodity on the world market; evidence in support of Marx's notion of the commodification of crime. This marketing windfall increased the pressure on CSC to proclaim its success. But questions still remain.

In a document produced by a Correctional Service Canada researcher on effective correctional programming, a recommendation was made to "base your intervention efforts on a psychological theory of criminal behaviour as opposed to biological, behavioural, psycho-logical, sociological, humanistic, judicial, or legal perspective on justice, social equality or aggregated crime rates" (Andrews, 2006, p.2). Yet how effective can this one theory be? Can effective correctional programming be done using the tools of one psychological theory, when the statistics point to societal discord as being at the centre of many offenders' lives? Critical social researchers would claim that the sole use of Social Learning Theory in addressing criminal behaviour is inadequate. "Criminologists knew that crime expressed underlying social conditions...and they knew

that a transformation of society would have to precede any fundamental change in the character or frequency of crime” (Caley, 1998, p.161). Criminal activity will never cease exist so long as people are not given the opportunity to recognize how their position in society plays a part in the unequal distribution of opportunity, wealth, and power. Through personal reflection and transformation brought about by critical dialogue in educational and other group settings, people may start the process of change that will eventually influence society.

Another oddity with the Social Learning theoretical approach is found in the second of its three major principles. This principle states that, “learning can occur without a change in behaviour” (Ormrod, 2004, p.125). If this is the case, how then can Correctional Service Canada rely on recidivism rates as its measure of success? Is not a change in behaviour such as ceasing to offend, the primary way that CSC can measure recidivism and subsequently success?

Finally, the fourth general principle of the Social Learning Theory states: “(4) cognition plays a role in learning...expectations of future reinforcements or punishments can have a major impact on the behaviours that people exhibit” (Ormrod, 2004, p.125). This principle parallels the notion that incarceration can act as a deterrent for criminal activity.

Deterrence, the first of the ‘official’ rationales, is supposed to operate on both the imprisoned individual and on society at large: the convict is deterred by the pains of imprisonment, which he doesn’t want to suffer again; others are deterred by the spectacle of his suffering (Caley, 1998, p.90).

Consider this: if an offender has learned their criminal ways as a result of observing and learning their behaviours of others, they would also learn the consequences of those behaviours. Obviously potential criminals were not deterred by the negative consequences of crime as they adopted these behaviours themselves. If they were not deterred by the consequence of incarceration, once behind bars would they not take the opportunity to hone their criminal craft and take advantage of the new criminal tactics that they can learn from other offenders? According to author David Caley (1998) the largest study of deterrence, which was conducted in Germany on 1500 young offenders, has shown that incarceration is not a deterrent of crime (p.90). "Deterrence implies premeditation, but much of what is punished by crime is not premeditated at all or not considered in the light of possible punishment" (Caley, 1998, p.90). For example, property crimes committed by drug addicts are often done for the purpose of getting the next high, and the punishment to this criminal activity is not a consideration. The principles of Social Learning Theory are more likely to support an offender becoming more criminal in prison rather than rehabilitated.

The Prison School

Once the results of the intake assessment are produced and an if offender is deemed to have an education level less than grade 10, he will be placed in Adult Basic Education (ABE) because "education programs are a priority in the correctional plans of all offenders who have achieved less than a grade ten education or require skills upgrading to participate in vocational or CORCAN (work experience) programs" (John Howard Society 2002, p.1). It appears that the emphasis is placed on ABE partially as a

means of access to other requirements that Correctional Services Canada has of its offenders.

The ABE program is the education priority of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). It maintains the highest enrolment (approximately 40%) of all education programs. It has been enhanced to the Grade 10 level for the completion of the academic components in areas such as math, language and science. Successful completion provides a basis from which offenders can further their education in other areas where literacy is essential (CSC, 2002, Adult Basic Education section, ¶ 2).

CSC also states that secondary education, vocational, college, and university level programs are also available to offenders. On paper this may be so, but an offender would not be granted time for this if it conflicts with the core programming designated in their correctional plan. The financial aspect is a great hindrance as well because contrary to the rumours that the government is funding offenders' university educations, the actual fact is that offenders have to finance their own post-secondary education, which in most cases is nearly impossible due to disadvantaged socio-economic status, fraud, or damaged credit. So the scope of correctional education in Canada's prisons is far from vast.

“What the statistics indicate is a questionable commitment to basic education, questionable because the institutions rely on coercion to ensure participation” (Thomas, 1995, p.27). Education, as with other programs, is merely a condition of the perceived obedience that leads to early release or parole. If an offender excels in their correctional program, the incentives include a positive paper trail and an increase in pay. For a group of individuals who reside in a prison culture that values materialism and freedom, the

incentives offered by CSC are luring. "Prisoners do not participate in programs because they want to change but because they want to get out of prison" (Rivera, 1995, p.161).

The problems of correctional education are more dynamic than just the ulterior motives behind its execution or the low priority placed on the prison classroom. The possibility that the prison is no place for education at all must be addressed. Merely taking a social institution such as the classroom and superimposing it into a prison can result in a number of negative impacts. Firstly, the offender will be under the administration of two dominant social institutional regimes, the classroom and the prison. For many offenders, their classroom experiences as a child were negative. School was a place of failure, judgment, and resentment and the statistics regarding offender education levels at intake, are indicative of that. The prison is a place representative of those same trepidations.

Prison is the world of those who feel themselves to have been rejected and ostracized. For this reason, it tends to develop a defensive counterculture - it is an upside-down world, a demonic parody of conventional society in which the rules are reversed" (Caley, 1998, p.107).

These feelings of inadequacy that many offenders carry with them from childhood experiences in the public school system may manifest in resistance to future prison schooling in prison. Educator Allan Quigley (2001) researched adult learners who were resistant to returning to the classroom in later life and made some important conclusions. He found that adults resistant to returning to the classroom for the purpose of learning to read had negative associations surrounding the classroom, but not the learning. He reports that,

Comments typically focused on individuals and personal events back in school as the triggers in their decision to quit school. As adults, they now live with a deep resentment toward certain teachers and peers, firm in their decision not to experience 'school' again (p.111).

This finding is crucial when planning and developing methods in the prison classroom and when soliciting adult prisoner students to return to school.

Offender students also bring the traumas and stresses of incarceration with them to the prison classroom. "The social order of prisons does not stop outside the classroom door, and this has several consequences for educational programs" (Thomas, 1995, p.32). In the prison world, offenders live in a super-structured environment that does anything but mirror the outside. Problems and issues are made out of minute things, the smallest glitch in paperwork can cause a delay in a weekend pass and the toxic role an offender plays in a relationship on the outside is perpetuated within. There is also the internal conflict of living within the confines of the inmate code "a set of 'normative imperatives' that are held forth as guides for the behaviour of the inmate in his relations with his fellow prisoners and custodians" (Duguid, 2000, p.88). The possible desire of an offender to want learn is inhibited by the pressures to behave and act according to the inmate code. Being keen to participate in programs or build a trusting, working relationship with a teacher or facilitator does not bode well for an offender following the inmate code and as a result these behaviours may impede genuine learning. All of these aforementioned issues place barriers for the prisoner student, barriers which are over and above those faced by average adult learners.

The Irony of ‘Correctional’ Education

In Canadian prisons, most academic education is taught by provincially licensed teachers who are contracted out through a for-profit company called Excalibur, a clearinghouse for licensed teachers interested in correctional education. In order to be provincially licensed, an individual must have completed a Bachelor of Education degree, which teaches students how to teach grades primary to twelve. Understandably the federal government is going to search out accredited teaching staff for its facilities, but a provincial license for teaching school children does not make an adult educator.

The field of adult education is distinct from the teaching of children. Theorists and practitioners in the field of adult education have made great advances with regards to addressing the specific needs associated with educating adults and identifying the unique characteristics of adult learners. For example adults:

Tend to avoid, resist, and resent situations in which they feel they are treated like children – being told what to do and what not to do, being talked down to, embarrassed, punished, judged. Adults tend to resist learning under conditions that are incongruent with their self-concept as autonomous individuals (Gehring, 2000, p.157).

Educating adults is arguably different from educating children. Adult educator Malcolm Knowles states:

The practice of ‘the science and art of helping adults learn’, what he terms ‘andragogy’, is significantly different from traditional school-based instruction, or pedagogy). He contends that:

- Adults’ readiness to learn is linked with what they need to know;

- Adult orientation to learning is problem-centred rather than subject-centred; and
- Adult motivation to learn is internal (Spencer, 1998, p.16).

The rationalizations behind andragogy make sense and are evident in adult education efforts spanning from academic classrooms to professional development workshops and into the prison. By exposing adult learners to how education can apply to their various needs, they may be more apt to engage in what is being offered. Yet any critical educator must recognize that a learner's perceived need and real need may differ. "As long as adults are 'kept incapable of being autonomous, indoctrinated and manipulated down to their very instincts' they are unable to recognize their own real needs in any meaningful sense" (Brookfield, 2005, p.191). The needs a learner identifies may only be what they have been socialized or taught to think they need. Therefore, a critical correctional educator may work with an adult learner to recognize this and encourage them to challenge the status quo and the perceived needs that maintain it. This would involve learning about critical concepts such as hegemony, and how this affects the way we understand and interact with others in our world.

Prisoner students' lives are centred on significant problems. If they are given the opportunity to solve some of these problems or least recognize that finding a solution is feasible within the prison curriculum, they will likely be more interested in participating. Adults need to be motivated to learn and this is not often inherent in the prison population. The allocation of inmates to educational classrooms can contribute to the problems of motivation.

Rosemary Caffarella and Sharan Merriam (1991), adult educators and academics, have identified four main components to adult learning, which they felt encompassed the needs of adult learners. These needs are:

- Self-direction or autonomy as a characteristic or goal of adult learning;
- Breadth and depth of life experiences as content or triggers to learning;
- Reflection or self-conscious monitoring of changes taking place and;
- Action or some other expression of the learning that has occurred (pp.264-265).

The focus of adult education should be autonomy, where an adult learner will become an individual who is able to make independent, educated decisions. Adults also need opportunities to reflect on their learning process and observe the changes taking place in their understanding and perceptions, resultant from their new acquired knowledge. These components will be addressed more in depth later on in this research study. For now the focus will be on adults having the opportunity to refer to past experiences. These past learning experiences may be found in formal, informal, and non-formal learning situations. Adult educator Bruce Spencer states (1998):

Formal education carries credentials, has a set curriculum, and is usually provided by an educational institution...non-formal education is organized by educational or other institutions or groups. It is usually non-credential...informal education is more often described as informal learning. It is the learning that goes on all the time, individually and in groups (p, 23).

To provide an adult with a true andragogical experience an adult educator must encourage and make use of the various types of prior learning that each student brings to

the table and consider how to show the offender that education is beneficial for them. Consider the offender who is incarcerated for drug dealing; this person would have to have a working knowledge of mathematical skills in order to make a profit from the sale of drugs. This is a skill that, if recognized by the educator, could be developed upon further with pro-social applications, yet out of such a context, recognition of this may be difficult. For example, it would be difficult to identify through the standardized testing done upon intake. “Unless acceptable documentation is provided, the offender's functional grade or achievement level shall be established upon reception in accordance with the national standardized measure of achievement” (CSC, 1999, Individual Education Plan section, ¶1). These intake assessments do not look to uncover the instrumental academic skills of offenders. According to the Canadian Achievement Tests website,

The test specifications were drawn up in view of current Canadian curricula. The tests offer assessments in reading, language, writing, spelling and mathematics in a modular and flexible format. The content of CAT-3 was designed to reflect Canadian society and values. This is clearly seen in the theme-based Reading/Language tests. The themes and content reflect the cultural, ethnic, geographical and occupational diversity of modern Canadian society (Canadian Test Centre, 2007, What is CAT-3?, Section, ¶3).

Therefore it can be deduced that regardless if an educator is able to identify prior learned knowledge in a student, this knowledge is not recognized and tested for in the preliminary tests administered for placement purposes.

Aside from a student's academic-based learning such as the math skills of a drug dealer, educators must also recognize the informal learning that has taken place in an offender's life; the distorted values and ideologies that they may have absorbed from their difficult pasts. If acknowledged by the educator, efforts could be made to include topics in the prison classroom to challenge negative values and philosophies or to question why they exist in the first place. Indeed these prior learned skills may have been adopted under questionable conditions, but some might be seen as legitimate skills that are transferable. Acknowledging this is important for the educator because learners should be able to recognize the value of their own life experiences and feel more connected to what they are learning.

Many political and educational plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their own personal views of reality, never once taking into account (except as mere objects of their actions) the *men-in-a-situation* [sic] to whom their program was ostensibly directed (Freire, 2004, c.1970, p.94).

Drawing from what the adult learner has to offer will help to enhance the experience of both the learners and the educator.

Critical Analysis

Unarguably, the prison system prides itself in offering Adult Basic Education to those inmates with low levels of literacy, as rehabilitation is more likely when an offender is able to read their program modules. Yet this type of education is frequently more beneficial for the system than the individual. The motives behind the educating belong to the correctional machine. The purpose is to reduce recidivism and to reinforce

the idea that the individual is primarily to blame for criminality, not the system or society.

The pervasiveness of prison social control and its threat to educational autonomy are reflected in attempts to legitimate prison education as rehabilitation based on the moral development of prisoners. This legitimization tactically accepts a main tenet of the criminal justice ideology-that the etiology of crime lies in the individual rather than in the social structure (Sbarbaro, 1995, p.145).

The prison system is enforcing the hegemonic ideal that offenders need and deserve only the very least with regards to an authentic pedagogical experience. “Hegemony has been defined...as a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class”(Mayo, 1999, p.35). The Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci conceived the term.

By hegemony, Gramsci meant the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations. Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an ‘organising principle’ that is diffused by the process of socialisation into every area of daily life. To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalised by the population it becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things (Burke, 1999, Ideological Hegemony section, ¶ 4).

Everything we learn and everything we believe as truth generates from somewhere. Gramsci believes that this somewhere lies within the dominant elite. For example, people of power have wealth and status and value wealth and status. Like the elite, the masses also value wealth and status but they are prevented from obtaining these things by the disproportionate way in which wealth is distributed. Offenders will not have a genuine opportunity to change their lot, as long society's priority is to preserve the interests of the elite, those people in society who do not suffer due to socio-economic strife. Offenders will be forced to adhere to the agenda of the hegemonic system as they may unknowingly consent to or adopt values and beliefs of elite. "Hegemony describes the process by which one group convinces another that being subordinate is a desirable state of affairs" (Collins, 2005, p.96). Through critical educational practices, counter-hegemonic activities may be introduced to participants as a way to challenge the dominant belief and value system.

Considering prison programs and education in a critical light does not come naturally to most people. Therefore, one must make the effort to look beyond the anger and frustration that crime and criminals cause and question why we incarcerate specific populations of people. Adult educator Michael Collins (1998) argues "an important task for those committed to the notion of a critical practice is that of heightened public awareness about the larger function of prisons in modern society" (p.57). Collins' statement rings true and it is apparent that the system sustains the status quo for the greater society by manipulating the lives of offenders. The word management is commonplace when describing an offenders' correctional plan, their risk to re-offend, and their parole. Based on Correctional Service Canada's approach it appears that with

proper management, an offender can become what CSC and the greater society deem acceptable because in hierarchical societies, the maintenance of the lower class ensures the maintenance of the upper class. Both education and crime are commodities in a capitalist society. While incarcerated, offender students fall victim to both forms of commodification. Firstly, they have gone through the police system and court system and ended up in the prison system; all of which are major industries. From here they are subjected to the style of education that commodifies the knowledge and skills they learn.

In a democratic social order, education and employability would be viewed as separate accomplishments, where education and knowledge could be recognized and appreciated on its own rather than primarily being a steppingstone to gainful employment. This could lead to a more holistic approach to learning. Yet with economics and the market being the driving forces behind almost everything people do, this standard is far from attainable.

Education (including adult education) is, of course, no exception to the process of commodification. The education system 'generally tries to train people to *have* knowledge as a possession, by and large commensurate with the amount of property or social prestige they are likely to have later in life' (Brookfield, 2002, p.104)

Yet education's value needs to be more than its economic worth. Education for active citizenship, responsible parenting, and critical thinking all have value, which cannot be measured as a commodity.

Consider the problem of social control. "Prisons exist as a crucial means of social control, especially over groups of people at the bottom end, or on the margins, of society"

(Collins, 1998, p.58). Many offenders enter the prison system with very little employable skills or education and in most cases they will return to the street very much the same way, possibly a little better off. This is because the opportunities available to them in prison are reminiscent of those available on the streets. The jobs inside the prison include cleaning, maintenance, cooking, and some manual labour.

It is folly to think that we can make a useful citizen of any harum-scarum boy by teaching him plumbing or electrical wiring, or that the adult drifter who has stuck steadily to nothing except petty crime all his life will immediately become a hard-working and law-abiding man because he has been taught typewriter repairing (Gehring, 2000, p.161).

With these employment experiences and some Adult Basic education courses, an offender will be released back into the community with little to pursue. Realistically, the opportunities are similar to those prior to incarceration, yet now they have a criminal record to add to their resume.

CORCAN, a rehabilitative program that “is mandated to provide employment training and employability skills to offenders in federal correctional institutions in support of the social policy of the Government of Canada” (CSC, 2006, About CORCAN section, ¶ 1), is a for-profit company, which operates through CSC in the areas of “agribusiness, textiles, manufacturing, construction and maintenance and services (such as printing and laundry)” (CSC, 2006, About CORCAN section, ¶ 1) and it exploits human capital. The discourse of CORCAN documents reveals its technical rational approach towards education, so as to reinforce the value of learning by connecting it to the marketplace. “By contributing to institutional operation and maintenance, offenders

also help to reduce the costs to the Government of their incarceration and rehabilitation” (CSC, 2006, About CORCAN section, ¶ 3). The work of CORCAN and the government to rehabilitate and employ offenders is not as generous and progressive as it seems because the CORCAN industries claim a profit at the expense of offenders as these incarcerated CORCAN employees make no more than \$7.00 per day. The approach being taken by the prison system is to use the inmates who have any potential, and tap into the human capital they provide. As a result of this trend adult educator Marc de Mayer (2001) has conceptualized the following:

The ideal model inmate – and hence the ideal model learner and worker – will be the one who will have clearly assimilated and understood the rules of the game and who, still having to pay back a moral debt to society, will help to operate as the ‘natural and self-evident’ laws of the market have decided (p.122).

For those inmates who do not fit the inmate ideal, a life resembling their life before CSC is inevitable: A life ruled by social control, but also combined with judgment from others with status, and the pull of economically advantageous criminal activity. The system takes pride in its rehabilitative efforts and its programs for teaching the values of a pro-social lifestyle. The problem is that it also needs to be prepared to take responsibility for the short fall in the areas of educating and preparing offenders for opportunities on the outside. It is not enough to send offenders back to the street, as they were when they were first admitted.

The Question of Success

In some cases offenders manage to participate and do well in correctional school settings, completing required course work and even obtaining a GED, or High School Equivalency. These achievements should not go unrecognized because these offenders were able to beat the odds and statistically speaking, are more likely to become law-abiding. Quantitative data indicates that there is a link to GED attainment and recidivism risk reduction. “A review of selected investigations indicated that inmates who undergo correctional education average up to 20% reduction in recidivism from that of the general population” (Hendricks, Hendricks, & Kauffman, 2001, p.8). The numbers prove that education can work to help reduce recidivism and for a system that bases its success on those numbers it looks as though that as long as people end up behind bars, providing them with an opportunity to obtain a GED will help reduce recidivism. But CSC places the priority on the Adult Basic Education courses, not the GED program. A question that also arises is whether those who do not re-offend after release were successful due to the education they received or because they were offenders who would have succeeded in the first place. “The individuals might be expected to do well on parole as a result of their motivation and not just achievement of a GED” (Nuttall, Hollmen, & Staley, 2003, p.93). The possibility exists then, that if a curriculum and pedagogic style change is implemented in the prison classroom, more prisoner students may have the chance to succeed on parole. “The tragedy of prison education is that programs cannot fully develop the potential of the vast majority of competent students who would benefit from an authentic educational experience” (Thomas, 1995, p. 39).

Radical adult educator Paulo Freire criticized those people, programs, and institutions that give false hope to people in positions of disadvantage and says of the delusion,

It is accomplished by the oppressors' depositing myths indispensable to the preservation of the status quo: for example, the myth that the oppressive order is a "free society"; the myth that all persons are free to work where they wish, that if they don't like their boss they can leave him and look for another job; the myth that this order respects human rights and is therefore worthy of esteem; the myth that anyone who is industrious can become an entrepreneur—worse yet, the myth that the street vendor is as much an entrepreneur as the owner of a large factory... (Freire, 2004, c.1970, p.139).

With a background in working with offenders, I frequently found myself stumbling over the words when speaking with inmates, that "you can do anything you want" or "I know you can make it on parole" because I know that in actual fact the odds are against them. The prison has a revolving door for some offenders and this fact must be addressed and correctional techniques must be questioned. Until this is done, my frustration will continue to increase, particularly relating to the strict execution of Social Learning Theory, the omission of societal responsibility for inequitable structural issues that may encourage the development of criminal behaviours, and the lack of holistic educational opportunities available to offenders. A critical examination in these areas may help to identify where possible changes should be made.

Chapter Four

This chapter will examine the concept of critical education and pedagogy.

Critical education is important for adult educators because they “must ask themselves for whom and on who’s behalf are they working”(Mayo, 1999, p.60). “If the words ‘critical literacy’ sound radical, educators need to confront themselves with the proposition that education is never neutral. It operates along a continuum either to dominate or to free people” (MacDonald Fueyo, 1988, p.110). Recognizing the power relations involved in any type of education is imperative. I will be looking at the work of several influential critical adult educational theorists, including Paulo Freire, Stephen Brookfield, Jack Mezirow, and Michael Collins. Each theorist offers discussion around dialogue and communication, transformation, pedagogical style, and the role of the educator. This chapter will then turn to examine correctional education in Europe and specifically Ireland.

Firstly, the difference between critical pedagogy and critical thinking must be explained. Also, when arguing to change correctional education from controlling to emancipatory it must be clarified to what extent it is possible in contemporary Canadian society. Big business and hegemonic ideals have a stronghold on society. The last federal election and the voting in of a conservative government, is indicative of this. What then would suffice? I foresee changes being made on the personal level and in individual communities, both realistic and doable these changes may eventually lend themselves to the voting in of a more socialist government or the introduction of policies and educational programs that are more equitable. We have seen that revolutionary change is not commonplace in Canadian society. Change takes time; people have been

fighting for decades for the rights of women, Aboriginals, and GLBTG and only until recently have these groups been able to make any noticeable progress. Therefore radical thought will inform the discussion around more practical applications of a critical form of pedagogy in the prison classroom.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical educational theory or pedagogy goes beyond the simple science of teaching to one that is informed by critical social theory. Nicholas Burbules and Rupert Beck state that,

Critical pedagogy represents, in a phrase, the reaction of progressive educators against such institutionalized functions. It is an effort to work within educational institutions and other media to raise questions about inequalities of power, about the false myths of opportunity and merit for many students, and about the way belief systems become internalized to the point where individuals and groups abandon the very aspiration to question or change their lot in life (1999, p.50)

Some critical educators may be able to verbalize this understanding of critical pedagogy but do not know how to implement it, while other educators may not know the definition of critical pedagogy, but implement it on some level everyday. There are also educators who aim to achieve a critical pedagogical approach but instead actually implement a classroom focusing on critical thinking. Critical thinking is different from critical pedagogy although the two fall along the same spectrum.

To critical thinking, the critical person is something like a critical consumer of information; he or she is driven to seek reasons and evidence.

Part of this is a matter of mastering certain skills of thought; learning to diagnose invalid forms of argument, knowing how to make and defend distinctions, and so on (Burbules & Berk, 1999, p. 48)

Differentiating between critical pedagogy and critical thinking is important. For a teacher to operate a classroom based on critical pedagogy the students must be practiced in the art of critical thinking. This combination could then lend itself to a liberatory educational experience. As “for critical thinking, the attainment of individual critical thinking may, with success for enough people, lead to an increase in critical thinking socially...” (Burbules & Berk, 1999, p.55).

The critical pedagogical approach may be difficult to introduce into the classroom, particularly for those working within the confines of an institution like a prison. Challenging the status quo and questioning the very existence of society as we know it can be difficult and even painful. The responsibility lies on the teacher and, if fortunate enough, administration, for the opportunity to expose the students to a world-changing educational experience. Therefore the very introduction of critical thinking may possibly result in a critical pedagogical classroom environment. In summation:

For critical thinking, it is not enough to know how to seek reasons, truth, and understanding; one must also be impassioned to pursue them rigorously. For critical pedagogy, that one can critically reflect and interpret the world is not sufficient; one must also be willing and able to act to change that world (Burbules & Berk, 1999, pp.51-52).

I propose then, based on the above, that offenders can at least be taught to think critically, by a teacher who is founded in critical pedagogic assumptions, with the hopes that future social action will manifest.

Paulo Freire

A prominent face in critical theory is Paulo Freire. As discussed above his theory of critical pedagogy is one that is extremely difficult to transpose onto the Canadian correctional classroom, yet he offers some practical applications and a lot of inspiring words. Academic Diana Coben (1998) refers to Freire as *Marxisante* “not fully Marxist, but inspired by and sympathetic to Marxist revolutionary ideas”(p.71). Freire himself was a revolutionary leader and was concerned with the oppressed people from his homeland in Brazil.

Paulo Freire posits a process of adult education centering around the concept of praxis, an educational process through which the adult learner is encouraged, through critical ‘authentic’ dialogue, to unveil some of the social contradictions in existence within one’s community and beyond (Mayo, 1999, p.74).

This pedagogy is reliant on a number of key components. The first component is problem-posing education. This type of educating works on the level of addressing problems specific to the student population and in the form of a question. “The educator’s role is fundamentally to enter into dialogue with the illiterate about concrete situations and simply to offer him [*sic*] the instruments with which he can teach himself to read or write” (Freire, 1973, p.48). The intent is that through dialogue the students will gain insight and desire to acquire literacy skills as a means of engaging more with their

situational place in society. It also supports dialogue with other students, providing everyone with an opportunity to share. “Problem-posing is a group process that draws on personal experience to create social connectedness and mutual responsibility” (Wallerstein, 1987, p.34). The issues are determined through discussions about specific things such as the government, the police, or education. Freire’s problem-posing technique is in contrast to the commonplace problem solving approaches in today’s classrooms.

‘Problem solving’ is a ubiquitous feature of most current education programmes. Selected, isolated problems are often presented to students entirely at the whim and choosing of the teacher, irrespective of their relevance to the actual, or perceived reality of the students. The situations are often highly artificial and divorced from the real world (Connolly, 1980, p.73).

Problem solving is a staple to the cognitive skills programming in correctional settings as a means to empower students but obviously it is a technique that is laden with power issues as the problems, which need solving are strategically developed to ensure certain learning objectives. The problem, identified by the educator, is given to the students to solve. This method usually alienates the learner from the subject, as the problem most often is not contextually appropriate. As with any educative forum, problem-solving based classrooms may have openings for critical reflection and transformation, but unless the educator’s convictions are to take advantage of such opportunities, these openings will be lost. In problem-posing classrooms, power issues are intentionally taken up so that students are challenged to examine social inequalities through critical reflection.

Along with problem-posing education, Freire condemned what he called banking education. This style of teaching places the teacher in an authoritarian position and the owner of knowledge. Banking education is as it sounds, a method of education, which deposits knowledge on to the learner "...in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits" (Freire, 2004, c.1970, p.72). In many traditional classrooms it is this style of education that is employed. But banking education does the following two things: it alienates the learner from their own prior learned knowledge and experiences and it alienates them from their peers.

Inmates are not devoid of knowledge, of experience; they have a strong experience of life; they have learnt a lot of things. Yet, society has decided that this knowledge, this form of knowledge, was not socially appropriate. Therefore they have to learn something else, in a different way (DeMaeyer, 2001, p.123).

By excluding these experiences students are inadvertently devalued. Therefore Freire's methods could be effective for an inmate population. For people who think they have very little to offer, the problem-posing approach rather than the banking approach to education, may help to validate their experiences while opening the offender up to different perspectives.

Finally, Freire endorsed the notion of conscientization.

Conscientisation...has to do with the process in which the oppressed, not as recipients but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality, which shapes their lives, and their capacity to

transform it. Conscientisation seeks the awakening of critical consciousness, and results in the identification and naming of social ills, which constitute oppressive circumstances (Connolly, 1980, p.71).

Freire sees conscientisation as a process, a transitioning from one state to another. It is this state, one of enhanced awareness and understanding, that should be the aim for offender students so that they may be aware of the social ills affecting their position in society. Freire's approach is useful for addressing Marxist theories of crime, yet it is difficult to implement to its full capacity.

Jack Mezirow

Inspired by Freire, but focused more on critical thinking than critical pedagogy, is adult educator Jack Mezirow's theory of transformation. Mezirow's focus is on transformative learning, which he describes as the "process of effecting change in a frame of reference...Frames of reference are the structures of assumptions through which we understand our experiences" (1997, p.5). Mezirow (1997) determined that adults are able to change their frames of reference by critically reflecting on the assumptions that form their beliefs, values, and interpretations on (p.7). This is done through communicative learning, discourse, and autonomous thinking. "Communicative learning involves at least two persons striving to reach an understanding of the meaning of an interpretation or the justification for a belief" (Mezirow, 1997, p.6). Communicative learning, therefore, is heavily reliant upon discourse "a special kind of dialogue in which we focus on content and attempt to justify beliefs by giving and defending reasons and by examining the evidence for and against competing viewpoints" (Mezirow, 1994, p.225). If people are able to engage in this type of communicative learning they will begin to operate as

autonomous thinkers. “Autonomy here refers to the understanding, skills, and disposition necessary to become critically reflective of one’s own assumptions and to engage effectively in discourse to validate one’s beliefs through the experiences of others who share universal values” (Mezirow, 1997, p.9). Although autonomous thinking will likely lead to active responsible citizenship, it does not guarantee social transformation.

Those supporting Mezirow argue that his is a theory of transformation because learners do change. Those who support the view that adult education’s primary purpose is to bring about change in objective conditions disagree; for them, transformation only occurs when learners become social actors (Spencer, 1998, p.65)

This debate again brings us back to the discussion about what is doable and realistic within the prison population. Although there is no demand for social action, an individual who has gone through Mezirow’s process of perspective transformation has indeed changed, and with the direction and influence of a critical pedagogical teacher, the potential for social action is greater. The limits inherently placed on offender students are great, as with any silenced group, therefore consideration of these limits must be made. Small steps toward changes in thinking and action may be the initial reality for offenders, but it places them in a better situation than if they were not challenged at all. Mezirow’s discussion around frames of reference is also very important. Described as “associations, concepts, values, feelings...” (Mezirow, 1997, p.5), these frames of reference, which are transformed, may be compared to those described by Sutherland’s theory of Differential Association. The exposure to new definitions favourable to active citizenship and social action may potentially replace those definitions that were once

favourable to violating laws. With a change in criminal associations and the adoption of new meaning schemes, an individual has the potential to change his life, if only on a personal scale. Yet if this change is authentic, the individual will most likely be open to changing the lives of his peers and community.

Michael Collins

With an understanding of the theoretical perspectives being applied, the focus will now turn to educationally specific approaches as a means to achieving personal and social transformation. Adult educator Michael Collins has contributed a great deal to the field of adult education and has written on the topic of correctional education. His input is important for this argument as he directs his attention on the problems with self-directed learning, a method of learning prevalent in the prison classroom as students work on their own, isolated from each other, at a level determined by an initial educational assessment. Specifically “Michael Collins...was particularly scathing of education characterized as self-directed learning and recognized education in prison as being an accommodative strategy that helped sustain penal objectives” (Clements, 2004, p.171). Collins identified that current correctional education practices are an attempt to generate slightly more educated offenders with a greater potential to live with in the confines of societies’ social structures.

Collins' writings are inspired by Foucault and Foucault’s conception of panopticism.

The panopticon stems from a Greek term designating an area so arranged that all is visible from a single point. For Foucault’s critical theory the panopticon’s image and the predominance of panoptic techniques in

prisons signify a new technology of power that permeates modern society (Collins, 1988, p.102).

Collins states that the method of education in prison enforces this concept of being under scrutiny at all times which inhibits authentic educational experience. “Continuing focus (surveillance) on the adult learner under the rubric of self-directed learning becomes a panoptic technique through which adult educators are themselves able to escape self-reflection on what it is they do, and what they are” (Collins, 1988, p.106). This mode of education demands examination. It consists of the ingesting and then regurgitating of information deemed important by the institution within which it is operating. There is little place for the individual to examine why and what they are learning and how it may benefit them personally in the long run. Although dressed up as being an important component of andragogy, self-directed learning imposes on the adult learner a contractual agreement of what is to be learned and eventually examined.

A typical self-directed learning format requires the individual to prepare a formal contract specifying objectives, learning, resources, outcomes, etc., as though it is feasible to capture, a priori, relevant dimensions of anticipated learning within a blueprint. It is not uncommon for the planned self-directed learning project to be capped with an examination, the superlative exemplar of panoptic technique (Collins, 1988, p.107).

Self-directed learning techniques usually deny dialogue and interaction, thus alienating the student from the teacher, peers, and ultimately himself or herself as an autonomous decision maker. In prison classrooms in Canada, the focus is on the competence-based acquisition of knowledge. Self-directed students work alone in their academic

workbooks, each at a very different level and a very different pace, toward the goal of provincial recognition and accreditation. This is a very narrow approach to education that limits interaction and the opportunities for students to learn from and challenge one another. “Adult education as communitarian socialism would be dialogical, an attempt to create a continuous conversation among learners in which all voices would be heard equally” (Brookfield, 2002, p.102). Yet in Canadian prison classrooms, this is not often the case under the pedagogic approach of self-directed learning.

The possibilities for rational discourse with others that can lead to a disclosure of distortions and various forms of dominance within the immediate institutional context of the learning project are unattainable via this technocratic mediation. Prospects for rational communicative discourse, and the communicative competence required, cannot be realized by merely prompting learners to share with others learning projects they have structured on an individualized basis along lines marked out by a designated facilitator (Collins, 1996, pp.114-115).

Self-directed learning also underpins the individual aspect of rehabilitation while disregarding the need for greater social change. This, as Collins implies, is a controlled and power-exercising form of education. Critical adult educators and theorists are fervent when it comes to their convictions, as with Collins, one of the main focuses is on the idea that education is not neutral. The responsibility on educators is great as they have the potential to play a role in helping to expose their students to the social realities they exist in or to enforce hegemonic ideals.

Critical Commonalities

Freire, Mezirow, and Collins are important voices for critical adult education and fall along a continuum of criticality in the field. Freire is able to instill in adult educators the convictions and motivation to address oppression and inequality in the classroom although some of his practical applications with peasants is not easily transferred to the prison context. Mezirow focuses less on the social repercussions of critical education and more on the personal transformation of meanings and perspectives that a learner may come to know. Collins takes this concept into the prison classroom and argues that, at the very least, correctional educators must resist the self-directed learning style which is often implemented and exchange it for a method that is less dominating and controlling. All of these educators call for the adult learner to become autonomous. Rather than become a product of the political or institutional regime, they foresee adult students becoming independent, decision-making individuals who have been provided the skills and reflective tools to do so. Freire, Mezirow, and Collins also call on the teacher as a responsible entity in the learning process, not as an owner of knowledge but as a facilitator of reflective practices that allow individuals to see the world as it is socially structured, stressing the importance of learning as part of a social process. Collins (1988) states that educators need to uncover “systematic coercive distortions that subvert a natural tendency for learning” (p.108), while Mezirow (1997) says that “educators must assume responsibility for setting objectives that explicitly include autonomous thinking and recognize that this requires experiences designed to foster critical reflectivity and experience in discourse” (p.10). Freire’s writings are laden with guidelines for adult educators. He states: “only through communication can human life hold meaning. The

teacher's thinking is authenticated only by the authenticity of the student's thinking" (Freire, 2004, c.1970, p.77). This relationship is an equitable one and it "assumes that the educator and students are in a similar position vis-à-vis oppressive power relations; that both educator and students are from the popular sectors and working for the same goals (or that the educator has committed class suicide in solidarity)" (Choules, 2007, p.168). The partnership between student and teacher is vital if students are going to receive a truly critical authentic educational experience.

These theorists also stress the importance of dialogue and communication as imperative components for liberatory and transformative education. Freire extensively discusses the importance of dialogue through problem-posing education as a means of understanding. "It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours" (Freire, 2004, c.1970, p.96). Freire looks for people to discuss issues as a means of creating a mutual understanding. This concept has influenced both Mezirow and Collins but so too has the concept of communicative action presented by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas.

Habermas defines communicative action as happening 'wherever the actions of the agents involved are coordinated not through egocentric calculations of success but through acts of reaching understanding'.

Communicative action is premised on the disposition to try and understand another's point of view" (Brookfield, 2005, p.1152).

Habermas views this open dialogue as a means for individuals to understand each other. Adult educator Patricia Gouthro (2006) further explains "through communicative

rationality, or discourse, people suspend their apriori assumptions and engage in meaningful and open discussions to make explicit the underlying assumptions that guide human behaviour” (p.12). The importance of this type of dialogical interaction plays out in the writing of Mezirow as he draws heavily from Habermas. Mezirow (1997) states that in order to validate what is being communicated, learners must engage in discourse (p.6). “Discourse, as used here, is a dialogue devoted to assessing reasons presented in support of competing interpretations, by critically examining evidence, arguments, and alternative points of view”(Mezirow, 1997, p.6). The reliance on discussion and dialogue is also central to Michael Collins’ (1998) work. He writes: “In an institutional setting where communication tends to be brutalized or shaped by bureaucratic protocols, fostering dialogue around relevant issues is a worthwhile educational activity. It allows some potential for the practice of critical pedagogy” (p.61).

The final commonality between Paulo Freire, Jack Mezirow, and Michael Collins is that they envision a critical pedagogy that results in the changing of lives, communities, and worlds. Whether it is through perspective transformation or social action, their desire is for adult students, whether incarcerated or not, to become autonomous, reflective, and aware citizens, if not completely free from domination. It is clear that correctional education within the Canadian prison system is far from commissioning any type of critical pedagogy in the prison classroom despite the fact that “the prescriptive mode of pedagogy destroys any sense of relationship that the educatee may have with the material to be learnt, thereby constituting a process of cultural alienation” (Mayo, 1999, p.59). In order for change, a long process of implementing both curriculum and value shifts would be required and it would be helpful to look to other

countries whose approach to correctional education is less prescribed and technical and closer to a critical authentic educational experience.

European Correctional Education

Many adult educators, regardless of classroom site, praise the writings and work of Paulo Freire. He has inspired many and hints of his critical tradition resonate worldwide. Particularly, his approach to education appears to have made an impression on members of the European Prison Education Association (EPEA).

The European Prison Education Association is an organization made up of prison educators, administrators, governors, researchers and other professionals whose interests lie in promoting and developing education and related activities in prisons throughout Europe in accordance with the recommendations of the Council of Europe (EPEA, 2006, Introduction section, ¶ 1).

As an association with various national members from Europe, the EPEA is not only concerned with education in prisons, but with progressive practices and education of the whole person. In the document *Recommendations No. R (89) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to the members states of the Council of Europe (1990)*, which is dedicated completely to correctional education, the Council of Europe recommends practices and guidelines for correctional education that are forward thinking and seemingly liberatory. The 54 page document discusses issues pertaining to meaningful educational efforts in prison such as education's place within the correctional system, participants and their motivation, learning opportunities, and social education, to name a few. By placing such issues at the forefront, addressing them becomes increasingly manageable. The report

justifies the need for educational resources within the prison. It goes beyond merely recognizing the educational issues that offenders have brought to prison with them, but uses them to justify the need for financial resources.

Secondly, there is an argument based on justice: a high proportion of prisoners have had very limited and negative past educational experience, so that, on the basis of equality of opportunity, they are now entitled to special support to allow their educational disadvantage to be redressed (Report on Education in Prison, 1990, p.10).

Along with this recommendation for increased resources, the report goes on to outline the definition of ‘the right to learn’, as a rationale for the extensive educational opportunities available in prisons. This definition was adopted by the 4th International UNESCO Conference on Adult Education and comprises the following:

- The right to read and write;
- The right to question and analyse;
- The right to imagine and create;
- The right to read about one’s own world and to write history;
- The right to have access to education resources;
- The right to develop individual and collective skills (1990, p.11)

Reminiscent of Freire, many of these rights go beyond the banking educative classroom found in Canada’s federal prisons. An evaluation of the policies and recommendations in the *Recommendations No. R (89) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to the members states of the Council of Europe (1990)* establishes that these rights address the needs of the whole person, rather than the needs identified by an intake assessment conducted after

sentencing. The committee also addressed the fact that adult education endeavours should be voluntary, rather than mandated by correctional plans as seen in Canadian prisons. They recommend that

An onus is placed on teachers to undo some of the past damage and overcome the low expectations of their potential students. Motivation must, therefore, be seen as a dynamic concept, with what appears as low motivation among prisoners understood as a result of past experience (in school and elsewhere) (Report on Education in Prison, 1990, p.19).

The discourse in the Report on Education in Prison proves inclusive, and focuses more on the social aspects of prison and education rather than on the individual responsibility of the offender. Addressing prison education as unique and recognizing the adult learner as someone with a vast social history is a promising start. Albeit challenging on such a large scale, many of the recommendations are doable. Yet there are contributions being made by various branches of the EPEA with recommendations that go further into the realm of emancipatory education, notably, academics and administrators from Ireland, where a well-developed branch of the EPEA is active and voicing their concerns.

Ireland's Holistic Correctional Education

As part of the EPEA, the Irish Prison Education Association (IPEA) is supportive of the recommendations laid out in the above-cited document *Education in Prison*. Yet, the IPEA is also focused on the professional development of correctional educators and acts as an advocate for them when required. Finally, the IPEA is in place to support penal reform (IPEA, 2006, IPEA Constitution section, ¶ 2). The members of the IPEA have written on prison education from a critical perspective and present their

contributions at the EPEA conferences regularly. Ideally, it appears that IPEA members conceive of a system that employs the educational strategies of critical adult educators while expressing great concern over the strict adherence to cognitive programming.

IPEA members Ann Costello and Kevin Warner state,

Our concern is that over-focusing on so-called criminogenic factors, and on the prisoner's shortcomings, is a limiting and negative approach. Such an approach views the prisoner primarily as something broken in need of fixing or as an object in need of treatment. It appears to us to be a regressive concept reminiscent of the now discredited medical model of imprisonment. We are particularly wary of how the new discourse frames attempts to change the inmate while ignoring the wider context from which they came and to which they will return (Costelloe & Warner, 2005, Introduction section, ¶ 5)

The Irish prison service is unlike the Canadian service in various ways. My experience as volunteer for the Irish Prison Service in 2003 gave me insight into the Irish correctional process. I learned that offenders are not assessed upon intake and they do not have correctional plans or sentence management and thus, they do not have correctional programming. According to educator Mary Kett (2001) "there is a relative lack of sentence management and treatment programs for offenders in Ireland" (p.67). In fact, The Irish Prison Service does not adhere to any one specific theoretical approach, as a specific theoretical approach is not needed to inform core correctional programs. This does not mean that the offenders are not offered any educational opportunities though. In fact they are offered plenty of opportunities in the area of education through The Prison

Education Service, Ireland (PESI), which oversee all aspects of prison education in Ireland and whose policy is influenced by the Recommendation and Report referred to above. “The Prison Education Service, Ireland consists of a partnership between the Irish Prison Service and a range of educational agencies from the community” (Prison Education Service Ireland, 2006). These community agencies include Vocational Education Committees and the Public Library Services, along with The Open University, The Arts Council, and other third-level colleges, such as the National College of Art & Design (PESI, 2006). Because an inmate’s day in the Irish Prison Service is not monopolized by core correctional programming there is ample opportunity to become involved in various educational opportunities. “At the end of 2004, 51% of all prisoners were involved at some level...such an overall level of involvement in education whilst in prison is very high by international standards” (Warner, 2005, p.5).

Information obtained from the Irish *Directory of Prison Education* indicates that each prison within the country offers different courses depending on population size and facility. For example, Mountjoy Prison, a male prison in Dublin city, offers the following courses:

- Music
- English, creative writing
- Physical Education
- Computers, IT development, Word Processing
- Home Economics
- Literacy
- Business strategies

- Maths, numeracy
- Stained glass
- History, Politics
- Sociology
- Art, Drama, Crafts
- Irish, French
- Study Skills, Relaxation, Addiction Awareness (Warner, 2005, p.23)

These courses meet the needs of more than just an academic nature, they address the creative, social, and cultural needs present in all offenders. While informational interviews with correctional educators from Ireland would have been beneficial, it is beyond the scope of this particular study. Nevertheless Kevin Warner points out in the *Directory of Prison Education* that,

The Education Unit employs a liberal Adult Education model of education that is characterized by voluntary student participation, a broad curriculum, student autonomy in subject choice, student identification of their own needs and an emphasis on meeting the specific educational needs of all students. There are approximately 160 students enrolled at any one time (Warner, 2005, p.24).

In a prison like Mountjoy, it appears that this educational approach is not only attractive to offenders but is sustainable as there is currently 26 staff employed in the educational unit in this one prison. This is unheard of in Canadian prisons; so many staff members dedicated to education. Canada does look externally for its teachers, but usually partnerships aside from that end there.

The differences between correctional education in Canada and in Ireland are remarkable. But it should be noted that Canada's cognitive based approach to corrections is making its way over the Atlantic and starting to impress itself upon prisons in the United Kingdom, much to the concern of critical adult educators and academics. U.K. professor Phil Bayliss (2003) posits that,

Clearly the burgeoning of the cognitive-behaviour psychology programmes from North America and the introduction of the core curriculum for prison education decimated the broad range of subjects on offer to a limited range of functional courses at a basic level (p.168).

Researchers in England took this critique a step further when they examined the costs associated with the new cognitive approach in relation to what educational programs they had to give up.

The treasury board has already allocated cash for more Offender Behaviour Programmes – currently £25 million a year – to continue until 2006 in up to 100 prisons. They probably worked out that the £200 million they have already spent could have paid for the annual tuition fees for 50,000 low risk offenders to study at Cambridge for three years – the entire prison population in 1995 (Clements, 2004, p.171).

Therefore it could be presumed that not only does Canada not compare to Ireland with regard to correctional education, but Canada's influence and sales tactics abroad could be detrimental to the vast educational opportunities that are currently offered by the introduction of time consuming cognitive correctional programs. Canada's success

measurement of recidivism is also causing concern within the circle of Irish correctional educators.

The current penal discourse takes for granted that the recidivist rate is the main indicator of the success or otherwise of education within prison. It fails to take into account other factors outside the control of either teachers or students such as the nature of the prison regime, location, length of sentence, inhumane conditions, and alienation from society (Behan, Vigilance section, ¶ 3).

PESI coordinator Kevin Warner also states that “there is so much outside the control of teachers and students that can impinge on our educational space...it would be outrageous to measure the work of those teachers by recidivism rates” (Behan, Vigilance section, ¶ 5). Recidivism cannot equate success particularly when measures of recidivism are so difficult to define.

Emancipatory education for offenders is within reach, particularly when looking at the strides being taken in Ireland to:

Design and deliver relevant programmes that cater for the needs of the whole person; widen access and increase participation in education; and adapt programmes to take into account the diversity of the student body, their views and the complex nature of prison life (Warner, 2005, p.53).

In the next chapter, possibilities for liberating Canadian correctional education in the critical sense will be examined so that our offenders too will have a chance of an authentic educational experience.

Chapter Five

Adult educators and prison educators who recognize the need for change often make suggestions and recommendations for practical critical pedagogy in the prison classroom. Yet before addressing these recommendations the prisoner student must be considered with regard to how they might receive a critical pedagogical approach. Without making this a consideration, the applications may be guilty of being top-down; the exact opposite of what is intended.

Challenges in Implementing Critical Pedagogy

For individuals who have been made to feel inferior, stupid, or just plain bad, offenders may possibly take comfort in knowing what socially accredited efforts they should strive toward. Take education for example. Offenders who do not have a high school diploma or equivalency most often know that achieving such a goal is important. Allan Quigley (1992) researched resistant adult learners. “ABE [adult basic education] participants were asked to approach undereducated adults whom they knew refused to attend such programs. Twenty such adult resisters came forward to tell their stories” (p.108). Quigley’s research indicates that, despite having feelings of resistance towards further schooling, these individuals recognize its great importance. “Subjects adamantly asserted that education is of real importance and they all said they would do whatever was possible to see that their children completed school” (Quigley, 1992, p.115). Although the socially acceptable path is obviously not one that many offenders have followed, it is still one they know; therefore any change in the approach to such an endeavour, as they know it, may cause alarm, confusion, and ultimately resistance. Although a skills-focused, competency-based classroom has not been the ideal for many

offenders in the past, it is still what they know and what they have known throughout their life.

Many offenders will come to the prison classroom already somewhat resistant to education due to negative experiences in the classroom from childhood and the fact that participation in correctional education is rarely voluntary. Thus, “it is naïve to assume that every prisoner is a natural ally for critical pedagogy...alliances must be made. Making them requires work that will be performed by those who recognize the necessity for building alliances” (Davidson, 1995, p.15). It is for reasons such as this that Freire insisted on becoming like one’s student so that trust and understanding is established prior to the initiation of problem-posing methods and dialogue.

With regard to critical pedagogy, sometimes offenders will not be capable of achieving a critical consciousness due to cognitive ability, confidence, or due to the fact that they just might not care. Again, this is a population who is extremely diverse in capability, interest, and potential, therefore any correctional adult educator must be prepared for possible problems and/or resistance.

Another concern with implementing a critical approach in a correctional education classroom is the need to create an egalitarian classroom environment while recognizing offenders may not be adept in operating in such an environment. The relinquishment of the teacher’s authoritative place may create a vacuum to be filled by offenders higher in the pecking order of the inmate population. This new opportunity may create a situation where the discussion is monopolized by a select few. “One explanation for this lopsided authority is that students accustomed to teacher-directed classrooms and discussions are unaware of the responsibilities that accompany the

exercising of their newly discovered rights to self-expression” (Beck, 2005, p.395). In order to recognize and address this problem, facilitators must have certain techniques devised to promote a democratic classroom. “Giving students 'thinking time' before requiring a response may level the playing field somewhat for students who do not think so quickly on their feet” (Choules, 2007, p.173). “Small groups of a more homogenous character may work together more democratically as issues of societal power and prejudice are minimized within that grouping” (Choules, 2007, p. 173). Along with this problem, others may arise such as offenders bullying or taunting the contributions of others or potentially confusing the boundaries associated with the staff/inmate relationship.

For those offenders who do adopt a critical perspective and understand their potential, “the question is whether it is at all possible to sustain general prison education programming if one allows critical pedagogy a more conscious and deliberate place” (Germanotta, 1995, p.106). Collins (1988) is sympathetic to the difficulty in achieving a critical prison classroom as he states: “Loosening the attachment of education from the entire apparatus of panopticism would be immensely difficult, moreso than for adult education endeavours on the outside, but it the best we can do” (p.109). In a case where resistance may not stem from the offender but from the institution itself, a teacher may face alienation. “When the school is a traditional one, bound to top-down conceptions of authority and a non-critical ideology, teachers may feel unsupported in their critical literacy beliefs and pressured to adopt practices that conform to the existing school culture” (Beck, 2005, p.396). If a correctional educator finds oneself in a situation without support or possible blatant resistance, the desire to continue may be challenged

and continued efforts could ultimately be abandoned, to the detriment of the students. An educator must be aware of the difficulties in challenging what society, the government, and in turn what capitalism has deemed to be legitimate knowledge. But challenging this legitimate knowledge can be done through legitimizing some of the knowledge that offenders have. Despite all of these possible barriers though, educators should look to what others in the field are doing for suggestions. They may also consider student driven critical pedagogy, which will be examined next.

Critical Pedagogy in Long Kesh

It is difficult to find practical applications of Freire's pedagogy on the scale in which he envisioned, particularly in the last few decades and in Western society. Yet one account, originating from within the confines of a prison, demonstrates that it is possible and this account supports Freire's belief that education is always political as "it either serves to domesticate people by preparing them to adapt to their given conditions of existence, or it serve to prepare them to liberate themselves from all oppressive conditions and to do so in collective solidarity with others" (Allman & Wallis, 1997, p. 113).

"Freire's concept of non-hierarchical, dialogue-based education can be applied to the system begun by prisoners within the prisons of Northern Ireland, particularly within the H-Blocks at Long Kesh" (Dana & McMonagle, 2002, p.416). The conflict between the Irish Catholic and the Protestant English is one that has been steeped in history and violence. As political prisoners the Irish Nationalists held steadfast against their captors and remained true to their cause, the political freedom of Ireland from English rule. The Irish prisoners incarcerated in Long Kesh during the 1970s and 1980s were adamant that

they would fight the influence and oppression being placed on them by the English government. In order to do so, they had to, under dire conditions, share their knowledge and become educated in their culture, language, politics, and history. “Without the availability of books, classrooms or anything but the crudest of writing materials, each man became equally responsible for contributing to his own knowledge to the best of his ability” (Dana & McMonagle, 2002, p.417). If this were not done, the cost would be great as the Irish could lose their voice. Therefore, the prisoners had to make do with the resources available, the greatest of which would be each other.

The communal lifestyle encouraged the prisoners as a whole not to return to a hierarchical educational system where one person alone would be the teacher and authority. The prisoners instead arranged classes and debates in such a way that they incorporated everyone who wished to participate, holding each person accountable for doing a fair amount of reading and then interpreting the ideas and leading discussions. They appointed only a facilitator to keep things in track. In this way they became actively involved in the pursuit of knowledge instead of simply being passive recipients (Dana & McMonagle, 2002, p.418).

Logistically the prisoners were able to create an environment out of very little to meet the needs of their pedagogical approach. They were able to offer each other instruction in various topics pertaining to the understanding of their liberation. Along with Irish language classes,

other classes address the prisoners’ political involvement from a theoretical viewpoint. A frequent class is the politics or ideology range, which is commonly made up of about eight men who examine different

ideologies such as capitalism, socialism, liberalism, and fascism (Dana & McMonagle, 2002, p.419).

The prisoners' discussions and analyses of the prevailing social conditions allowed them to theorize, as Marx did, about their society and how it could be challenged and changed. The organization and persistence of these prisoners is incredible. The monumental task of overcoming not only the conditions of the prison, but the hate being directed to them from their captors did not become an obstruction in their goal for freedom. These prisoners represented critical pedagogy in action because of the commitment to their liberation, the unwavering dedication despite the costs, and the success they achieved in becoming true and whole Irish Nationalists; the basis of their fight. What is also remarkable is that for many it did not end once released from Long Kesh. "And once out of prison, many Cumann leaders become more actively involved in the political side of the movement, some even becoming Sinn Fein candidates in elections" (Dana & McMonagle, p.421). The Sinn Fein party is still very active today in Irish Republican politics. Representative of its members and what they have fought for, the party holds on to the same ideologies as the prisoners once held in Long Kesh, and together they represent the result of critical pedagogy in action. The prisoners in Long Kesh were criminals, although labelled as political prisoners they were violent and destructive prior to their incarceration. Without a doubt the situation at Long Kesh was not without power issues and struggles as no educative situation is purely democratic or authentic, yet as an example of critical pedagogy it exemplifies the potential learners have when they are truly committed to changing their situation. It was through critical education that these

political prisoners were able to turn themselves into socially active citizens and to recognize an alternate method of initiating social change.

Innovative Applications

It is commonplace that critical theorists make recommendations for a critical pedagogy in the classroom, yet the practical implementation, such as the example in Northern Ireland, is more difficult to achieve. Beck (2005) states that, “accompanying the wide variety of understandings of the definition of critical literacy is an absence of a fixed model for bringing critical literacy to the classroom” (p.395). Without this fixed model, it is possible that the most seasoned adult education practitioner could face difficulty meeting the challenge of realizing critical pedagogy in their classroom. Yet in keeping with the results that came out of the protests in Long Kesh, educators may focus their practice on the political positions and awareness of their offender students by introducing education for active citizenship. Walters and Watters (2001) view this as citizenship for the promotion of social justice rather than for the promotion of social capital (p.471).

Stimulating citizenship does not only consist in learning about democracy with its civil, political and social components. It also deals with the possibility of stimulating the autonomous and self-reliant person who knows how to interact with others who have different opinions and values (Klaassen, 2000, p.231).

By exposing students to the concepts around democratic thinking and how it's purportedly the political regime of Canadian society, they will be able to ascertain their power for realizing democracy in its authentic form. “If democracy is the progressive

and promised destiny for humankind, it is urgent that we begin to debate its meaning and the meaning of the concepts which provide the practice of democracy with an authentic substance” (Wallis & Allman, 1996, p.170). Critical theorists have argued that only through dialogue and communication is this possible. “Our linguistic capacities as human beings enable us to use communicative action to resolve conflict and expand our understanding of the world” (Gouthro, 2006, p.12).

Teaching political thought and responsibility within a prison has limitations, as it is a government-regulated institution. “There need be no illusions about the immensity of the difficulties confronting educators whose pedagogical practice raises fundamental questions about existing relationships of power which are sustained through our institutions” (Collins, 1998, p.62). Yet it is possible if an educator has a democratic, egalitarian classroom with the voices of all students being heard. If an offender is given the opportunity to become a critical, reflective, active citizen, he or she will be better prepared to live a pro-social, politically sensitive life upon release, just as those released from Long Kesh were able to, while minimizing the costs associated with crime and incarceration.

This raises the issue that educator Phil Bayliss is concerned with when he suggests that, “prison education could be liberated by loosening its constraints of providing mainly basic skills classes, to becoming integrated within all prison activities and by having more involvement with the outside community” (Bayliss, 2003, p.157). He posits a correctional program that encompasses more than the technical academic teachings offered in many institutions. He believes that correctional education could be more liberating by aligning itself with other more non-traditional activities in the prison

and in the community. This concept of opening up the institution to the outside community is also recommended by prison educator Cormac Behan. He adheres to the notion that bringing the community into the prison sets the stage for a more realistic approach to learning, one that is not isolated and institutionalized.

Another method of trying to achieve autonomy in the learning space is organizing debates with local schools/universities...It is a positive method of empowering students and creating equality with students from the community. It also gives validity to the educational achievements of the students in a non-conventional process, which moves away from traditional methods of assessment (Behan, 2005, Imagination section, ¶ 4)

In this example he focuses on the idea of staging debates, encouraging the offender students to choose the topic and plan their argument. By placing power in the hands of the offender and exposing them to their own capacity for critical thinking and to the outside, the student will become counterpart to the students in the community, inevitably creating a sense of empowerment and involvement. Michael Collins would agree that correctional educators must make opportunities for their students. "Adult educators working in the prisons are in a position to foster the process of self-education while carefully avoiding any inclination to bring it under the control of the formal system" (Collins, 1998, p.62). Addressing social justice and inequalities needn't be a direct attack. Through the use of creative outlets and equalizing opportunities, students take on a new persona and self-identification, made easier through the help of the community and a creative teacher. This process of transformation, as with the process of differential association, could help the learner gain new insight when defining the world.

Humanities

Other correctional educators are more topic-specific in their suggestions for emancipatory educational practices. It appears that many of these suggestions focus on the arts and the study of the humanities. Certain educators believe that “recidivism rates drop when education programs are designed to help prisoners with their social skills, artistic development and techniques and strategies to help them deal with their emotions” (Vacca, 2004, p.3). A number of specific examples have been implemented throughout the Western world.

In England Geese Theatre leads in this field. It is a professional touring company working exclusively in prisons and with the probation service.

The company performs animated and challenging theatre with prisoners, ex-prisoners, staff, and has developed different performance strategies to meet different needs” (Grace, 1993, p.67).

The concept of using the arts to facilitate liberating learning is encouraging and inspirational. As described above, fine arts such as drama, music, and the visual arts offer offenders a means of self-expression and a way to build a new and tested confidence. It also introduces possible new pro-social leisure activities, which would address the whole person. It is a gentle rather than violent approach at exposing and questioning the world. “The humanities are a very practical kind of education in that they enable people to think and take pleasure in art, to learn to begin from the great beginners of history, to apply this capacity to begin in any field, any problem. (O’Connell, 2000, p.5), therefore taking a holistic approach to learning. Once the mind is open to appreciate artistic mediums, it will be open to question why it has been cut off from such creative

possibilities and opportunities before. “Perhaps the most remarkable evidence of prison literacy initiatives relatively unencumbered with the correctional ethos comes in the form of publications – poetry, essays, plays, newspapers” (Collins, 1995, p.58). The Humanities allow people to become part of history, beauty, and possibilities. The subjects draw people in, resulting in a motivation for continuous learning. “Just as anywhere else, in prison too education is first and foremost a social intervention, a social action: the social environment is vital, that is, the inmate’s environment, the prison environment, the history of each and everyone in prison” (De Maeyer, 2001, p.124). Delving into the social side of education even within the prison will expose offenders to the lived experiences, perspectives, thoughts and meanings of their peers, themselves, and the world.

American professor Earl Shorris created a first year humanities course, which he called the Clemente Course, and took it to people in poverty-stricken neighbourhoods. He also implemented it in a women’s prison with astounding results. According to Shorris (1997):

A year after graduation, ten of the first sixteen Clemente Course graduates were attending four-year colleges or going to nursing school; four of them had received full scholarships to Bard College. The other graduates were attending community college or working full-time. Except one: she had been fired from her job at a fast food restaurant for trying to start a union (p.17).

Shorris’ example is a testament to the use of humanities in correctional education. By introducing the students to a new field of study and thought, a field commonly out of

reach, educators will not only help students adopt a new perspective on education, but on their own potential as learners and doers.

Educator Irene Baird agrees as she examined the effects of offering inmates the opportunity to engage with classical authors through the written word, authors with whom the offenders could specifically relate. Through reflection and study the effects were positive, including a sense of calm within the institution, an increase in academic grades and upon release a greater enrolment in higher education and involvement with poetry organizations (Baird, 1999, p.107). According to Baird (1999) this approach addressed more than the creative need in its participants, it gave them a “‘voice’...in order to deal with oppression” (p.106). Going into her research, her aim was on an educational experience beyond that of a self-directed, alienating skills-based curriculum. The technique she used “was designed as the medium for the women to construct practical knowledge about themselves and their worlds; as a liberatory experience, the essential first step towards completeness’, with the potential for initiating a lifelong learning process including job preparation” (Baird, 1999, p.104). Baird envisioned the offenders being given the opportunity to enter back into the world better prepared for the struggles that would ensue, including finding employment. The question as to whether or not that should be the focus of emancipatory education could be debated, but either way, through examining the humanities, the offenders were given a more rounded, critical educational experience.

When an educator is able to think outside of the box and tap in to resources from the community and various disciplines they are able to achieve more than when they teach within the confines of the prison curriculum. According to prison educator Ann

Beck (2005) “within the penal institution, teachers should understand that their responsibility is not to represent or reinforce the institution’s interests, but to ensure that their students receive exposure to different, even competing, perspectives from those expressed by the institution” (p. 399). She goes on to say that “the penal school, therefore, must stand separate and apart from the institution’s interests if it is to encourage the students to develop their critical literacy so as to function as responsible, independent agents within our society” (Beck, 2005, p.399). Beck stresses that educators have a responsibility to their students not to deposit information (per Freire) on to them, but to engage them, challenge them, expose them, and facilitate new opportunities for learning despite the correctional ethos of the institution. “Reformatory education could be made ‘more purposeful by basing it on actual life interests of the prisoner rather than on a routine that the philosophy of public school education says is essential for all of us’” (Gehring, 2000, p.162).

Alternative Pedagogy in Canadian Prisons

It would be irresponsible to not step back and recognize that Canadian federal institutions are attempting to introduce alternatives to correctional education other than the technical, competency-based classroom. The problem rests with the fact that these implementations are not consistent across the country and vary based on whether the prison has a male or female population. Examples of this are evident in the Atlantic region of CSC. Because the funding and governance of women’s prisons is its own entity, there are programs offered in these institutions beyond that of adult basic education and correctional programming which, like the male institutions, run according to the social learning theory and the cognitive skills based approach. At Nova Institution

for Women in Nova Scotia two such additional programs are offered to the inmates that go beyond the cognitive skills, competency based approach. One is a horticulture program that is offered by the local agricultural college. An agricultural college teacher is brought in on contract and offers an introductory course on horticulture that is both experiential and theoretical. Another program at Nova is the Pawsitive Direction Program. This program introduces the women, with the direction of a nationally renowned expert in the field, to dog training from the very basics of obedience and grooming to the advance training of special needs dogs. The dogs reside with the women at the institution and the training continues until the dog is ready to go to the community or the woman is released.

The Canine Program has proven beneficial in many ways. Participants develop very specialized skills in animal training that provide useful services to individuals in the community. They also learn skills which may help them find meaningful employment and enhance skills learned in other programs (CSC, 2005, Canine Program Section)

Both of these are examples of progressive programs that not only help to empower the women, but give them unique and useful skills for the release into the community. They can visualize their progress, create relationships with the outside community, and explore opportunities that they might not have had prior to incarceration. The problem though is that these activities are contingent upon whether or not the interested offender has completed the core programming assigned to them in their correctional plan. Their participation in these programs cannot conflict with this core programming.

Within the male institutions there has been an example found of a progressive educational technique in the form of a literacy program called Turning a New Page. “Turning a New Page is an unconventional literacy project that develops vocabulary, comprehension, fluency, and self-esteem in the older, reluctant reader” (Taylor & McAtee, 2003, p.476). The program was developed by American Richard McAtee who chose Westmorland Institution, a minimum-security institution in New Brunswick as a place for its implementation. In short “prison inmates are motivated to participate in the Turning a New Page program by their contributions to the literacy of young children in schools in the surrounding communities. They make audiotapes of children’s books for use in schools” (Taylor & McAtee, 2003, p.477). The developer states that the program works because the inmate practices reading a book, which is at his determined literacy-level, until it is mastered. The repetition and satisfaction brought about by the finished product encourages further learning and self-esteem (2003). Despite its success, this program is exclusive to the minimum-security inmates at Westmorland and has yet to be implemented anywhere else in the Atlantic region’s institutions.

It is not the intention of this thesis to accuse Correctional Service Canada of being completely wrong in their correctional ethos. The problem is that there appears to be a room for improvement with the approach to its methods and inconsistency with alternative forms of education. CSC needs to expand the options offered to offenders with regards to learning opportunities. More resources need to be put toward innovative and critical educational programs so as to find a more balanced holistic approach, and a plan must be developed at how to prepare prison educators to work from a more critical framework so they can bring in more innovative and emancipatory teaching approaches

to the prison classroom. “Prison education cannot be fully implemented without a dramatic transformation of the philosophy of punishment in North America and without rethinking how, as a society, we ought to define and respond to criminal offence” (Thomas, 1995, p.39). By proposing realistic changes that have been determined plausible from the research in this paper, the abilities and critical awareness of the inmate population will increase, for the good of the individual and society. Offenders who have left CSC’s prisons and have managed to make their lives better are due recognition for their achievements. If it was the combination of the current correctional education and core programming classes that have contributed to such, this should also be acknowledged. Yet the focus still needs to be on change.

Conclusion

This thesis makes the argument for a more critical approach to prison educational opportunities. It has been determined that “prison intensifies alienation. Whole dimensions of the person are denied, family and culture are marginalized, and interests and skills become irrelevant. Everything is dichotomised” (Sbarbaro, 1995, p.98). Therefore if changes to that dichotomy can be made by recognizing and celebrating culture, prior learning, skills and interests, the offender may in fact have the potential to become whole even while in prison. If this does not happen, the offender will never be in a place of contrition. Rather, they will take what mechanistic skills they acquired back to their home and community. “Once released, many inmates will return home (or elsewhere, it doesn’t matter!) and they will become prisoners of their environment, of their economic, social, political and cultural conditions” (DeMaeyer, 2001, p.126). To return to such a state would only exasperate the problems that led them there in the first

place. To the critics of correctional education reformation, consideration should be made of the statistics in chapter 1 demonstrating that currently nearly 8,000 federal offenders are living in society rather than an institution. Would it not be worth considering a critical pedagogical approach in the prison classroom, if one could be rest assured that these offenders have had an opportunity to critically reflect on their situation, as a means of changing their lives? Every person should be invested in, even offenders. Society cannot ignore the greater needs of those people living in prisons because the costs are too high for both the offender and the public. For the offender it is a life unable to meet its full potential. For the public the costs of crime are measured in the fears people have of walking alone at night or religiously locking their doors. They are also measured the following way as indicated in the tables below which were produced by The Fraser Institute in 1998:

Partial costs of property crimes to victims by type of crime in 1996:

	Theft	Mischief	Break & Enter	Motor Vehicle Theft	Robbery	Fraud
Number of incidents reported	842,529	364,021	396,085	178,580	31,342	101,007
Average Loss (1996) \$	2131	638	2309	6649	2857	3531
Total Losses (1996) millions	1810	232	914	1187	90	357
Total losses from all sources in this table (millions 1996\$): 4,591						

Direct monetary losses associated with selected violent crime in 1996:

Type of crime	Average loss per incident	Number of incidents	Total in \$millions
All assaults not related to sexual assault	\$400	227,678	91.2
Sexual Assault	\$476	26,762	12.7

These numbers indicate that crime is costly both to the government and the public and therefore if resources were made available at the institutional level to address criminality through critical education, the costs to society would lessen.

It is partially through critical education and the help of a critical pedagogy teacher that these changes needed in so many offenders lives may be realized. Complete emancipation from the capitalist state of our government is very improbable, but changes on the personal level and at the community level are possible as it has been determined that “Freirean pedagogy is more likely to prove effective within the context of social movement, or an alliance of movements, than in isolation” (Mayo, 1993, p.26). These movements may start small but will go forth facilitated by liberated individuals whom learned to question their world with the use of critical educational tools. They could lead their families and communities to mini-revolutions to improve their neighbourhoods, reduce crime, and increase resources for the betterment of all. This level of change will have to suffice because until society is open to distinguish between governments for the people and governments for big business there will not be hope for true transformation of social policy, inclusion, equality, freedom, or democracy.

In the broad area of correctional education, future research could examine prison management and policy advisors’ interpretation of correctional education and the justification of the current system in Canada. Participatory research could also be conducted where actual correctional educator’s practices are analyzed both in Canada and in Ireland for a comparative study. In addition, interviews with educators in prisons could explore whether they draw upon a critical, emancipatory framework towards

learning. There is also the opportunity to research issues of race and the prevalence of Aboriginal and African Canadian people within the prison system and the ties this overrepresentation has to education. A close examination of female offenders would also be important, specifically how their educational endeavours relate to their familial responsibility and criminality. More in depth studies could also be done on the comparative level with regards to correctional ideologies between various Western countries with the possibility of combining approaches for a better correctional system.

I have met many different prisoners over the past eight years and they are individuals just as my school peers and co-workers are individuals. They have dreams, plans, and hopes just as I do. Arguing for a change in correctional education is an attempt to bring recognition to the hopes and potential of these people who are incarcerated. Critical pedagogy is an effective instrument for change, not change in recidivism rates, but change in the lives of people who rarely come close to meeting their potential and positively changing the communities from which they come.

References

- Alliance Atlantis (2007). *Entertainment*. Retrieved January 7, 2007, from <http://www.allianceatlantis.com/entertainment>.
- Allman, P & Wallis, J. (1997). Commentary: Paulo Freire and the future of the radical tradition. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 29(2), 113-120.
- Andrews, D. (2000). *Principles of effective correctional programs*. Retrieved on June 1, 2006, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/compendium/2000/chap_2_e.shtml
- Apple, M. (1995). *Education and Power* (2nd Ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Auditor General of Canada (1996). *Correctional Services Canada: Rehabilitation programs for offenders*. Retrieved November 27, 2005, from <http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/domino/reports.nsf/html/9610ce.html>
- Baird, I. (1999). The examined life: Women's liberatory learning within a locked-in society. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 18(2), 103-109.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. New York: General Learning Press.
- Bayliss, P. (2003). Learning behinds bars: Time to liberate prison education. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 35(2), 157-172.
- Beattie, K. (2006) Adult correctional services in Canada, 2004/2005 [Electronic version]. *Juristat* 26(5), 1-34.
- Beck, A. (2005). A place for critical literacy. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 48(5), 392-400.
- Behan, C. (2005). *Vigilance, imagination, courage: The role of the teacher in prison education*. Retrieved September 12, 2006, from <http://www.epea.org/ipea>

- Bouchard, P. (1998). Training and work: Myths about human capital. In Scott, S., Spencer, B., & Thomas, A. (Eds.), *Learning for life: Canadian readings in adult education* (pp.128-139). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Brookfield, S. (2005). Learning democratic reason: The adult education project of Jürgen Habermas. *Teachers College Record*, 107(6), 1127-1168.
- Brookfield, S. (2001). Repositioning ideology critique in a critical theory of adult learning. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 52(1), 7-22.
- Brookfield, S. (2002). Overcoming alienation as the practice of adult education: the contribution of Erich Fromm to a critical theory of adult learning and education. *Adult Education Quarterly*. 52(2), 96-111.
- Brookfield, S. (2005). *The power of critical theory: Liberating adult learning and teaching*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Burbles, N. & Berk, R. (1999). Critical thinking and critical pedagogy: Relations, differences, and limits. In T. Popkewitz & L. Fendler (Eds.), *Critical theories in education: Changing terrains of knowledge and politics* (pp. 45-65). New York: Routledge.
- Burke, B. (1999). 'Antonio Gramsci and informal education'. *The encyclopedia of informal education*. Retrieved November 2, 2006, from <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-gram.htm>
- Canadian Test Centre (2007). *What is CAT-3?* Retrieved January 7, 2007 from <http://www.canadiantestcentre.com/Teachers/InformationForTeacher.asp>
- Cayley, D. (1998). *The expanding prison: The crisis in crime and punishment and the search for alternatives*. Toronto: Anansi.

- CBC News Online (2005). *Hurricane Katrina timeline*. Retrieved January 7, 2007, from http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/kathrina/katrina_timeline.html
- CBS News (2006). *Gulf coast volunteers restore hope: contractors sacrifice free time to rebuild homes destroyed in Katrina*. Retrieved January 7, 2007, from <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/08/25/eveningnews/main1936001.shtml>
- Choules, K. (2007). Social change education: Context matters. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 57(2), 159-176.
- Clements, P. (2004). The rehabilitative role of arts education in prison: Accommodation or enlightenment? *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, 23(2), 169-178.
- Clinard, M. & Meier, (R). (1998). *Sociology of deviant behaviour*. (10th ed.). Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Coben, D. (1998). *Radical heroes: Gramsci, Freire and the politics of adult education*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Collins, M. (1988). Prison education: A substantial metaphor for adult education practice. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 38(2), 101-110.
- Collins, M (1995). Critical commentaries on the role of the adult educator: From self-directed learning to post-modern sensibilities. In M. Welton, (Ed.), *In defence of the lifeworld: Critical perspectives on adult learning* (pp.71-97). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Collins, M. (1996). On contemporary practice and research: Self-directed learning to critical theory. In R. Edwards, A. Hanson, & P. Raggatt (Eds.), *Boundaries of adult learning* (pp.109-127). London: Routledge.

Collins, M. (1998). *Critical crosscurrents in education*. Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Publishing Company.

Community Safety and Crime Prevention Council. (1996). *The root causes of crime*.

Retrieved on February 14, 2006, from

<http://www.preventingcrime.net/library/index.html>

Cordella, P. (1995). Prison, higher education, and reintegration: A communitarian critique. In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.147-158). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Correctional Service Canada (2006). *CORCAN*. Retrieved on September 27, 2006, from

http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/corcan/home_e.shtml

Correctional Service of Canada (2005). *Institutional profiles: Canine program*. Retrieved

January 7, 2007, from <http://www.csc->

[scc.gc.ca/text/facilit/institutprofiles/nova_e.shtml](http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/facilit/institutprofiles/nova_e.shtml)

Correctional Service of Canada (1999). *Commissioner's directive: Education of*

offenders. Retrieved on January 7, 2007, from <http://www.csc->

[scc.gc.ca/text/plcy/cdshtm/720-cde_e.shtml](http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/plcy/cdshtm/720-cde_e.shtml)

Correctional Service Canada (2002). *Education and employment programs*. Retrieved on

October 23, 2005, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/correctional/educ_e.shtml

Correctional Service Canada, Aboriginal Initiatives Branch (2003). *Facts and figures:*

Aboriginal offender statistics. Retrieved on November 27, 2005 from

http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/correctional/abissues/know/4_e.shtml

- Correctional Service Canada (1999). *The commissioner's directive: Inmate program assignment and payments*. Retrieved on November 27, 2005, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/plcy/cdshtm/730-cde_e.shtml
- Correctional Service Canada. (1999). *The basic case management program interim curriculum: Participant's manual*. Government of Canada.
- Correctional Service Canada. (2004). *Performance report: For the period ending March 31, 2004*. Retrieved November 15, 2005 from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/dpr/2004/DPR_final_2004_e.shtml
- Correctional Service Canada (2006). *Our mission*. Retrieved on November 9, 2006, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/organi/organe01_e.shtml
- Correctional Service Canada (2002). *Sexual offender programs: Standards and guidelines*. Retrieved on November 27, 2005 from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgrm/correctional/sexoff_e.shtml
- Corrections in Canada (2006). *Times of change: 1940-1959*. Retrieved on June 10, 2006, from www.csc-scc.gc.ca/history
- Correctional (1990). Changing criminal thinking patterns: Some preliminary findings from the cognitive skills training pilot. *Forum* 2(1). Retrieved on November 18, 2005, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/forum/e02/e021ind_e.shtml
- Connolly, R. (1980). Freire, praxis, and education. In R. Mackie (Ed.), *Literacy and revolution: The pedagogy of Paulo Freire* (pp. 70-81). London: Pluto Press.
- Costelloe, A., & Warner, K. (2005). *Beyond 'offending behaviour': The wider perspectives of adult education and the European prison rules*. Retrieved September 14, 2006, from <http://www.epea.org/ipea>

- Council of Europe (1990). Education in prison. *Recommendation and explanatory memorandum* (No. R (89) 12). Strasbourg.
- Dana, J. & McMonagle, S. (2002) Deconstructing 'criminalisation': The politics of collective education in the H-blocks. In B. Gaucher (Ed.), *Writing as resistance: The journal of prisoners on prisons anthology (1988-2002)* (pp. 415-426). Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Davidson, H. (1995). Possibilities for critical pedagogy in a 'total institution': An introduction to critical perspectives on prison education. In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.1-23). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Davidson, H. (1998). Adult education in transition: The influence of social context on teaching prisoners. In S. M. Scott, B. Spencer, & A. M. Thomas (Eds.), *Learning for life: Canadian readings in adult education* (pp. 223-235). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc.
- de Maeyer, M. (2001). Education in prison. *Convergence*, 34(2-3), 117-128.
- DeMelo, D. (1999). Sutherland's differential association. In *Criminological theory*. Retrieved November 12, 2005 from <http://home.comcast.net/~ddemelo/crime/crimetheory.html>
- Duguid, S. (2000). *Can prisons work? The prisoner as object and subject in modern corrections*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1966). *Suicide: A study in sociology* (J. Spaulding & G. Simpson, Trans.). New York: The Free Press. (Original work published in 1951)

- Elizabeth Fry Society, (2004). *Resources for students, from the council of the Elizabeth Fry Societies of Ontario*. Retrieved November 27, 2005 from <http://www.web.net/~efryont/students.html>
- Ellis, D. (1987). *The wrong stuff: An introduction to the sociological study of deviance*. Don Mills: Maxwell Macmillan Canada.
- European Prison Education Association (2006). *Introduction*. Retrieved November 7, 2006, from <http://www.epea.org/>
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Freire, P. (1998). The adult literacy process as cultural action for freedom. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(4), 480-498).
- Freire, P. (2004). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. (30th anniversary ed.) (M. Ramos, Trans.) New York: Continuum. (Original worked published in 1970)
- Gehring, T. (2000). A compendium of material on the pedagogy-andragogy issue. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 51(1), 151-163).
- Germanotta, D. (1995). Prison education: A contextual analysis. In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.103-121). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Gibbons, D. (1992). *Society, crime, and criminal behavior* (6th ed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Goode, E. (1997). *Deviant behavior* (5th ed.). New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Gouthro, P. (2006). Reason, communicative learning, and civil society: The use of Habermas theory in adult education. *Journal of Educational Thought*, 40(1), 5-22.
- Grace, N. (1993). Arts-related activities in prison. *Convergence*, 26(3), 65-70.

Hagan, J. (1991). *The disreputable pleasures: Crime and deviance in Canada* (3rd Ed.).

Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryserson.

Harris, M. (2002). *Con game: The truth about Canada's prisons*. Toronto: McClelland &

Stewart Ltd.

Hendricks, C., Hendricks, J., & Kauffman, S. (2001). Literacy, criminal activity, and

recidivism. *Multiple perspectives in the millennium*, Volume XXI. Retrieved

September 16, 2006, from

http://www.americanreadingforum.org/01_yearbook/volume01toc.htm

International Centre for Prison Studies (2006). *World prison brief*. Retrieved November

17, 2005, from University of London, Kings College London Web site:

<http://www.prisonstudies.org/>

Irish Prison Education Association, (2006). *IPEA constitution*. Retrieved November 7,

2006, from www.epea.org/ipea

John Howard Society of Alberta, Research & Publications, (2002). *Inmate education*,

Retrieved November 7, 2005, from

www.johnhoward.ab.ca/PUB/respaper/educa02.pdf

Kett, M. (2001). Literacy work in Wheatfield prison, Dublin, Ireland. *Journal of*

Correctional Education, 52(2), 63-67.

Klaassen, C. (2000). Empowerment and social responsibility in the learning society. In

Wildemeersch, S., Finger, M., & Jansen, T. (Eds.) *Adult education and social*

responsibility: Reconciling the irreconcilable v.36 (revised ed.) (pp.223-238).

Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

- MacDonald Fueyo, J. (1988). Technical literacy versus critical literacy in adult basic education. *Journal of Education*, 170(1), 107-118.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F., (1998). *The communist manifesto: A modern edition*. London: Verso. (Originally published in 1848)
- Matsueda, R.L. (1988). The current state of differential association theory. *Crime & Delinquency*, 34(3), 278-308.
- Mayo, P. (1999). *Gramsci, Freire & adult education: Possibilities for transformative action*. New York: Zed Books.
- Mead, E. (2000). Reflections on crime and class. *Social Justice*, 27(3), 11-14.
- McDermid Gomme, I. (1998). *The shadow line: Deviance and crime in Canada* (2nd ed.). Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada.
- McGregor, S. (2005). *Critical discourse analysis -- A primer*. Retrieved November 11, 2005, from <http://www.kon.org/archives/forum/15-1/mcgregorcda.html>
- Merriam, S. & Caffarella, R. (1991). *Learning in adulthood*. San Francisco: Josey-Bass Publishers.
- Mezirow, J. (1997). Transformative learning: Theory to practice. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 74(summer), 5-12.
- Mezirow, J. (1994). Understanding transformation theory. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 44(4), 222-232.
- Motiuk, L., Boe, R., & Nafekh, M. (2003). The safe return of offenders to the community. *Statistical overview, April 2003*. Retrieved on July 16, 2006, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/faits/facts08-02_e.shtml

- National Parole Board (2006). *Performance monitoring report 2005-2006*. Retrieved November 8, 2006, from http://www.npb-cnrc.gc.ca/reports/report_e.htm
- Newman, M. (1999). *Maeler's regard: Images of adult learning*. Paddington, Aus: Stewart Victor Publishing.
- Nuttall, J, Hollmen, L & Staley, E.M. (2003). The effect of earning a GED on recidivism rates. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 54(3), 90-94.
- O'Connell, K. (2000). Social transformation through the Humanities: An interview with Earle Shorris. *Mass Humanities*. Retrieved November 30, 2004, from <http://www.mfh.org/newsandevents/newsletter/MassHumanities/Spring2000/shorripr.html>
- Ormrod, J. (2004). *Human learning* (4th Ed.). Upper Saddle River: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Peruniak, G. (1998). Dimensions of competence-based learning. In Scott, S., Spencer, B., & Thomas, A. (Eds.), *Learning for life: Canadian readings in adult education* (pp.313-329). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Plumb, D & Welton, M. (2001). Theory building in adult education: Questioning our grasp of the obvious. In D. Poonwassie & A. Poonwassie (Eds.), *Fundamentals of adult education: Issues and practices for lifelong learning* (pp.63-75). Toronto: Thompson educational Publishing Inc.
- Prison Education Service Ireland. (2006). Retrieved on November 2, 2006, from <http://www.pesireland.org/>
- Quigley, A. (1992). Looking back in anger: The influences of schooling on illiterate adults. *Journal of Education*, 174(1), 104-121.

- Research Branch (2006). The changing federal offender population: Profiles and forecasts. Retrieved on November 9, 2006, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/special_reports/highlights-2006_e.shtml
- Rivera, J. (1995). A nontraditional approach to social and criminal justice. In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.159-171). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Santrock, J. (1996). *Child development (7th ed.)*. Dubuque, IA: Brown & Benchmark.
- Sbarbaro, E. (1995). A note on prison activism and social justice. In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.141-145). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Sbarbaro, E. (1995). Teaching "criminology" to "criminals". In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.91-101). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Shorris, E. (1997). *As a weapon in the hands of the restless poor – On the uses of a liberal education*. Retrieved on November 25, 2003, from www.findarticles.com.
- South, N. (2005). Inequalities, crime, and citizenship. In M. Romero & E. Margolis (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social inequalities* (350-371). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Speakers Binder: Section 7 Statistics* (n.d.) Retrieved November 9, 2006, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/guideorateur/sec7_e.shtml
- Spencer, B. (1998). *The purposes of adult education: A guide for students*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

- Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., & O'Connor, W. (2004). Analysis: Practices, principles, and processes. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (199-218). London: Sage Publications.
- Sutherland, E. (1973). *On analyzing crime*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sykes, G. (1967). *Crime and society* (2nd ed.). New York, Random House.
- Taylor I., Walton, P., & Young, J. (1979). *The new criminology for a social theory of deviance*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Taylor, R. & McAtee, R. (2003). Turning a new page to life and literacy. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 46(6), 476-480.
- The Fraser Institute, (1998). *The losses from crime in Canada*. Retrieved on November 10, 2006, from http://oldfraser.lexi.net/publications/critical_issues/1998/crime/losses.html
- Thio, A. (1998). *Deviant behaviour* (5th Ed.). New York: Longman.
- Thomas, J. (1995). The ironies of prison education. In H.S. Davidson (Ed.), *Schooling in a "total institution": Critical perspectives on prison education* (pp.25-41). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Thomas, M., Hurley, H., & Grimes, C. (2002). *Pilot analysis of recidivism among convicted youth and young adults, 1999/00* [Electronic version], *Juristat*, 22(9), 1p.
- Vacca, James S. (2004). Educated prisoners are less likely to return to prison. *The Journal of Correctional Education*, 55(4), 295-303.
- Vold G., & Berbard, T. (1986). *Theoretical criminology* (3rd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Wallerstein, N. (1987). Problem-posing education: Freire's method for transformation. In I. Shor (Ed.), *Freire for the classroom: A sourcebook for liberatory teaching* (pp.33-44). Portsmouth, NH: Boyton/Cook Publishers.
- Wallis, J. & Allman, P. (1996). Adult education, the 'critical' citizen and social change. In J. Wallis (Ed.), *Liberal adult education: The end of an era?* (pp.163-179). Nottingham: Continuing Education Press.
- Walters, S., & Watters, K. (2001). Lifelong learning, higher education and active citizenship: From rhetoric to action. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(6), 471-478.
- Warner, K. (2002). Widening and deepening the education we offer those in prison: Reflections from the Irish and European experience. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 53(1), 32-37.
- Warner, K. (2005). *Directory of prison education*. Retrieved on November 2, 2006, from <http://www.pesireland.org/Aspects.htm>
- Welton, M. (2005). *Designing the just learning society: A critical inquiry*. London: NIACE.
- Zeitlin, I. (2001). *Ideology and the development of sociological theory*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.