

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN PRISONS: SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND  
PENAL PERSEPECTIVES**

**by**

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## ABSTRACT

*This study aims to examine the function of education in prisons through the application of a unique analytical model. Prisoner education has become a primary focus for the rehabilitation of offenders, evidenced more recently by the announcement and abandonment of a network of privately run 'Secure Colleges' to replace the existing estate for young offenders. This research aims to form a better understanding of what such education provision is designed to achieve through an examination the social, political and penal context in which it has developed.*

*Building on the work of Foucault (1979), Markus (1993) and King (1980) amongst others, the present study triangulates data from political discourse, prison architecture, and still images of prison learning spaces using an analytical model based on research findings from philosophical, sociological, penal and educational theories.*

*The main findings of the study are that the enduring function of prison education is the control of the prisoner-class, which is highly related to the macro-management of the penal system (reducing reoffending) and economic production. The author argues such an approach ignores individual agency, and negatively impacts on approaches to prison education through the marginalisation of educational theory and pedagogic best practice.*

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## CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Benefits and Barriers to Education in Prisons	6
Chapter 3: The Rise of the Prison system: Punishment and Reform	16
Chapter 4: Understanding the Function of Education in Prisons	
i.    Situating the prisoner	37
ii.   Legitimisation and control	43
iii.  Production and reproduction	50
iv.   The significance of buildings	58
v.    The significance of space	61
vi.   Context and discourse	70
Chapter 5: Methodology	
i.    Epistemology and ontology	72
ii.   Research design	77
iii.  Ethical considerations	81
iv.   Photographing establishments	82
v.    Analysis and the model	85
Chapter 6: Discourse	93
i.    Secure Training Centres in context	106
ii.   The Intervening Years	129
iii.  Secure Colleges	130
iv.   Summary	148

Chapter 7: Design	
i. Design and Discourse: an account of prison development	151
ii. Summary	163
Chapter 8: Space	164
i. The Secure Training Centre	169
ii. The Adult and Young Offenders Prison	178
iii. Summary	185
Chapter 9: Discussion	188
Chapter 10: Conclusions	200
References	205

## INDEX OF FIGURES, TABLES, TEXTS AND IMAGES

### *Index of Figures*

Number	Title	Page
1.1	Influences on prison learning examined	2
10.1	Influences on prison learning revisited	204

### *Index of Tables*

Number	Title	Page
5.1	Comparison of the two research sites	82
5.2	Analytical use of sources	85
5.3	Analytical model to investigate the function of prison education	87
9.1	Comparative analysis of dominant themes	188-189

### *Index of Texts*

Number	Title	Page
6.1	Hansard 1994a, Mr Michael Stephen, Conservative MP for Shoreham	111
6.2	Hansard 1994b, Mr Beith, Labour MP	118
6.3	Hansard 1994b, Sir Ivan, Conservative MP	124
6.4	Ministerial Foreward from the Response to the Consultation on the establishment of Secure Colleges	133-134
6.5	House of Commons Public Bill Committee 2014, Jeremy Wright, Conservative MP	142

### *Index of Images*

Number	Title	Permissions	Page
7.1	Typical prison layout	HM Prison Service	160
8.1	Secure Training Centre classroom		170
8.2	'Typical' classroom	CABE	171
8.3-8.4	Design technology Room, Secure Training Centre		175
8.5-8.7	Images of YOI and adult art room		178-179
8.7-8.8	Images of PICTA training room		183
10.1	Image of 'ideal classroom'	MooreCo Inc	202

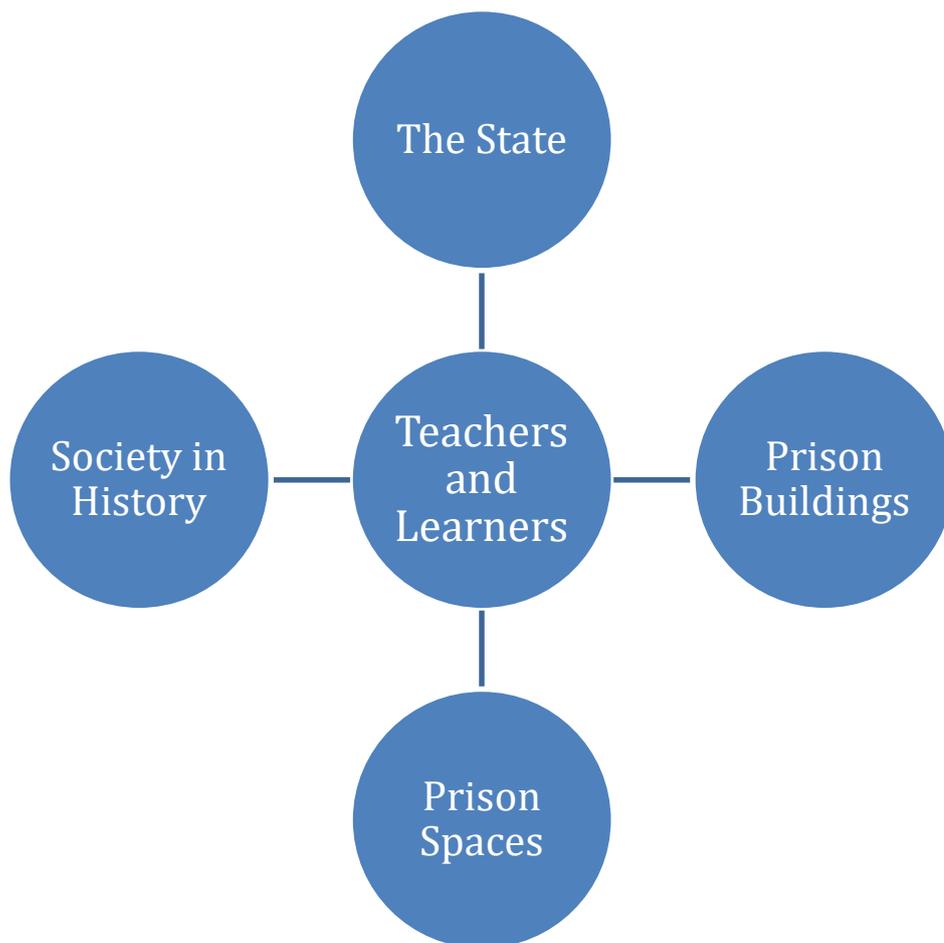
## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The importance of education to the prisoner population is well documented and seen as a possible panacea for improving the lives of inmates: 'Education has the power to enrich, change and develop people throughout their lives. Offering prisoners access to education improves their self-esteem and enables them to choose a more constructive way of life' (Taylor, 2014: i). However, despite increased emphasis on the status of education within the prison regime, most notably through the announcement of a network of Secure Colleges (Ministry of Justice, 2014), failings continue to be reported regarding the delivery and effectiveness of education in the English Prison Service (Taylor, 2014).

Past research has largely focused on the extent of, access to and uptake of educational programmes in prisons, or else examined prisoners' experiences of education and outcomes in terms of reoffending (although the latter is sparse). However, this thesis, submitted as part of a professional doctorate in Education, attempts to reach an understanding of the purpose/s of prison education, building on the work of philosophers such as Foucault, Althusser and Friere, through an original analytical model. The model attempts to triangulate multi-method analysis of the historical and contemporary context, discourse, architecture and learning spaces in order to provide an original understanding of what the function or functions of education in prisons is, and to suggest whether there is evidence that this is changing. The major questions that this study aims to answer in order to develop a more critical understanding of education in prisons are: How has prison education

developed historically, and what can this tell us about the position of prison education in the modern context?; How is education in prisons constructed politically, and what impact does this have on prison education provision and prisoner learners?; What can we learn from prison spaces and design in order to further our understanding of education in prisons? Figure 1.1 below illustrates the position of the prisoner-learner, and prison teaching staff, as subjects acting not only within social and political ideologies, but also within architectural and spatial constraints and ideologies. The aim of this research is to unpick how these influences impact prison education and hence, what they can tell us about the function of education within the prison context.



**Figure 1.1 Influences on prison education examined through this study**

The rationale for this study stems from my previous work with young offenders, which illustrated to me the value of education in prisons, not least that placed upon it by those prisoners who engaged with it. However, it also illustrated the many problems that prisoners face in accessing appropriate education, which has been highlighted in a multitude of research studies and is explored in Chapter 2. Whilst some recent research has demonstrated the positive outcomes education can have on prisoners' propensity to reoffend (Hopkins, 2014), the benefits to the prison regime, and the positive impacts educational achievement can have on the individual's sense of self-worth, there continues to be a lack of opportunity for many prisoners in the system to access education, as well as a lack of breadth in provision (Taylor, 2014). Furthermore, the status of education within an individual prison is reported to be highly dependent on the management at any one time, and opportunities dependent on the learning culture. As the value of education for prisoners has once again come to the fore through the abandonment of plans for a network of Secure Colleges in July 2015, it is apt to consider what the function of prison education is.

As will be examined in Chapter 3, the nature and prominence of education, (and more fundamentally, reform) within the prison regime has altered dramatically over the past two centuries and, with such changes, official discourse has suggested a significant shift in function. Changes within the last few decades have perhaps been more subtle, but nevertheless are revealed through discourse and policy. However, the function of education, and indeed the function of imprisonment, is disputable at any one point in time, depending on the agent (prisoner, teacher, architect, lay person, policy maker), as well as one's political and philosophical position. Prison education can be regarded as a technology

of reform, a means of control of the prison population, training for the maintenance of the economic sub-structure, a veil to rationalise mass imprisonment, or an emancipatory means of restoring equality, inter alia.

Chapter 4 attempts to provide the philosophical background and explanation for the development of the analytical model through firstly examining existing philosophical interpretations of the function of education, both in and outside prisons, before providing a rationale for the selection of data sources in order to test and further these theories. In order to do this, the notions of discourse, design and space are variously explored within the paradigms of philosophy, sociology, criminology and educational and environmental psychology. In Chapter 5, the strengths and limitations of this approach are explored, along with other methodological issues such as ethics, and epistemological and ontological considerations.

In the first of the analytical sections, Chapter 6 examines political discourse from two seminal points in the provision of youth education in prisons: the first being Parliamentary debates preceding the establishment of Secure Training Centres in 1994, and the second relating to the 2014 announcement of the now abandoned plans for Secure Colleges. There is little evidence of contemporary research that critically engages with the politics surrounding prison education and the changes in emphasis that have occurred over the past several decades. Whilst education is addressed in some wider accounts of the developing nature of imprisonment, few have approached the issue as a distinct area and yet, education as a political tool is widely researched and analysed outside the prison walls.

In Chapter 7, prison design is examined within a historical framework. In order to take account of the need to understand the importance of the spaces within prisons, selected researcher-created still images of prison learning spaces are analysed in the final analytical chapter using semiotic principles.

Chapter 9 attempts to discuss the findings through the triangulation of data sources, and to consider the position of education within the modern penal system, particularly in reference to young offenders. As an original approach to this particular area of interest, it is hoped that the reader will be introduced to new ideas and perspectives on the purpose of education in prisons.

## CHAPTER 2

### BENEFITS AND BARRIERS TO EDUCATION IN PRISONS

In this chapter a review of the literature concerning the benefits and obstacles of education in prisons is presented. What is clear from the discourse over a number of decades is that the primary benefit of education for society is that those who undertake education in prisons are more likely to enter employment or further study on release, and that this will reduce the likelihood of reoffending. However, there is little robust support for this in the UK, with even the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) stating in 2014 that ‘Developing the skills and knowledge needed to enter the job market...*may* reduce the likelihood of reoffending’ (Ministry of Justice, 2014: 40).

The most recent longitudinal UK study to attempt to test this assumption looked at reconviction rates within 12 months of release (reconviction being a lower count than reoffending) and found that of a sample of 1,435 prisoners, broadly representative of the over 18 prison population, having a qualification was associated with a lower rate of reconviction: 45% amongst those with a qualification, and 60% for those without (Hopkins, 2012). However, drawing any firm conclusions from such findings is fraught with difficulties, as Hopkins herself notes: ‘It is clear that employment, training and education have a complicated circular relationship with offending and reoffending’ (2012:2), not least because of the complexity of criminogenic factors at play in an individual’s life. Whilst there are many limitations to this study, it represents the best indication we currently have in the UK. However, the majority of prison education research in the last decade has taken the form of qualitative interviews with small numbers of respondents (Pike, 2014, Hughes,

2005) or else surveys of a few hundred prisoners across the estate (Prisoner Education Trust et al, 2009, Taylor 2014), which focus on prisoner's accounts of their educational experiences.

Overall, such studies suggest that the main benefits for the student can be divided into short-term gains (whilst in custody), and longer-term gains (on release) (see for example Hughes, 2005, Braggins & Talbot, 2003, Pike and Adams, 2012, PET, 2009, Taylor, 2014, Pike, 2014). The short-term gains include: a constructive use of time in prison; being 'ready for education' and thus, motivated; accessing an opportunity inaccessible on the 'outside'; the opportunity to advance through the incentives and earned privileges scheme; and the availability of time to study. The longer-term benefits are perceived as: the provision of a 'future', a second-chance; the opportunity to repair harm to communities; providing structure to life; increased self-esteem and feelings of empowerment; and improved employment prospects.

What has emerged from recent research is that there are high levels of motivation amongst many prisoners to engage with education, and that they recognise that education (and more particularly gaining qualifications) is necessary to do well in life. This is in marked contrast to the findings a Social Exclusion Unit report in 2002, which suggested that many prisoners did not see education as relevant to them, often as a result of poor educational backgrounds (SEU, 2002). Hopkins' report in 2012 found that 41% of her sample recognised that they needed help with education, and 90% recognised that qualifications were necessary to progress. Large numbers of prisoners reported that they were motivated to undertake education, not only to gain qualifications and improve their prospects, but also to occupy

their time, improve their self-esteem and self-image, and because they had an appetite for learning (PET et al, 2009, Taylor, 2014). Again, there are caveats to these findings. For example, 80% of Taylor's self-selecting sample held a qualification on entry to prison, in contrast to 53% in Hopkins' 'representative' sample, and it is highly likely that prisoners who were more interested in education were more likely to complete the survey.

However, it is not just prisoners and reconviction statistics that are the potential beneficiaries of education in prisons. There are benefits for prison management as well. The major benefit for the Prison Service is that prisoners are engaged in 'purposeful activity' whilst in prison. This not only meets Key Performance Targets (KPTs) for 'time out of cell' and regime provision, but is also related to levels of control and security in prisons. In short, unrest is more likely to occur in prisons where the regime is restricted, this being cited as a major contributor to the Strangeways riot in 1990 (Woolf, 1991). Canadian research has also suggested that such activity is related to reductions in suicide attempts, which is a perennial issue for the UK Prison Service (Ramsay et al, 1987).

However, we continue to have high levels of recidivism amongst ex-prisoners, increasing unrest in the Prison Service, and many prisoners leaving with low educational and employment prospects (Prison Reform Trust, 2014a). Research studies over the past two decades have therefore sought to consider why, despite increased spending on prison education, we are not seeing more positive results.

The most profound obstacles to the promotion of education in prisons seem to be the dynamics of prison life itself. This is a theme that has been acknowledged by policy makers

and academics alike: prisons are not ideal learning environments. The reasons for this are multiple. Despite decreases in the rates of imprisonment under the Coalition, many prisons are still overcrowded. This has well documented effects on the running of prisons, most notably illustrated in the report of Lord Justice Woolf in 1991. Regimes suffer because prisons operating above their certified normal accommodation (CNA) do not have the resources to provide all usual services to prisoners. Staff-prisoner ratios in particular, may make it unsafe to unlock inmates from their cells or move them around the prison estate. Consequently, non-essential services such as work or education may be suspended (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007).

Coupled with this, it is likely that certain areas of the country will experience more severe overcrowding than others, and certain prisons, such as local prisons that hold prisoners immediately after sentence, will suffer more acutely. Relief of the worst overcrowding causes the prison establishment to transfer prisoners around the country at a moment's notice. This not only affects the prisoner's local connections, but also interrupts any educational courses that are being undertaken. The constant disruption to planned educational programmes, either through inmates being moved or due to shortages in security staff for supervision, is problematic. Systems for transferring learning plans between prisons when prisoners are transferred continue to be found to be lacking (Taylor, 2005, Ofsted, 2009a, Ofsted, 2009b, Taylor, 2014). Based on findings from 19 prison visits and analysis from the reports of 10 inspections, Ofsted reported in 2009 that 'individual learning plans were generally for an offender's stay at a particular prison and did not adequately consider the whole sentence' (2009a:5). With 74,054 inter-prison transfers in 2012-13, often as a result of over-crowding drafts (Prison Reform Trust, 2013) it is often

hard to avoid disruption to those on education programmes. At the best of times, prisons are noisy, unpredictable and sometimes violent environments, all factors that could be seen to militate against the promotion of education.

Another issue identified by the literature is the narrowness of the core curriculum provided by the Prison Service, which is perceived as overly restrictive on prisoners' learning options (Poole, 2007). In the 2009 report, Ofsted notes that the emphasis on literacy, numeracy and language skills meant that offenders with level 2 qualifications had little opportunity to further their education (Ofsted, 2009a). Furthermore, there is no evidence that basic skills, the major focus of prison education, leads to improved employment prospects (Taylor, 2014). This lack of educational choice is compounded by the lack of any systematic educational needs assessment at the time an inmate enters prison, and specifically coordination of learning needs and advice with other services within the prison such as sentence planning and resettlement (Ofsted, 2009a). Reporting on short term prisoners, Ofsted (2009b) also reported that assessment tools did not provide an accurate assessment of prisoners' learning needs, but were too often undertaken merely to 'satisfy prison targets' (p.4). Indeed prisoners report that they view them as tokenistic. Taylor recommends that all prisoners should be tested for educational needs as part of the educational programme.

The Select Committee on Public Accounts in 2002 noted that there was no method for assessing the mismatch between need and programme provision (UK Parliament, 2002) and more recent reports, such as that from Ofsted above, suggest there has been limited progress in this respect. It is suggested that prison education should look at a wider breadth

and depth of subjects in order to encourage lifelong learning beyond level 2 skills (Ofsted, 2009a). Indeed, a number of commentators recommend that prisons should become 'learning centres' to promote these ends.

Even where other educational opportunities are available, it can be difficult for prisoners to access such courses, and there may be restricted choice or inadequate information regarding their options. Prisoners also report a lack of knowledge of the educational opportunities available, or having to wait to access a course where one was identified (Prisoners Education Trust et al, 2009). Where prisoners wished to access courses above Level 2, particularly distance learning courses, identifying and securing funding also presents a barrier (Hughes 2005, Taylor, 2014).

Institutional culture and practices may also frustrate educational engagement. A number of reports have noted that prisoners regard education as a poor option because the pay is less than in prison work (Hughes, 2005, Taylor, 2014), and/or educational timetables clash with fundamental prison activities such as showers and telephone calls (Prison Reform Trust, 2003 & HMIP, 2004). There is also a reported lack of interest in the needs of short-term prisoners who are most likely to reoffend. 58% of those serving less than twelve months are reconvicted within a year, compared to 34% of those serving longer sentences (Ministry of Justice, 2014): 'short-term prisoners are the stage army of prisoners who will return to swell prison populations if not given intensive support in and out of jail to reduce reoffending rates' (UK Parliament, 2002:2). Thus, short-term prisoners may have the greatest difficulty accessing such services, both because of where they are held, and the fact that there is insufficient time to process such prisoners, let alone sentence-plan. Some short-term

prisoners are known to start training, but often cannot complete their course in prison, and fail to continue it on release (Pike, 2014). Indeed, Ministry of Justice statistics reveal a decrease in discharges to education and training between 2012/13 and 2013/14 from 17.5% to 16.6% (MOJ, 2014). Such issues led Ofsted (2009b) to suggest the need for more strategic planning for short-term prisoners.

Educational resources, such as materials and staff are also inadequate in many cases, with poorly run and equipped libraries, poor access to facilities, and out of date books (HMIP, 2004, PET et al, 2009, Taylor, 2014). Prisoners are limited to 12 books in their possession at any one time, which may be inadequate for those on higher level courses. In the modern educational context, lack of access to computers and on-line materials can be frustrating for prisoners (Pike and Adams, 2012, Taylor, 2014). Studies can also be disrupted through security provisions such as lock-downs. When in their cells, prisoners report that cell furniture is not appropriate for study (PET et al, 2009). The lack of resources in prison meant that in 2004, only one quarter of prisoners could be in education at any one time (Forum on Prisoner Education, 2004).

Furthermore, levels of provision vary widely, with spending per prisoner highly dependent on the type and location of institution in which they reside, suggesting a 'geographical lottery' in provision. Those prisons that offer less attribute this to offering full-time work instead, so essentially, what prisoners are offered is dependent on where they are sent. Although outdated, in 2003 Braggins and Talbot reported that spend per head on education in prisons varied from £195 per annum in the lowest spending, to over £5,700 in the highest.

Issues concerning the attitudes of prison staff have also been flagged as having an influence on the take-up of prisoner education (Braggins and Talbot, 2006). Hughes (2005) notes the negative impact that attitudes amongst psychology and probation staff had in her study, with professionals feeling that the offender's time would be better spent working on other aspects of their rehabilitation (such as cognitive behaviour therapy, anger management, addiction counselling etc.). However, other research (see for example Unlock, 2004) has cited the attitudes of prison officers, who reportedly demonstrate a form of institutional jealousy that is detrimental to educational uptake, something reported for over 100 years (Soothill, 2007). As Owers notes, 'prison officers who see their own experience and skills not being recognised and developed will be less likely to enthuse prisoners to develop theirs' (2005). In a 2009 Prisoners Education Trust survey, only approximately ten percent of respondents reported being encouraged to take up education by prison staff or family and friends, and some reported that they were deterred from education because it would lead to staff hatred (PET et al, 2009).

Prisoners may also have their own personal obstacles to overcome in order to participate in education. Prisoners' backgrounds, and in particular educational backgrounds, may mean that they are ill-prepared for education (although this is ill-supported by recent research). Truancy, exclusion, and poor educational experiences may mean that they are unwilling or unprepared for education, or simply do not aspire to it (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). They may not have the self-esteem or courage to participate, or they may simply fall foul of a cultural resistance to education within prisons (Hughes, 2005). Alternatively, more pressing life issues, such as drug or alcohol addiction, family issues, and anger management may have to be addressed before education can become a realistic goal. In relation to higher

education, there may be an educational gap that needs filling before such courses can be undertaken, and funding can also be difficult to acquire. Even once prisoners have embarked on a course attrition is likely to occur, not only through regime and transfer issues, but through a reported feeling of loneliness amongst prisoner-students (Hughes, 2005).

In the contemporary education landscape, access to technology has been identified as a notable issue. In particular, research has identified a lack of PC and internet access as problematic (Prison Reform Trust, 2014a). Despite 100 prisons having access to a secure web-based virtual campus, prisoners said it was difficult to access and that there was a lack of support from prison staff to use it (Champion and Edgar, 2013). This may be attributable to a reported shortage of staff able to use the virtual campus (Taylor, 2014).

Contracting out has also been blamed for failings in the prison education system. The consequent focus on targets and costs, as well as insecurity amongst teaching staff, is reported to adversely affected provision. This was brought into sharp relief in 2014 by the termination of the contract by A4E, the provider of education across 12 London prisons due to a lack of profitability (Prison Reform Trust, 2014). Furthermore, research in 2013 revealed that, of those surveyed, 43% of prisoners with a degree qualification and 41% with A-levels undertook Level 1 qualifications whilst in custody, arguably in an attempt to satisfy Key Performance Targets (Prisoner's Education Trust, 2014).

As discussed in Chapter 3, attitudes towards prison education at policy and service level have shifted dramatically over the past few decades, and the increased prominence of

education within the prison regime was reiterated in 2014 with the announcement of a network of secure colleges. There is a widely held (if poorly evidenced) assumption that education is beneficial in the rehabilitation of offenders, and this has been demonstrated by large-scale investment, structural changes in management, and a change in discourse from 'purposeful activity' towards real academic and vocational training. However, there continues to be a discrepancy between policy and discourse on the one hand, and the experience of prisoners on the other, demonstrated by the fact that in 2013 young offenders were still only undertaking half of the requisite 25 hours in education (Ministry of Justice, 2014). Whether, in light of such facts, there is evidence to suggest a real paradigm shift in terms of the purposes of imprisonment, is the main focus of the research presented in the following chapters. In the next chapter a history of the development of education within the prison regime is presented.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE RISE OF THE PRISON SYSTEM: PUNISHMENT AND REFORM

The nature of and discourse concerning prison education has altered dramatically since it was formally introduced in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Early prison education has been variously described by Foucault as from a moral entitlement, a programme for correcting delinquents, and ‘an indispensable precaution in the interests of society’ (Foucault, 1979:270), but also by others as a means of keeping prisoners busy (Wilson, 2000). In the modern era it might be regarded as a technology of reform through providing prisoners with the necessary skills for employment, an ethos that has established cross-party political support. Under New Labour there was an emphasis on prison education as a means of providing a route from ‘custody to work’ accompanied by vast increases in spending and, more recently, Secure Colleges were proposed by the former Coalition Government (Ministry of Justice, 2014), although this policy has since been abandoned. However, the development of a focus on reform has not been linear, and this Chapter aims to examine how education has developed as a technology of reform and regime activity within the modern prison system.

Prisons are commonly regarded as having come to prominence as the primary means of punishment in England and Wales following the end of transportation and decline of execution in the late eighteenth century, with much made of the move from punishment of the body to punishment of the mind, as power moved from the sovereign to the state.

Hence, there was a gradual move from a visible, violent, centralised form of punishment, to

the dispersal of punishment through a variety of institutions. Social control was to be strengthened not just through the prison system, but through religion, education, the military, the workshop and medicine (Foucault, 1977).

Godfrey and Lawrence (2005) pinpoint the 50 years between 1830 and 1880 as the period in which imprisonment established itself, not least due to the statutory centralisation of prisons by the state in 1877. It is suggested that during this period prisons transformed from holding people for administrative purposes, to punishing them through the deprivation of liberty; but in truth this took a long time to achieve both in the UK and across Europe (Mathieson, 2005, Soothill, 2007). Indeed, there are various institutions that were established from the sixteenth century that can be regarded as part of the developing story of prison reform, including through the use of education.

Pugh (1968) traces the use of custodial institutions for penal purposes as far back as the ninth century. In particular, Pugh cites evidence from the tenth century of imprisonment used for those convicted of offences such as witchcraft and sorcery, only being released after 'pledges [were] given for the future', suggesting a form of rehabilitation. However, as McConville (1981) notes, 'A theory of reformatory punishment requires a formulation of ideas about what causes crime and other transgressions. This did not occur in medieval thought' (p.4.). However, Pugh suggests that the notion of reform through incarceration stemmed from the example of religious institutions, which incarcerated nuns and monks for offences such as blasphemy in the belief that 'forced confinement could furnish opportunities for reflection upon past misdeeds and change of heart' (p.18). Nevertheless,

most imprisonment during medieval times was for a fixed period and curtailed upon payment of a ransom.

In Europe, houses of correction had been established in the Netherlands as early as 1596 to hold young beggars and malefactors (Foucault 1977), and are regarded as a model for later institutions in Europe. It is argued that these formed the rehabilitation ideology, based on the notions of work, school, moral influence and discipline (Matheison, 2005: 32) that can be argued as still in evidence today, and is further explored in later chapters. In England and Wales too, institutions that removed individual liberty had existed for a good deal longer than some accounts suggest, albeit they were not called prisons. Bridewells had been used since the mid sixteenth century to hold prisoners for punishment through hard labour and discipline for petty crime such as disorder and begging (Jewkes and Johnson, 2006:13).

McConville (1981) suggests that Bridewells of the sixteenth century had a reformatory as well as a penal function, and that they represent the first example of modern imprisonment in Britain and arguably Europe. In a time of social change that led to increased vagrancy and destitution, accompanied as it was by unrest and civil disobedience, the wilfully idle needed to be set to work. Those who were more worthy might be sent to hospitals, which had a broader function than merely tending to the sick. Hospitals took a role in educating deserving orphans, in a time when there was no compulsory state education system. Christ's Hospital for example, specialised in educating fatherless children with the aim of preventing them from becoming paupers. Bridewells however, combined education with hard labour in order to reform the idle, thereby complementing the workhouse by enforcing punishment. Much of the education in Bridewells appears to have taken the form of

apprenticeships for the younger residents, with children being taught by tradesmen in the industries of the day. Adults on the other hand, tended to be employed in more unproductive tasks such as road sweeping (McConville, 1981).

The development of a system of correctional houses in Norway in the mid-eighteenth century appears to be based on a similar philosophy, being based on the idea of educational institutions. Kjeld Bugge reports on the purposes of such institutions as allowing 'the paupers...after a release [to] be able to support themselves and lease a farm or house' albeit that their rehabilitation was to be brought about in the 'spirit of discipline and awe' (cited in Mathieson, 2005: 30-31).

As a result of the end of transportation, increasing population and an increase in criminal activity, there was great debate in the late eighteenth century regarding the purpose of imprisonment. Tomlinson (1980) describes the rift between the Evangelical camp of John Howard, William Blackburn and Sir William Eden, and the Utilitarian camp led by Jeremy Bentham. Evangelicals felt that prisons should encourage solitude, reflection and prayer, and utilitarians felt that it needed to produce industrial citizens through production within a self-supporting institution.

The 42 houses of correction under construction by 1790 were based on the Evangelical philosophy and provided both classrooms and work rooms in the larger establishments, whilst adopting the Philadelphia separate system based on solitary confinement. Solitude and cellular design were not peculiar to the prison system, having also been used in workshops, factories the military and monasteries (Foucault, 1979). A Select Committee

reported in favour of the separate system in 1835, and this led to the design or redesign of a large number of cellular prisons, the first of which was Pentonville in 1842. Following its construction, England and Wales witnessed a massive expansion in the prison system. School rooms were included in some of the new designs, with students partitioned from one another to enforce separation. Most education took the form of religious instruction, but some employed schoolmasters who taught the 3Rs (Tomlinson, 1980). Tomlinson notes that most prisoners at the time had lower than average educational attainment: 'Thus the link between ignorance and crime seemed confirmed and the remedy of education validated' (p.107). The Gaol Act of 1823, for example, was the first to establish education as a feature of the prison system, placing a requirement on prison authorities to appoint a 'schoolmaster'. However, the Act was difficult to enforce as prisons were not centralised and it was left to the discretion of local magistrates to interpret and enforce it (Soothill, 2007).

However, not all saw prison as having a positive impact on inmates. In 1846 the notion of the prison as a school of crime was expressed by the Reverend John Clay who spoke of young people experiencing 'a vicious education, begun in parental poverty, or neglect, or bad example, [and] completed in Gaol. Leaving that finishing school of crime, he carried with him a spirit which contaminated the companions of his labour' (Clay, 2006: 22).

Nevertheless, by the 1850s, imprisonment had become the norm for most serious offences despite other forms of punishment still being available, and by the 1860s ninety percent of those convicted of an indictable offence were sentenced to imprisonment (Godfrey and Lawrence, 2005). However, at the same time, the idea of reform promoted through the Philadelphia Model fell from favour, and there returned an emphasis on deterrence through

hard labour, conducted in silence. Soothill relates this to the end of transportation, and other commentators such as Pratt have noted how the decline of physical punishment and end of transportation, led to an increased public fear of offenders who were no longer to be permanently removed from society (Pratt, 2002). Such fear and intolerance dictated the need for harsh regimes to deter criminality, particularly amongst the working classes.

However, one individual appeared to play a significant role in the change in approach to imprisonment. The first Prison Commissioner, Du Cane, was appointed following the 1877 Prisons Act which ended local control of prisons and established a Secretary of State and Prisons Commission. Du Cane ran the Commission with military precision, enforcing the consistent application of regimes that were deterrent in nature (Tibber, 1980). Although the 1877 Act legislated for convict prisoners to receive half an hour's formal education one evening per week, carried out by a certified teacher, Du Cane laid little value on education in prisons, feeling it was too difficult to deliver, diluted deterrence and 'had little impact on the prisoner's moral character' (McConville, 1981:264).

Education outside the prison walls was undergoing dramatic changes at this time, following the appointment of W.E. Forster as Vice-President for the Education Department under the Liberal Administration. Forster sought to rectify the shortfall in school places for children and improve educational standards and attendance through the 1870 Elementary Bill.

Whilst this did not lead to universal free compulsory education for all, as some accounts suggest, it did make it possible and it 'brought the state into action in education as never before' (Lawson and Silver, 1973:314). Amongst other things the Act led to Government financial support for schools, the establishment of school boards, a major building

programme and a large increase in attendance. The increasing importance of education outside the prison walls was therefore being reflected in a small way by the 1877 Act.

However, Du Cane not only saw little value in education, but also thought it would be appropriated by prisoners to enhance their criminal careers. Quoting Adolphe Brins, the Belgian Inspector General of Prisons, writing in 1888, McConville summarises this sentiment: 'incontestably prisons contain a great many uninstructed people. Yet there is no link between crime and ignorance; there is a coincidence... those who have the smallest opportunity of instructing themselves are precisely those who have the opportunity of thieving' (McConville, 1995:265). Thus, education remained a small part of the new regime with no instructions as to how it should be carried out.

At the same time there arose a conflict between the inefficiencies of cellular instruction, required under the Philadelphia model, and the benefits of class instruction which would allow for lower staff resource and increased prisoner instruction. Du Cane insisted that cellular instruction was required to maintain discipline, despite the fact that this only allowed for seven minutes instruction per week per inmate. Classes would allow for three hours per week. Other than appointing a sympathetic commission to confirm that cellular instruction was appropriate, Du Cane's response was to implement educational exclusion criteria based on age, achievement, sentence length etc., which reduced the number of prisoners entitled to education to less than ten per cent of the population (McConville, 1995).

Those prisoners who were eligible, were taught by a school master warden, supervised by a chaplain. Largely these were not certified masters (also a feature of education outside the prison walls (Curtis, 1967)), but rather clerics who undertook teaching as a small part of their role, usually no more than an hour a day. In New Zealand this role was summarised as follows: 'The teachers combine scholastic duties with those of storekeeper, clerk, or some other office, and possibly attach more importance to the latter work. They are not trained men and consequently labour under serious disadvantages' (Report of the Comptroller General of Prisons 1896, cited in Pratt and Eriksson, 2014:75).

That is not to say that prison education did not continue to attract debate during this period. In the 1880s the Birmingham Committee recommended that all prisoners serving more than seven days should be taught by skilled teachers with adequate classroom equipment, for at least an hour each week day. The Prison Conference in 1885 also commented on the absurdity of those serving less than four months not being eligible for education (McConville, 1995).

Despite Du Cane remaining absolute, by the 1890s it became clear that many local prisons were ignoring the rule that education should not interfere with hard labour, and there developed a change in penal thought. Welfare began to be seen as a solution to social problems (Godfrey and Lawrence, 2005) and consequently, Du Cane's approach to imprisonment was falling out of line with the political thinking of the time. In 1894 one of the most important reviews of the prison system was established under Gladstone. Reporting in 1895, Gladstone concluded that the prisons should aim to reform as well as deter, and that there should be a more individualised approach in the regime. He

recommended the establishment of a separate institution for young offenders between 16 and 23, later to become the borstal system (Soothill, 2007). Gladstone's vision was that prisoners should, physically and morally, leave prison in a better condition than that in which they came in.

Following this crucial report, a Departmental Committee examined the provision of education and moral instruction of prisons in 1896 and made recommendations that would increase the presence of education in the prison regime. Although education would continue to be conducted in cells rather than classes, it was recommended that more fixed hours should be made available for education through a decrease in hard labour, proper methods of classification and examination should be introduced, prisoners should have better access to education materials and that women should also receive instruction (Garland, 1985). However, various limits continued to be set on who should receive such education (there was an age limit of 40 except in exceptional circumstances) and the level to which prisoners should be educated.

As state provision for education outside the prison walls developed in the early twentieth century, there were greater attempts to improve educational provision in prisons. The state education system became an issue of public policy and featured in election debates and manifestos with an increasing emphasis in both economic requirements and 'widely acceptable ideals of the individual and society' (Lawson and Silver, 1973:365). The 1902 Education Act brought a clearer structure to education provision, establishing 318 local education authorities, tasked with promoting an increase in supply of educational opportunities. However, there remained a two tier system of education outside the prison

walls, with the working classes generally restricted to what was regarded as the inferior elementary education, and few free places for the poor to access better provision (Lawson and Silver, 1973). It is perhaps for this reason that it was felt that prison staff did not buy into educational changes, because investment in prisoners was not matched by investment in staff (Soothill, 2007). Such attitudes have been shown in contemporary research to negatively influence the prisoner's engagement in education (Braggins and Talbot, 2006).

In 1921 the Howard League for Penal Reform was established by Margery Fry, and the reformist Alexander Paterson was appointed as a Prisons Commissioner. Soothill refers to the Paterson era as a 'golden age of prison reform' (2007:42). Of particular note for this study, was Paterson's reform of the borstals, through the implementation of the public school system. The house system was introduced, run by a housemaster, matron and officers with staff required to share the view that young people could be reformed. This is perhaps one of the clearest examples of the use of educational models within the prison system, and was seen to be effective due to reported low rates of reoffending (Soothill, 2007).

World War II was to impact on both the education and the prison systems. The education system was left in chaos due to evacuations and bombing, but also the growing sense that the existing education system was used 'to enable a minority to proceed to further education and the rest to read the cheap press' (Sir Richard Livingstone 1944 quoted in Lawson and Silver, 1973:416). The establishment of the welfare state in 1945 led to a more unified education system designed to both reduce the stigma of lower class education, and to improve welfare and social justice.

The prison system also experienced significant change having lost staff to the military, and witnessing a change in the prison population to include detainees and political prisoners. Following the War, between 1945 and 1952, a massive prison building programme saw seventeen new establishments open. However, it appears that the politics of welfare that was changing the provision of education in the community, had limited impact on provision in prisons, as overcrowding continued to be a major issue, consequently impacting on the prisoner's ability to engage in purposeful regime activity. During the post-war period the personal officer system was also to emerge, designed to provide individualised support to prisoners during their sentence, including education and training needs, and could be regarded as an indicator of a welfare approach in line with the political movement of the time (Soothill, 2007).

In the 1960s, the Prison Service, which had operated out of public view and scrutiny for many years, came into the public consciousness, following a series of high profile escapes and scandals. The Mountbatten Report was released in 1966, with a major emphasis on security. The recommendations for the categorisation of prisoners according to risk of escape and threat to the public, endures as the primary means of categorising prisoners today. Thus, other than age and gender, it is risk which primarily determines the dispersal of prisoners in the modern prison system. Whilst there are opportunities for re-dispersal based on the stage of sentence, offence type or individual need, risk takes primacy in decisions about reallocation, and this risk is assessed according to knowledge of the individual as they develop as a case (Foucault, 1977). As discussed above, where a prisoner is held will impact on the educational opportunities available to him, due to disparities in provision.

At about the same time however, rehabilitation became a major issue for the Service following the report of the Royal Commission on the Penal System in England and Wales in 1967. It was felt that crime was a consequence of social and economic deprivation and an individual approach to offenders, addressing the social ills that had led to offending, had the potential to render individuals law-abiding (Hollin and Bilby, 2007). The model adopted was highly medicalised and rehabilitation was largely based on the treatment model (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007). Thus, normalisation of the delinquent (in Foucauldian terms) was premised on psychological and clinical approaches and, as with medicine, the patient would not be discharged until cured.

The 'rehabilitative heyday' was not to last, when in 1974 a meta-analysis of rehabilitative interventions by Martinson was reported to have found that 'nothing works' (although this was not actually his finding) (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002). The rehabilitative model had also been criticised for promoting a lack of agency on the part of offenders, involving an unacceptable interference in offenders' lives on the part of the state, and inconsistencies in sentencing due to punishment being based on the offender and not the offence (Hollin and Bilby, 2007). Accordingly, there followed a move towards retribution as the primary purpose of imprisonment, something that was to continue under the Conservative and New Labour administrations when crime and its control became a major political issue. Despite this, penal policies have continued to emphasise rehabilitation as well as punishment, even if this has not been as explicit in discourse, and hence the development of education in prisons has continued throughout this period and until the present day.

The development of education in prisons since the 1970s has been criticised as merely a way of keeping prisoners occupied (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002), however, there is also evidence of tangible progress. For example, the Open University was introduced to prisons in the early 1970s (Open University, 2015) and, at a supra-national level, Basic Rules for Prison Education were set out in the European Standard Minimum Rules in 1973 (although not legally binding domestically) (Rentzmann, 1996). The provision of education is also compliant with various international treaties, such as Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Principle 6 of the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners.

However, it is perhaps from the 1980s onwards that the integration of education into the prison regime gathered the greatest momentum. In 1983 the Select Committee on Prison Education was followed in 1984 by a call from the Government's Control Review Committee for diversification into education, vocational training and therapy, as opposed to manual labour in prisons. Furthermore, such education and training should be designed to respond to the individual's needs and abilities (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002). This was reflected at a European level with the European Prison Education Association (EPEA) established in 1991 by educators working in prisons throughout Europe. The Association pushed for domestic governments to improve educational opportunities as a means of normalising the experience of imprisonment, and recommended that 'education for prisoners should be like the education provided for similar age groups in the outside world, and the range of learning opportunities should be as wide as possible' (Behan, 2005:4). However, it is unclear how influential the EPEA has been on domestic policy.

Despite recognition of the value of education in prisons, the late 1980s and early 1990s was largely marked by a managerialist approach by the Conservative Government to the whole penal system, and indeed all public services. Largely this was a reaction to the spiralling costs that the Tories had experienced throughout the criminal justice system, not least vastly increased prison numbers, whilst at the same time crime rates increased unabated. It was considered that a more efficient use of resources was required. The Private Finance Initiative had reported in 1992 and led to the contracting out of some penal services, and indeed entire prisons from 1994. In effect this meant that whereas, previous to 1994, education services had been provided free of charge by local authorities and colleges, there was a move towards private tendering by education providers. This change is widely felt to have adversely affected prisoner education, both diminishing the morale of service providers, (who were forced to tender in order to retain their jobs), and disrupting the learning of inmates (Prison Reform Trust, 1994). Some commentators argue that the existence of private prisons themselves present another source of inconsistency in terms of education provision, suggesting that there is a low take up of education in some prisons, with 'time out of cell' comprising of dubious and worthless activities merely designed to meet targets (see Cavadino and Dignan, 2002). However, the wide disparities of education provision within public sector prisons, suggest that privatisation cannot be regarded as an aggravating factor in isolation.

In order to reduce costs, the amount of funds dedicated to education in prisons was drastically reduced and responsibility moved at this point from the Prison Education Officer's Branch within the Prison Service, to the Prisoner's Learning and Skills Unit within the Department for Education and Skills (DfES, 2005). Thus, this period saw the organisation

and delivery of prison education alter dramatically, from integrated internal systems, to an externally administered service, delivered on the basis of competitive market practices.

However, the Prison Service faced more pressing challenges than the education of its population in the early 1990s, with a number of high profile breaches of security and control damaging its reputation in respect of its most public function: the containment of offenders. Furthermore, Douglas Hurd's famous declaration in a Home Office White Paper that imprisonment 'was an expensive way of making bad people worse' served to further undermine the legitimacy of the Prison Service (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002). These events were to have extensive, and double-sided, implications for prison regime across England and Wales.

On the one hand, the value of humane conditions and purposeful activity for the control of prisoners was to become an important issue following the Strangeways Riot in Manchester in 1990. The enquiry and recommendations that followed under the supervision of Lord Justice Woolf put the blame partly on the appalling conditions in which prisoners were kept (Woolf, 1991). This extended not only to the dilapidated state of many Victorian prisons, and the famous lack of integral sanitation, but also the impact of overcrowding on both physical and emotional conditions. Not least, such conditions precluded the provision of a truly purposeful regime. Many of Woolf's twelve recommendations were acted upon, and slopping out has been all but abolished in the intervening years. Indeed, the overcrowding identified at the time was alleviated by 1993, when a prison building programme and sentencing reform (the Criminal Justice Act, 1991) both contrived to provide equilibrium between the prison population and accommodation (PRT, 2001). However, the appointment

of the famously retributive Michael Howard as Home Secretary and the repeal of some of the 1991 Act in 1993, saw prison numbers increase from this point onwards and we have lived with overcrowding in our prisons ever since (Cavadino and Dignan, 2014).

On the other hand, a number of high profile escapes in the 1990s (such as Parkhurst and Whitemoor), again damaging the Service's reputation, focused public and Prison Service attention on the issue of security: '...the Service's objective of keeping prisoners in safe custody took priority over tackling prisoners' behaviour' (UK Parliament, 2002:5). Thus, the focus on security as the Service's predominant concern, came at the cost of regime activities such as education, since resources and staffing levels could not provide for both.

In 1997 New Labour came to power and henceforth England and Wales experienced a move towards a discourse that considered prisoners as future employees, dictating the need to equip them with the skills for the workplace. Policy makers and the Prison Service came to regard constructive programmes as more likely to reduce reoffending than regimes that focused predominately on physical activity. In particular, this could be achieved by working in partnership with other agencies. Liebling refers to this as a 'new penal credo' (2004:35). During the 2000 Spending Review the Prison Service assessed the benefits of its programmes and (crudely) estimated that the benefit cost ratio of providing education for prisoners was 7:1. It was stated that the single action most likely to impact on reoffending was investment in education in order to enable prisoners to gain jobs on release.

International research suggested that decreases in reoffending of up to 14% could be achieved this way (UK Parliament, 2002).

Accordingly, unprecedented investment in prisoner education was announced as part of the Comprehensive Spending Review. In July 2000 the Prison Service established a 'Custody to Work' Unit with funding of over £30 million over 3 years, following which the Prison Service reportedly managed to virtually treble the percentage of released prisoners entering work from 10% to 29% (UK Parliament, 2002). Prison education funding became ring-fenced and administered jointly by the Home Office and Department for Education and Skills (DfES), representing the first real integration of prison education into the mainstream. Spending levels increased dramatically, from £58 million in 2001/02, to £137 million in 2005/06. As the Director of the Forum on Prisoner Education acknowledged, New Labour had 'done a commendable job in improving offender education. Budgets have been increased four-fold, the curriculum has been improved beyond recognition, and an increased focus on provision for offenders in the community continues to make a real difference' (Taylor, 2005: 14).

The importance of prisoner education was also reflected in the inclusion of prisoners in the workforce planning of DfES and the National Learning and Skills Council. Dedicated bodies were created to oversee the effective implementation of prisoners' learning opportunities. In 2001 the Offenders Learning and Skills Unit was established at DfES to ensure that prisoner education was learner-focused and provided evidence of continual improvement. Following this, Heads of Learning and Skills were appointed in each prison at Governor Grade. These Heads sat on the Senior Management Team and were responsible for all learning and skills activity in the prison from the education department to vocational training: reportedly, 'their impact [was] clearly visible in many prisons' (Taylor, 2005:16). Voluntary groups such as the National Literacy Trust and Writers in Prison Network Limited

also became increasingly involved with prisoner education, and in 2002 were running projects in more than 40 prisons.

Although the OLSU continued to operate in the field of prisoner education as a 'policy-guardian', responsibility for the majority of prisoner education became split between two key agencies: the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) and the Offenders Learning and Skills Service (OLASS). This allowed closer alignment of prison education with mainstream education, a move that was broadly welcomed (Taylor, 2005). OLASS became responsible for contracting and delivery of education services in custody and the community, and the nine LSC regions were now required to operate in line with the Department for Education and Skills policy document entitled 'The Offender's Learning Journey' (DfES, 2005).

However, there were also many criticisms of the New Labour approach. For example, inconsistencies in education provision have been attributed to both the autonomy of LSC regions and the lack of obligation on private prisons to follow this process; and furthermore, inexperienced providers were commissioned to deliver education as a result of the hasty tendering process. There is also evidence of disjuncture between policy and practice, as most prisons failed to meet the 1999-2000 Key Performance Target for time engaged in purposeful activity of 24 hours, averaging 23.2 hours nationally and less in local prisons. This may seem a near-miss, but much of this purposeful activity continued to involve menial tasks such as wing cleaning, which arguably fails to equip prisoners for the workplace (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002). Furthermore, despite the fact that prisoners gained 60,000 educational qualifications in 2001, 76.5% of prisoners were released with literacy skills below those of an average eleven year old, and 67.6% had numeracy skills of the same level

(UK Parliament, 2002). Despite its apparent success, the Custody to Work Unit was also criticised for its limited remit, focusing primarily on vocations identified as those prisoners were most likely to find work in: the construction industry, catering, leisure activities and industrial cleaning, suggested to be a poor reflection of the needs of the local labour market (Scott and Flynn, 2014). It should also be borne in mind that increases in education spending accompanied dramatic increases in the prison population, from 65,000 in 2000/01 to around 76,000 in 2005/06.

One of the greatest criticisms of the New Labour approach however, was its overriding focus on basic skills, to the exclusion of more creative subjects (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002: 191). In 2001, addressing a conference on progress made since *Strangeways and the Woolf Report*, Martin Narey, the then Director General of the Prison Service stated that ‘all our priorities, all our expenditure in education, will be on literacy and numeracy’ (Prison Reform Trust, 2001:16). This emphasis was to ensure that the two thirds of prisoners that were ineligible for 96% of jobs would become more marketable in the workplace. All prisons were thus required to offer basic maths, basic English, art and IT. In order to measure delivery, the Prison Service set Key Performance Targets in relation to the achievement of basic skills qualifications by prisoners. In 2002/03 the target was set at 28,800 such awards and this was well exceeded (by how much depends on who you read). Over 40,000 such qualifications were gained (Pomeroy, 2003), yet still this only represented one quarter of those passing through the prison system, whilst nearer half had such needs (Forum on Prisoner Education, 2004). In 2002 the Social Exclusion Unit concluded that education provision was reasonable for those under 17, but further investment was still required for older prisoners (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

Ultimately, however, the success of the New Labour approach would be based on whether such education and skills programmes rehabilitated offenders (ie reduced reoffending), or merely produced better educated prisoners. Whilst crime rates decreased dramatically under New Labour, recidivism rates did not, leading to the Carter Review in 2004. One of the major outcomes of the review was an attempt to reduce silos between correctional services by creating an umbrella organisation for the prison and probation services in the form of NOMS (the National Offender Management Service). Scott and Flynn suggest that the form of interagency cooperation this new service was designed to promote, would lead to greater 'responsibilisation of offenders' (2014:123) and that even in prisons, an offender could be both punished and rehabilitated. It was hoped that the creation of NOMS, drawing the work of prisons closer to that of probation, would also provide an opportunity to ensure that the benefits of education could be continued after the prisoner was released. However, NOMS performance was not measured in terms of educational outputs but in terms of the percentage of offenders entering employment (Ministry of Justice, 2012), making success in this area difficult to quantify.

In 2010 the Coalition Government came to power and prioritised reform of the criminal justice system, with discourse identifying a 'rehabilitation revolution' as the underpinning ethos (Straw, 2011). To this end, the Coalition Government re-rolled some adult institutions as 'resettlement prisons', oversaw the introduction of training in real working conditions through the employment of prisoners by companies within the prison setting (Ministry of Justice, 2010), and latterly announced the introduction of a network of secure colleges in January 2014 (discussed in Chapter 6).

However, in July 2015 plans for secure colleges were abandoned with the Prison's Minister, Andrew Selons reporting that: 'The nature of the challenge has changed...a secure college would have been desirable with a larger population, but it would not have been right to house one third of the entire offender population in one setting. It would be a mistake to press ahead with such a development when resources are so tight' (Telegraph, 2015). This statement further confuses the role of education in prisons, suggesting that short-term economic savings override the potential for longer term benefits achieved through rehabilitation.

Whilst it is clear that there have been policy developments in relation to education in prisons, the reality of delivery is often dependent on local or institutional issues and practices, and the realities of prison life. As examined in Chapter 2, these local practices are arguably more influential on the individual's learning experience than national policies. In the following chapter, an attempt is made to locate education in prisons within wider philosophical and theoretical paradigms, in order to reveal the various ways we might understand its social, economic and political functions.

## CHAPTER 4

### UNDERSTANDING THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN PRISONS

#### *Situating the prisoner*

According to Bourdieu there are two, interconnected ways in which one might understand the prison or prisoner. Firstly, through the 'objectivity of the first order', that is how it is constituted by the distribution of material resources and means of socially scarce goods and values; and secondly, through the 'objectivity of the second order', in the form of systems of classification through symbols such as the conduct, thoughts, feelings and judgements of social agents (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The first order might seek to place the prison within wider social structures and to utilise established theories to explain its function in relation to the means of production, the maintenance of social control and hierarchies, or cultural explanations. Certainly this is the approach that many criminologists would take, but commencing from this juncture fails to consider the state's interest in constructing and enforcing a criminal law. The nature of criminal law is by no means consistent across space or time, and criminology's failure to concern itself with its nature, and simply start from the point of deviance, has been criticised (Lacey, 2002).

It is perhaps obvious to state that criminals can only exist through the application of rules and sanctions, but the criminal law is itself constructed and interpreted in specific social and

political contexts and therefore, the criminal must be regarded as a product of the society in which he exists. Moral concerns, social values and specific functions have tended to dominate the law. In the mid-eighteenth century in Britain the criminal law was concerned with offences against very specific interests, namely God and religion, the state, the person and property (Lacey, 2002). Protection of religion and the person could be regarded as being based in morality (though those that regard religion as a means of social control might disagree with this), but protection of the state and property might indicate concerns about the means of production. Issues of power and control are a major focus of Foucault's 1977 seminal work, 'Discipline and Punish'. For Foucault, the need for punishable rules and sanctions that protect the interests of the powerful, whilst controlling the masses, was a state response to political and social changes that accentuated the class system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Foucault highlights that 'peasant illegalities' such as theft and trespass had been a feature of society for hundreds of years, but as economic changes facilitated the accumulation of great wealth by a minority, their interests needed to be protected to promote continued economic growth and wealth accumulation.

Since that time, and particularly in the last half century, we have seen an unprecedented expansion in the array of criminal acts which have brought more actions and omissions, and thus, more citizens than ever before into the purview of the criminal law (for example 'anti-social behaviour', regulatory offences and absolute offences) (Faulkner, 2001). It can be argued that the state is increasingly concerned with the control of its citizens to bring about a form of social engineering. For critical criminologists, who seem to draw from functionalism, this is concerned with the repression and division of the poor who disproportionately come into conflict with the criminal law. Hence, the criminal law is

regarded as 'the exercise of power against the economically unwanted, the marginalised, the alien, and dispossessed' (Hudson, 2002:250). Sims (2009) similarly argues that the New Labour approach, like the Conservative administration before them, demonstrated a 'relentless focus on the criminality of the powerless whilst simultaneously rolling back the interventions regulating the powerful' (p.71). Nevertheless, there is still evidence of morality in the law, though it has had to respond to the secularisation of values experienced in modernity: legitimising homosexuality and abortion for example, whilst criminalising racial and religious hatred.

There are a number of classical theories adopted for modern criminology that attempt to explain and justify the use of criminal laws and sanctions. Stemming from the Enlightenment, they tend to reject theological arguments and emphasise the importance of reason and experience in a 'scientific' approach (the science being relative to previous irrationality, rather than based in empirical research). One standpoint is that the law is concerned with wrongdoing in a quasi-moral sense (as opposed to civil law), and that the act is in violation of core social or individual interests or shared values. It is this breach of social contract that legitimises state intervention in enforcing rules and sanctions (Beccaria, 1963), despite the harm to the offender's interests. Indeed the harm to the offender's interests could be regarded as necessary to restore equality between offender and victim (Kant, 2000) and anyway, our knowledge of the law means that we have effectively chosen to be punished (Hegel, 2000). Others regard the criminal law as functional, regulating human behaviour through deterrence and reform. In this way the harm to the offender's interests is a deliberate product of the law, rather than an unavoidable consequence. Criminal law and subsequent sanctions are justified because the costs that they incur

outweigh the benefits of reduction in harmful behaviour. In this way state intervention is legitimate in a Benthamite sense because it is in the interests of the greater good (Mills, 1859, Hart, 1963).

Such debate provides a form of context for the prison and the prisoner, but ultimately the need for rules and sanctions (if not their content) remains largely unchallenged by the majority. Similarly, the need for prisons is now so engrained into public consciousness that it too remains unchallenged by the majority despite its failings, perhaps because we cannot conceive of an alternative. As initially explored in Chapter 3, the use of imprisonment as a sanction has attracted its own philosophical debate. For example, Durkheim (1984) suggests that the move from physical punishment to imprisonment was a form of civilising 'penal progression'. However, many relate imprisonment to the growth of the capitalist state and the means of production as discussed above. It is argued that imprisonment arose as the primary form of punishment (as opposed to physical torture, transportation and execution) during the industrial revolution in all industrialised countries, and thus at a time of changes in the value of labour as demand was outstripping supply (Rusche and Kirkheimer, 1968). The symbolic effect of capital punishment was therefore of less value than that of a reformed, disciplined and productive workforce.

When considered alongside the development of other vehicles of social control, such as schools and factories aimed at disciplining the individual, there is a compelling argument for regarding prisons as part of a wider social structure of discipline, aimed at producing 'docile bodies' who think and act in a conformatory way, necessary for the functioning of a capitalist society. Foucault uses the Maison de Force in Ghent, established in the mid-

eighteenth century to illustrate the economic function of prisons. The regime was based around labour as it was considered that the malefactors were idle. The House provided a 'universal pedagogy of work for those who had proved resistant to it' (p.121). Through reforming the offender, the economy benefited through reduced future court cases (for both the individual and more widely by general deterrence), the creation of new workers, a decreased cost in labour through increased supply and competition, and an improvement in the individual's circumstances through wages earned in prison. Thus, the sentence had to be long enough for the malefactor to learn the habit of work, but short enough for him to re-join the labour market.

Such explanations have experienced some set-backs in recent times, as prison numbers have increased in times of high unemployment, leading to cultural explanations from writers such as Garland (2001). As Mathieson (2005: 55) notes: 'The notion of a general preventative effect of imprisonment is so deeply engrained in the 'common sense thinking' of society, that questions about its actual existence are frequently not raised and remain unanswered. In this sense, the notion of the general preventative effect of punishment remains a prevailing paradigm within society'. Hence, the primacy of prison in the penal arsenal endures despite its continued failings in reforming offenders, reducing crime, or the devastating impact it has on prisoners and their families. Instead of abolition, the penal system merely tinkers with the technologies of reform whilst retaining the same general principles of imprisonment (Foucault, 1977).

It seems clear that prisons continue to fulfil both symbolic and functional purposes, variously denouncing the offender, exacting retribution for infractions of state laws,

incapacitating the wrongdoer to prevent further harm, deterring further offending and offering to rehabilitate and reform the offender (see Duff and Garland, 1994). However, it is also important to remember that prisons are not merely concerned with criminal behaviour, since they continue to fulfil both coercive and pre-emptive custodial functions. They exist as a means of coercion for non-criminal offences (such as truanting, failure to pay court fines and taxes), and as a means of ensuring the successful progress of justice (such as holding prisoners awaiting trial, asylum seekers and those awaiting deportation). In 2002 Morgan estimated that one quarter of the prison population has not been convicted of any criminal offence. Recent statistics reveal that there are approximately 1,500 people detained in Immigration Removal Centres (Ministry of Justice 2014b) and that, of the remand population, 11%, or nearly 11,000 people, were acquitted in the year ending March 2014 (Prison Reform Trust, 2014). These are often the forgotten citizens within the prison system, not least forgotten by those philosophies that seek to justify imprisonment. Thus, prisons act both as the ultimate sanction for the transgression of state rules and a representation of state power to enforce them, but also to ensure that other state interests surrounding governance and control can be protected.

Prisons and education have established links through the work of philosophers such as Foucault (1977), who regard both institutions as forms of social control designed to create 'docile bodies' necessary for the effective functioning of an industrialised society. We might therefore regard education in prisons as a second attempt to reach those individuals who failed to learn compliance through mainstream education, or a control within a control. Alternatively, one might regard it as part of a continuum whereby individuals are distributed and ranked according to norms, a process that might begin with school discipline and

sanctions, such as exclusion, and ultimately result in imprisonment. Equally however, it appears that not only are the controlling aspects of education becoming more important within the criminal justice system, but so too is criminal justice within the education arena. In other words there is a merging of what Althusser (1970) terms the 'Repressive' and 'Ideological' State Apparatuses. These issues, and their impact on the current study, are further considered below.

### *Legitimation and control*

'From a basic structural-functional perspective the education system exists to teach an agreed body of knowledge to students, in order to enable them to operate within society' (Long et al, 2011: 172). Thus, it is often suggested that education enables economic growth through the acquisition of knowledge and skills necessary for the labour market. However, this simple causal relationship whereby education leads to economic prosperity is argued to be too simplistic, since it is equally true that economic prosperity enables improvements in education (Long et al, 2011). Hence, other explanations for the function of education have arisen. It is argued that prison education fulfils a number of functions relating to legitimacy, control, societal harm and the economy. However, all of these functions can be linked to wider social and political functions that have been examined and debated by educationalists over many years, and this will be considered in relation to prison education.

Firstly, education in prisons could be seen as a means for the state to legitimise its use of what is verging on mass imprisonment. Cavadino and Dignan (2013) discuss what they perceive as the 'crisis of legitimacy' within the penal system. Amongst the many reasons

they cite for this is the well-documented ineffectiveness of prison at rehabilitating the prisoner, which can, in no small part, be attributed to the paucity of 'purposeful activity' that prisoners are offered. Increases in funding, improvements in curriculum, the formation of dedicated government agencies and changes in educational structure could be seen as a means of legitimising its use, particularly since New Labour reduced the minimum age of imprisonment to 12. The name of the institutions used to incarcerate the youngest children, 'Secure *Training Centres*', emphasises the central role of education (Home Office, 2006). Parliamentary discussion regarding a re-branding of all youth custodial institutions to 'Secure Colleges' might be regarded as adding further credence to this argument. Hence, one might argue that 'the education of the prisoner is for the authorities both an indispensable precaution in the interests of society and an obligation to the prisoner' (Foucault, 1977: 270).

Secondly, education can have a direct impact on the running of the individual prison. Riots and unrest in the past have been linked to a lack of purposeful regime within prisons (Woolf, 1991) and engagement in education can provide prisoners with a form of investment in their sentence that may help to prevent such action. Thus, education is useful in maintaining control for prison establishments. It also has the much shorter term benefit of occupying prisoners during their sentence. However, of greater importance is the effect that educating the prisoner can have on their long-term control through rehabilitation.

Engaging individuals in employment and education after release is seen to reduce the likelihood of recidivism (Parliament, 2014) and thus, the harm to society. Factors most closely related to rehabilitation (education, employment and family ties) are the institutions

of the 'Ideological State Apparatus' that are also noted by social theorists as related to social control (see Althusser, 1970) and therefore 'rehabilitation' could be equated with social control. The link between prisons, education and social control is therefore complex, since the two apparatuses both supplement and reinforce one another. Prison, as an institution of the Repressive State Apparatus, represents a supplementary means of social control to education by deterring the individual from offending from an early age through the internalisation of prison as a direct response to offending. However, where this fails, providing education *within* prisons creates a second opportunity for the state to integrate the individual into the logic of the present social system (Friere, 1996) through ideology, rather than solely repression. It is in the state's interests that individuals conform through co-operation, rather than under threat of violence, as the former tends to result in power that has a greater propensity to endure.

One way in which education promotes conformity is through providing the individual with 'social capital'. Such 'capital' provides the individual with an investment in society, which aims to control them both through membership of productive institutions on release, such as employment or education, and to provide them with the means of self-surveillance. This might be best demonstrated through government rhetoric, which regards prison education as part of wider policies concerning 'social inclusion' (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). As Davies (2004) notes, the socially excluded may be regarded as a potential problem by the state, particularly as a potential source of violence and conflict. With little investment in society, the individual has little to lose, and it is therefore implicit that they become included. It is also the case that such a dichotomy draws attention away from the underlying issues of inequality, power and control that are at work.

Theoretically at least, providing all individuals with equal access to such capital, in this case education, moves the onus of responsibility from the state to the individual. This was verbalised through New Labour's responsabilisation agenda. The individual is intended to accept that such equality of access within a meritocracy imbues them with all responsibility for their life course, since they possess an equal chance. (Mayr, 2008 also relates cognitive-behavioural interventions to this idea of offender responsibility, since they are based on the premise that prisoners are autonomous beings with choice). This appears to remove any issues of disadvantage from the equation (Davies, 2004), which is clearly not the case for ex-offenders.

Many prisoners come from socially excluded backgrounds, partially through an unequal access to formal education. Such inequity can come in many forms: they may have chosen not to participate (80% of prisoners played truant: Social Exclusion Unit, 2002); their levels of ability may have prevented them from achieving recognised qualifications; local education institutions may have been ill-resourced; or family attitudes to education may have been dissuasive (Long et al, 2011). Starting from this position the offender then enters an institution that is both physically and symbolically socially excluding and divisive, and, as if to compound this, undertakes education in an oppressive environment, with potentially poor resources and limited choice. As Davies (2004) notes, this may exacerbate the student's sense of injustice and result in further conflict. There is no doubt that prisoners do sense the injustice of their situation and all too often this leads to violence and anarchy as exemplified by the riots of 1990. Whilst this did result in some short-term gains for prisoners through the subsequent government inquiry and report, it has been argued that these improvements did not go far enough in terms of achieving long-term 'justice' (Prison Reform

Trust, 2001), perhaps because reforms were largely aimed at achieving legitimisation of the system, rather than concern with the status and position of prisoners.

Indeed, the positive impact of regime activities on control in prisons is widely recognised by the Prison Service, policy makers and academics through both occupying prisoners' time, and providing prisoners with a positive investment in their sentence. Such activities not only include education and training, but also visits, physical exercise, religion, and offending behaviour programmes. Nevertheless, it clear as will be explored elsewhere, that education is now the primary and preferred regime activity, both for its ability to occupy prisoners during sentence, and for its role in rendering offenders law-abiding and economically productive after release.

Whilst it is noted that prisons and schools have a shared history that goes back hundreds of years (see above), since the 1990s in particular, legislative policies related to education and punishment can be argued to have been slowly merging. This could be regarded as a government attempt to bolster the social control mechanisms inherent in each one. The impetus for this may be related to two basic facts: since the mid-twentieth century changes in social, economic and cultural relations have weakened traditional forms of social control, which in turn, are regarded as having contributed to increases in overall crime rates, and to have consequently politicised 'crime and disorder' (Loader & Sparks, 2002); and secondly, the penal system has a notoriously poor record in rehabilitating those offenders with which it deals (Cavadino & Dignan, 2013). It might therefore be suggested that both the education and penal systems are failing as methods of social control (as is the family, community, church etc.), and that both systems are being utilised to mutually support one another via a

‘continuity of the punitive criteria and mechanisms, which on the basis of mere deviation gradually strengthens the rules and increases the punishment’ (Foucault, 1977: 298 – 299).

Evidence for the convergence of these policy areas is not difficult to find.

Firstly, it is possible to identify a number of ways in which the criminal justice system is being incorporated into the education system. Schools, like other institutions (such as the army), have always had their own internal methods of discipline, such as corporal punishment, detention and exclusion. However, the Criminal Justice Act 1998, declared by Jack Straw (then Home Secretary) as ‘the most radical shake up of the youth justice system in 30 years’, was attributed with bringing more young people into the purview of the criminal law (Pitts 2003), and linked education and criminality explicitly.

Based on research dating back to the 1970s, the White Paper that preceded the Act identified various risk factors linked to youth offending, including ‘schooling and peers’ and ‘poor school performance’. An Audit Commission Report in 1996 had recommended that the identification of such risk factors could be used to intervene in a young person’s life, even before the commission of an offence (Pitts, 2003). For these reasons, the Act brought educational providers directly into the criminal justice sphere, statutorily requiring their participation in multi-disciplinary Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships and Youth Offending Teams. This aspect of the legislation is concerned with identifying ‘at risk’ children who might not have committed any offence, but might exhibit the established characteristics of a potential offender (despite voluminous evidence that such indicators are unreliable predictors of criminality (Pitts, 2003)).

The Act also focused on truanting, (identified as a risk factor in offending), and made legal guardians criminally responsible for the non-attendance of their children at school. In 2015 it was reported that nearly 16,500 guardians had been prosecuted for failing to ensure that their children went to school, and that most were found guilty and fined. However, 18 parents were imprisoned in this period, predominately women, and these figures are increasing (BBC, 2015). The discourse used by the then Government in respect of truants and their parents directly mirror the terms used in the wider criminal justice system: 'fast-track prosecutions' for 'persistent' truants (compare with the fast-track prosecutions for persistent offenders). Truancy became such a concern to the criminal justice system that dedicated truancy officers were appointed and reportedly, nearly £1 billion was spent on anti-truancy measures (BBC, 2005). The Police have also become increasingly involved in not only policing truanting in localities, but also in liaison with local schools. It can therefore be seen that the criminal law has been expanded to cover acts and omissions that are related to engagement in education.

Secondly, education has become an increasingly important element of the criminal justice system, and particularly prisons. As already mentioned, New Labour dedicated an unprecedented amount of funds to improving the education system in prisons because it is felt to be one of the most important factors in a prisoner's rehabilitation. Governmental educational departments such as the Department for Education Skills have taken responsibility for the education of offenders, creating a sub-department in 2001 (the Offender's Learning and Skills Unit), and devising tailored plans for their education (The Offender's Learning Journey) (DfES, 2005). Prisons now have educational governors on their

senior management teams and key performance targets for education delivery (HM Prison Service, 2004).

By examining government policy it can be seen that prison education fits all the policy agendas of mainstream education, but in a more profound way, because those social outcomes that it seeks to promote are all the more relevant for a class of people that have already caused harm to society. 'Social inclusion', 'neighbourhood renewal', 'sustainable development', 'children at risk', 'basic skills' and 'lifelong learning' take on a more profound meaning and greater resonance when applied to the offender population and one might therefore argue, as Foucault has, that in many respects the aims of prisons and schools are closely linked and converging. Accordingly, penal policies incorporate educational policies, and educational policies incorporate criminal justice policies, both in the prevention of criminality and the rehabilitation of offenders. In Althusserian terms, there is a merging of the Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses and, whilst Althusser suggests that examples of such combinations exist in subtle and tacit ways, it seems increasingly apparent. This is perhaps because during this period education was not the multiple, distinct, or relatively autonomous institution that he spoke of, but largely centralised and state regulated. This state of affairs may soon be reversed however, with the Conservative policy on academies.

### *Production and reproduction*

The criminal justice system clearly has a role in protecting society from harm, and the education system provides individuals with knowledge and skills that empower them and enrich their lives, allowing them to become productive members of society. These seem

obvious, sensible and acceptable outcomes, but theorists in education and penology have long argued that there are more insidious and socially divisive forces at work.

Prison has long been linked with economics and the labour market. Historically, prisons not only represented an effective use of valuable labour (see Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1968, Reiman, 1979), but have latterly been linked with the requirements of globalisation and the need for a better educated and productive workforce. By providing education in prison the state has an opportunity to render productive previously unemployable citizens. Research has shown that prisoners have poor educational backgrounds and the majority are unemployed on entering prison (Hopkins, 2012). Hence, consecutive governments have been explicit about the need to engage these individuals in employment after release. This has been evidenced through the establishment of the 'Custody to Work' Unit in 2000, the establishment of training prisons, the location of industries within prisons, and the publically unpopular 'Working Prisons' (G4S, 2015).

Joe Sim considers that the psychological interventions which came to the fore in the prison regime under New Labour 'were closely tied to the labour market and, in particular, the developing relationship between the prison and the demands of the service economy to which the prisoner has to be psychologically subservient if he/she wishes to become a self-governing, socially acceptable subject' (p. 107). Accordingly, the factory of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' was dethroned by the cognitive skills classroom:

*'Now, as then, inmates are trained to be wage-labourers. Now as then many will establish a foothold in the labour market, whereas many will not...Whereas only a minority of inmates*

*will never locate themselves in the labour market, no inmate escapes its imperatives. The current ideal of the self-controlled, stress managing, and submissive service worker saturate the walls and blurs the boundary between what is inside and outside of the economic exchange' (Hornqvist, 2007-08: 20).*

Thus, whilst education in prisons undoubtedly provides an opportunity to keep prisoners occupied, the primary aim is about making prisoners employable within certain sectors. The 2016 National Offender Management Service specification for prisoner employment, training and skills, lists the minimum outputs expected from prisons in order to encourage prisoners to live a good and useful life (1952 Prison Act) as follows:

'Prisoners are enabled to develop skills linked to employment and to support a reduction in reoffending

Prisoners' ability to obtain and maintain employment on release is enhanced

Prisoner employment and training contribute to maintaining safety, order control and decency within the establishment and provide opportunities for prisoners for reparation'

(p.3). Furthermore, the 'qualifications gained should be aligned with employment market

needs' (p.5). Thus, there is a sense of the dual roles of rehabilitation through rendering

prisoners employable, and the maintenance of control that can be achieved through

purposeful regimes. The primacy of labour market needs however, is notable.

Far from providing individuals with equal opportunities, educational theorists have argued that the nature of the education system promotes 'reproduction' of social hierarchies, or even deterioration, and for Marxist followers this is attributable to capitalism and the means of production: 'The ultimate condition of production is ...the reproduction of the

means of production' (Althusser, 1970: 1). On the premise that the state acts in the interests of the ruling (capitalist) elites, the state therefore utilises both the Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses to reproduce the conditions necessary for production. Althusser regards education as the dominant Ideological State Apparatus of reproduction following the decline in the power of the church. To this end, schools and other educational institutions are therefore required to teach children not only the 'know-how' or skills required to operate within the 'firm', but also appropriate behaviour – reproducing 'submission to the rules of the established order' (ibid p.2). Sociologists such as Bordieu and Passeron (1977) have outlined the mechanisms inherent in the education system that can contribute to control and reproduction, detailing elements such as pedagogical communications, authority, language, the stratifying effects of the examination system, and its transforming and inculcating impact. Inculcation is achieved, according to Bowles and Gintis (1976), via the 'correspondence' between the classroom and the workplace. Thus, education occupies a position within the superstructure of society and can be regarded as a political instrument, a tool of reproduction, and ultimately a form of oppression.

Whilst time and national differences render some of his comments defunct in twenty-first century Britain, Althusser's illustration of reproduction through the education course still hold true. He describes how children are taken into schools at a 'tender age' (which is getting younger with the expansion of pre-school provision), held there for many years, and then have the know-how required drummed into them 'wrapped up in the ruling ideology'. At 16 'the workers or small-peasants' are ejected into the workplace, a few years later a few more fall by the wayside and fill the posts of small and middle technicians, white-collar workers and so forth, and 'a last portion reaches the summit' to become 'agents of

exploitation and repression', the semi-employed and professional ideologists (Althusser, 1970: 29). All are equipped with the necessary ideology for their role. Whilst there have been shifts in participation at different levels, graduate destinations suggest that such stratification still remains within the education system (HESA, 2005). As Davies notes 'even without market economics, (but particularly with them), elites will appropriate education for their own ends; and there is no sign in some countries that social reproduction through education is decreasing. Indeed, social exclusion may be increasing and even condoned by right-wing policy makers' (Davies, 2004:46).

Through examination of existing research it is possible to find indications of how modern education systems continue to lead to reproduction and oppression. Most obviously prison forms part of the Repressive State Apparatus, the apparatus used most heavily by the elites to ensure reproduction since it provides a 'shield' to secure the relations of production (Althusser, 1970). One example of this might be the deterrent effect that prison is designed to have against those who would misappropriate property. However, *within* the prison education system, the agenda for reproduction is also apparent.

Many of those who are sent to prison are immediately excluded from education. For a variety of reasons, including resource restrictions, overcrowding, understaffing, governors' attitudes and geographical and institutional disparities, it was reported in 2004 that only one quarter of prisoners could access prison education at any one time (Forum for Prisoner Education, 2004). However, even for those with the will and ability to access it, the provision of prison education is often extremely limited. Education in prisons is unashamedly preoccupied with the provision of basic skills and vocational training in construction, leisure,

catering and other blue collar industries (Prison Reform Trust, 2001, Poole, 2007). Such skills are designed to make prisoners work-ready, but the types of work such training would make them appropriate for are highly prescribed and limited as discussed above. Thus, whilst the state can claim to have generously provided the prisoner with the social capital of skills for employment, prison education is actually designed to further enforce the status quo through providing prisoners with the skills for low-paid, non-professional employment, but nevertheless, jobs required for the successful functioning of the economic 'base structure'. In many respects this is no different to mainstream education where working class learners are often channelled towards lower status, more routine jobs (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

For society it may seem appropriate that prisoners are engaged in menial tasks and basic education in prisons, since they have deviated from the social norms and may not be regarded as full members of society. Accordingly, providing prisoners with basic skills in numeracy and literacy, and even higher skills, might do little to close the gap between them and normal society, due to the impact the stigma of a prison sentence can have on life chances (Taylor, 2014). In particular, prisoners have restricted access to other forms of capital, which might be necessary to improve their prospects. For example, the academic qualifications they achieve are often specific to the prison system, and thus harder to translate into opportunities (Hughes, 2005); prisoners have lower levels of access to technology and other resources such as books and libraries that might be required for the capital to be realised (HMIP, 2004), and they have less access to facilities required to advance their learning such as colleges and universities. It might be suggested therefore, that the nature of the education afforded to prisoners serves only to reproduce, or even exacerbate, the inequalities between them and mainstream society. This might be regarded

as part of the insidious mechanism of public policy that seeks to construct and maintain poverty (Davies, 2004).

Through examining the situation of Brazilian peasants, Friere (1996) notes the oppressive impact of economic, social and political domination. It can be argued that prisoners are in a similar position to Friere's peasants. Through established dichotomies of normality and deviance, risk and the labelling effects of criminality, prisoners have become a dehumanised abstract category, and hence an oppressed class, rather than 'persons who have been unjustly dealt with [and] deprived of their voice' (Friere, 1996:2). This has led to paternalistic practices in prison education, in evidence in the late nineteenth century when education was regarded as a moral entitlement for prisoners, up until the present day through the nature of modern discourse (see Chapter 6). Ultimately, this paternalistic approach provides the state with legitimacy for the liberal use of incarceration, since they have been very generous to these deviants, who are merely ungrateful and envious, and hence enemies that have to be watched. According to Friere, this makes their constant control and manipulation necessary, rendering them inanimate 'things' (ibid: 41). It is possible to draw parallels between Friere's description of the control of Brazilian peasants, and the ever expanding use of systems such as tagging, satellite tracking and offender registers in the UK.

However, it may not just be the attitudes of society, the Prison Service or the state that hold prisoners back; prisoners might also see themselves as having limited potential, this being symptomatic of the oppressed. The oppressed often accept their place as the 'will of God' (in Friere's terms), and self-deprecation may occur because they have internalised society's

views of them: 'so often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything- that they are sick, lazy and unproductive – that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness...almost never do they realise that they, too, 'know things' they have learned in their relations with the world and with other women and men' (Friere, 1996: 45). Prisoners may also assign their lack of voice and control to their own activities without questioning the structures that have placed them in that position. Lack of questioning of the cause of their condition, may lead them to fatalistically accept it.

The theories espoused above paint a rather negative and fatalistic picture, considering the future as either pre-ordained or that the present will continue. However, recent research has suggested that the idea that prisoners do not regard education is relevant to them is unfounded, with only 5% of respondents in a recent study reporting that education is not for them (Taylor, 2014). Furthermore, Friere (1996) himself is keen to acknowledge the impact that human actors can have on the future, believing that education can lead to change rather than merely reproducing the existing social order. Friere suggests that the individual and society can be transformed through the 'new awareness of selfhood' that education can provide, allowing the student to 'begin to look critically at the social situation in which they find themselves' and to take the initiative in transforming society. Indeed, there are clear examples of education having resulted in positive changes for individuals and society, not least amongst ex-prisoners who have used the skills learnt in prison to change their own social position, and to attempt to transform the attitudes of society and policy makers (see Devlin & Turney, 2001).

Achieving such emancipation will be partly dependent on the educational approaches adopted within the prisons. Approaches based on behaviour and cognition, which aim to promote discipline and categorise prisoners according to their ability, are likely to be less emancipatory than those that take account of the individual's needs and aspirations, which are more likely to be transformative.

In order to explore what education in prison aims to achieve, three data sources have been chosen: discourse, buildings and spaces. The rationale for this approach is discussed below and further expanded upon in Chapters 6 to 8.

### *The significance of buildings*

As King (1980:1) notes: '[Buildings]' size, appearance, location and form are governed by ... society's ideas, economic and social organisation, its distribution of resources and authority, its activities, and the beliefs and values which prevail at any one period in time'. There is then, much that can be read from a building's form.

The architecture of 'confinement' has received a great deal of attention, not only from Markus but also philosophers such as Foucault (1977). In order to 'read' the architecture of a building we can look at many elements that make up the design and building process such as drawings, texts, architectural surveys, photographs and models. However, at the most general level we might regard the emergence and continuing presence of the prison itself as a message to society, and the presence (or otherwise) of educational spaces as ideologically and politically symbolic. Prisons implicitly embody the exclusion and denunciation of the

criminal that has existed in different forms for hundreds of years. The existence and rise of such places, at a time when the state took control of crime and punishment in a much more organised manner, represents the first level of analysis.

Beyond their mere existence, buildings can tell us much about the forces acting on them from their location and external architecture. Pratt (2002) for example, analyses the changing location of prisons (from inner-cities to elevated positions and then beyond urban areas) in relation to the influence of political ideologies and social relations. Furthermore, he considers the changing nature of the external facades and how this reflected social and political attitudes to prisoners. In relation to schools, there has been similar analysis of their location and their isolation from their communities, which is felt to have contributed to a blame culture, where external inequalities are ignored and problems centred on the school and education (McGregor, 2004). The same can of course be argued in relation to the prison as a metaphor for the crime problem, and Pratt considers attempts to minimise prison boundaries in the 1960s, when it was more readily acknowledged that the offender was socially created. Focusing on the spatial boundaries of education in prisons might provide similar insights.

Another way of approaching the design of buildings is suggested by Markus, who regards them as an 'unfolding serial event, a building as a narrative. From the moment it is conceived, through its design, production, use, continuous reconstruction in response to changing use, until its final demolition, the building is a developing story, traces of which are always present' (Markus, 1993: 5). Hence, we should not simply analyse a building in terms of the era in which it was constructed, but consider it throughout its history. Prisons, for

example, have been constructed out of ships, prisoner-of-war camps and stately homes, many date back to the Victorian era, have had extensive annexes built and have been modernised in response to social and political changes. Accordingly, we can regard the prison, and the learning spaces within them, as a developing story.

Beyond a message system or symbol, we can potentially interpret architecture as a political technology or a mechanism of power. For example, Foucault's famous analysis of the Panopticon suggests that the architecture is an apparatus for creating and sustaining power relations. Here the knowledge of permanent surveillance which acts to form or reform the individual, results from the architecture of the building regardless of who exercises the power. The aims of increased economic production, education, improved morality and so forth, are not necessarily revealed by the architectural elements such as clear sight lines and the central view point, but the technology is apparent.

However, it would be dangerous to draw meaning solely from the exterior or architectural lay out of a prison for a number of reasons. Dovey suggests that the 'meaning market' which arose in post-modernity, has distracted attention away from the site, program (spatial structure) and social context of the building (Dovey, 1999: 35). In other words, we risk placing style over substance by merely looking at form. Indeed, King (1980) notes that, in early prisons in particular, architects contributed the façade, whilst everything else was determined by the moral ideas of reformers. McConville also questions how closely design reflects dominant values, questioning the extent to which architects understand the prison, its function and the socio-political context. Furthermore, prisons are all too often designed in response to practical difficulties such as burgeoning prison numbers, and it would be

misleading to analyse the existing prison estate as a monolith when there is so much variation within it (McConville, 2000). Moreover, prisons all too often resemble other buildings, be it the palace of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the school of the twentieth century (Pratt, 2002), or the generic public building of the twenty first century (Jewkes and Johnston, 2007). Discourse can perhaps fill some of the gaps in understanding. It is also misleading to examine form in isolation because, as Markus argues, the design might be very different from the spatial reality. Markus uses prison galleries to illustrate the impression of freedom that is juxtaposed by the 'transparent straight jacket' of imprisonment (p.18). Dovey uses the more stark and emotive example of Tiananmen Square, designed as a signifier of liberty, to demonstrate this. Contemporary prison designs, which have yet to be realised, continue this theme of illusory freedom, but closer analysis reveals that levels of control and surveillance are arguably greater than with existing designs (Cottam, 2002). It is therefore necessary to combine analysis of form, with that of spatial reality.

### *The significance of space*

Understanding the difference between space and place is fundamental to the design of the present research. A space might be defined as the geometry of an area, or 'areas and volumes' (Cresswell, 2004:8) or 'the blank coordinates on which everything else rests' (Fiddler, 2010:6), whereas the creation of a place requires an intervention, whether that is naming a space or altering its interior. There are clearly a wide range of learning spaces within and outside prisons, but it may not be possible to use all these spaces to interpret function for a number of reasons. As 'places' are more than just spaces, they are spaces

which are invested with meaning (Harrison and Dourish, 1996), prisoners may create places for learning which were not designed or designated for the purpose. LeFebvre refers to these as places of representation (1991). Secondly, some prisons were not designed to be prisons in the first place (previously borstals or POW camps for example), or were built in an era when prison education had a different meaning or function. This has led to the annexation or adaptation of spaces which can only be understood in light of their history (Markus, 1993). Fairweather and McConville (2000) also suggest that there are incongruities between the philosophies of policy makers and the actions of designers and builders, and again these may blur our understanding of the spaces and places that are presented.

Rapoport (1980) suggests that there are four elements which are organised when any environment is designed: communication (linking to Markus' theories on power versus bonds); time; space; and meaning, which can be expressed in a number of ways. These elements have been examined and developed by a number of theorists. Foucault (1977) famously examined space and the way it is used to exercise power, analysing the use of surveillance, time, and classification and knowledge of the individual, inter alia. The function of spaces in prisons and schools for Foucault, was ultimately to produce bodies that are both 'docile and capable'. Regulation penetrates the smallest details of everyday life in order to produce a strictly disciplined society and ultimately aims to normalise the undisciplined and the dangerous. Normalisation, or reform, is achieved not so much by external power, but through rational power which is internalised by the individual (Markus, 1993). Although differing from Foucault in terms of where power is held, through his notions of structure and agency, Giddens (1979) also suggests that space acts to inculcate

agents through institutionally embedded practices which are internalised, allowing reproduction of the structure.

In order to be effective, Foucault suggests that the exercise of power should be subtle and act upon the social, rather than the physical body. Creation of a social body requires the employment of various spatial technologies, including enclosure, partitioning and functional sites. In this way, it is suggested, ideologies can be built into spaces and thus, hopefully, read through such spaces: 'The architecture of schools and classrooms embodies particular ideologies of education and pedagogy through their physical arrangement and the interaction with social space, employed through timetables, rules, and other habitual organisational practices' (McGregor, 2004:13). Understanding the ideologies of education and pedagogy requires some understanding of educational theory, and existing literature that examines the impact of learning spaces on prisoner-learners.

Educational systems can be seen to either emancipate or oppress learners through the teaching and learning approaches adopted. The educational categories presented in table 5.2, which will be more fully explored in the proceeding chapters, are based on Merriam and Caffarella's (1991) learning typologies. Merriam and Caffarella distinguish between four learning theories: behaviourist, cognitivist, humanist and social and situational. For these purposes the categories have been collapsed into those that reflect 'teacher-centred' (or centred other than on the student), and 'student-centred' approaches. Behaviourist and cognitivist approaches, whilst clearly different in their psychological paradigms, are both primarily concerned with altering behaviour, whether through repetition of desired responses (behaviourism), or through concentrating on internal mental processes in order

to develop the skills to learn better (cognitivist) (Holliman, 2014). These approaches tend to be relatively scientific and positivistic, assuming that behaviour is observable and measurable. For the purposes of analysis such an approach to teaching and learning is taken to reflect a desire to change the behaviour of individuals through education, which is highly related to power and control.

Humanist and social and situational (or social constructivist) theories are more concerned with the individual learner. Humanist approaches aim to make the learner self-actualised and autonomous by allowing them to become self-directed learners. In order to achieve this, the student should be at the centre of the process in terms of their needs and the best approach for them, and teachers may relinquish some of their authority in order to allow the student to challenge their perspectives. Social and situational approaches aim to allow the student to construct knowledge out of action, developing reasoning, planning and problem-solving skills, social interaction, involvement in the learning process and internalisation of such knowledge and skills (Long et al, 2011). Both approaches therefore place students at the centre of the process and aim to provide the student with more than just knowledge or behavioural change.

A more student-centred approach could be taken to indicate an emancipatory function, liberating the learner through providing them with skills and the ability to critically analyse the world and even their own situation. There is no doubt that there are issues of power and control and work, but the nature and purpose of that power is likely to have very different effects on the prisoner-learner. The most basic distinction would be between whether the power is exercised *over* prisoner-learners, or whether it provides power *to*

them (Dovey, 1999). The former suggests an oppressive function designed to further the interests of the controlling parties, and the latter a function of empowerment, autonomy, freedom and the power to influence their own lives. Alternatively, we might consider Dewey's notion of power *of* the mind (1991) which transforms, or McGregor's power *with*, 'where power is not a thing to be possessed, rather residing in small, local interactions' (2004:14).

In considering best practice for teaching in diverse and inclusive classrooms, Erten et al (2014:53) note the importance of 'emotionally welcoming but busy classrooms'. Based on research in Canada, they note that, whilst behaviourist approaches to teaching have benefits in terms of establishing boundaries and providing safe environments, they do not provide for human individuality that 'is likely to be central to educational success' (p.54). Inclusive models require the ability for students to engage in group work and undertake activities (Sheehy, 2014), which in itself places requirements on the classroom space.

A number of educational research studies have endeavoured to explore the relationship between physical environment and learning and significant relationships have been revealed. Rutter's experimental study in 1979 (cited in Long et al, 2011) found that a building's age and architecture was of less importance to academic achievement than the care and decoration of the spaces within them. Signs of placemaking such as plants, posters and pictures were reported to have positive effects. However, it could also be suggested that the actors in those spaces chose to personalise them because they had higher morale and therefore took ownership of the spaces. Wollin and Monatgue's study in 1981 (cited in Long *ibid*), found pupils attainment improved when moved from unattractive to attractive

spaces ('painted in attractive colours and decorated with posters, area rugs, plants and other items' (Long et al, 2011:167)); only to fall to previous levels when returned to the unattractive spaces.

Woolner et al's extensive literature review in 2007 aimed to bring together knowledge of the impact of environment on learning. They reviewed the literature in terms of the impact of various factors on: attainment, or outcomes of standardised tests; engagement, observed through time spent on task and low levels of disruption; affect regarded as 'improvements in self-esteem for teachers and learners, increased academic self-concept, improvements in mood and motivation'(p.49); attendance; and well-being, in terms of physical health.

Leaving aside the last measure, only 'affect' would appear to have a student-centred emphasis, with the others behaviourist or cognitive in nature. In reviewing which physical features were evidenced to have a positive effect on learning, attainment was improved by light, build quality and outside space; engagement via low ceilings, contrasting walls and open shelving; and affect by beautiful spaces, high ceilings (for teacher satisfaction) and student displays.

The importance of flexibility in classroom seating arrangements to educational progress is also highlighted by Long et al. (2011), as attainment relative to seating arrangements (rows versus around tables) has been shown to be dependent on the task or lesson. Smaller class sizes are also found to be beneficial for students, particularly in relation to numeracy and literacy, and amongst lower performing students.

What may also be important for prisoner-learners is the pervasiveness of the learning environment outside of the classroom. As prisoners tend to come from poorer backgrounds where children tend to experience lower levels of educationally enhancing child-parent interaction, educational achievement tends to also be lower. Research in mainstream education has shown that interventions that encourage parents to engage with educational activities at home can help to bridge this gap (Long et al, 2011).

It is clear therefore that to more fully understand the role of space, one must analyse its impact on 'the experiencing subject' (Markus, 1993). However, the way in which spaces are understood and experienced may vary, depending on the user's attitude, character, predisposition and sensibility. McConville (2000) suggests that buildings are likely to have a greater impact on users who have a limited private life because the absence of distractions and compensations intensifies the effects of buildings and space, emphasising exclusion and loss, social stigma and a lack of trust. It has also been suggested that high security spaces, which involve a loss of movement, contact with others and heavy surveillance are likely to have brutalising effects on users. In relation to schools, Horne (2004) notes the negative impact that outdated buildings or those not built for the purpose can have on learners. This can affect the process of learning and creativity.

It is not clear from the literature where the power balance lies, but a balance in favour of power *over* would suggest that education could exacerbate earlier negative experiences of education held by the majority (Devlin, 1995), and further alienate the prisoner from education and exclude him from society. Harber (2004) showed how damaging and oppressive such power can be when used as a means of maintaining compliance and

obedience. Indeed, Lynch and Lodge (2002) revealed how the exercise of power and authority can be harmful to children who object to levels of monitoring, surveillance and restricted access in schools, all of which are exacerbated in the prison environment. Power *to, of or with* might be expected to produce far more positive life outcomes for the prisoner-student, giving him the skills to reintegrate into society in a much fuller way. Alternatively prison education might change very little, inculcating prisoners into and reproducing existing social relations by providing basic skills and training for prisoners to support the economic base structure.

Prison education spaces however, have been described as an 'oasis' within the prison environment (Braggins and Talbot, 2003) suggesting that learning spaces can in some way ameliorate the negative effects of imprisonment. This leads one to question how closely learning spaces are connected to the prison environment, or whether they should be regarded as distinct from their context (Harrison and Dourish, 1996).

Access to space has also been used to analyse the social relations. For example, Hillier and Hanson (1984) developed models based on access for controllers and the controlled. Their attempts to reveal spatial genotypes used by all buildings based on clusters of spatial segments structured in certain formations with syntactic rules of sequence and adjacency, have influenced both Markus and Dovey. Traditional prisons are built on highly structured and hierarchical relations, which are heavily related to space and access to it. In prisons penetration is generally inverse to power, (reversed buildings), so prisoner living accommodation is central within the building, but access to the outer areas where activities such as education and training are located are subject to policies and negotiation. However,

access is likely to be highly variable across the prison estate, because of the security classification system, as well as the era in which the establishment was built. In the modern prison, access to spaces is no longer confined by walls and doors, but through security cameras and other forms of technology. Therefore, interpreting space through this model is increasingly complex. Furthermore, this is an extremely positivist and determinist approach which ignores many of the nuances of the individual establishment.

Of course, prisoners are not the only users of prison spaces and the impacts on prison staff, both uniformed and civilian, may be very different. Indeed, they may have very different perceptions of the space which for them is a place of work, inspiring different emotional reactions (Markus, 1993). Furthermore, prisons have a symbolic and cultural role in society (Pratt, 2002), and they are the theatre in which punishment and coercion is exacted in the name of the people. Therefore, wider society can also be regarded as users of prisons. For those who have never experienced a prison, it is likely to hold very different meanings again. One has to be wary not to attach too much emphasis on space however, because it can be misleading in the same way as form. Not only is it dependent on the individual user, but it might suggest certain (pedagogic) approaches that are not in practice (Campion, 2004). Teachers may alter spaces to create their own places, leading Bissell to comment that 'architects...do not create learning environments. Teachers create learning environments' (2004:32). Spaces can also be shaped and formed by the user. Stoller (2003) revealed how prisoners can create an unintended sense of space, with users modifying spaces and creating their own 'places' by attaching their own meaning to them. In this way spaces are continually being created and recreated by the interaction between the social and the physical, or 'spatiality' (McGregor, 2004: 3).

### *Context and discourse*

In this study, discourse is used to supplement analysis of form and space. However, it is recognised that it is important to avoid dislocating the text from its context (Denscombe, 2003), in order to prevent findings being crude and misleading. It is important to reflect the fact that phenomenon and context are 'entangled' (Yin, 1984). Social, political, economic and cultural factors have, and continue to, influence the development of prisons. Markus refers to this as 'society in history', and King (1980) points out the importance of understanding the society in which buildings exist and their relationship to wider society and culture: 'signification cannot be isolated from the human subject who uses it and is defined by means of it, or from the cultural system that generates it' (Silverman, 1983:3).

One cannot understand the early nineteenth century development of prisons for example, without understanding the influence of moral reformers, the role of economics, or social attitudes to deviant behaviour. Furthermore, development is inevitably influenced by the 'institutional sphere' catering for that provision (King, 1980). For example, the move from private, unregulated prisons to state provision, and the increasing influence of the scientific community, inevitably had a dramatic effect on the regime. As Tomlinson (1980: 116) notes: 'The experimental institutions of the late twentieth century will tell future generations as much about the social awareness and uncertainty of the 1970s as the Victorian prison tells us about earlier aspirations and ideals'.

In order to gain an understanding of the context, discourse is considered alongside form and space, as these elements may be contradictory and require contextualisation. Markus cites the Penitentiary Act of 1779 to demonstrate how the relationship between form, space and function were far clearer during this era, but it appears that these elements have become more divorced from one another over time. However, there are a variety of document types, related to the buildings being examined, which can be analysed in terms of their language classifications in order to read function. On the most basic level the changing name of prisons, (gaols, penitentiaries, etc) and the evolution of language in relation to prison education (instruction, treatment, etc) can be seen as indicative of changing relations. As Mayr notes, 'Discourses about imprisonment and the rehabilitation of prisoners are not value free and respond to changes in government and public policy' (2008:47). Issues of discourse will be more fully explored in Chapter 6. In the following Chapter methodological issues are considered.

## Chapter 5

### METHODOLOGY

#### *Epistemology and Ontology*

Since the 1970s in particular, crime and how to deal with it, has been a much debated and contested issue. As Garland noted, we all harbour 'intuitive, instinctive and common sense views' about the causes of crime, largely unfounded in empirical research (2002:19). I became socially and politically aware in a period marked by rising crime rates, unrest and insecurity in prisons, and discourse marked by retribution and risk aversion. However, I spent five years working with offenders, two of which were spent as a prison officer in a young offender's institution (YOI) and my interaction with the inmates has influenced my perception of the prisoner. The culture reported by Crawley (2004), whereby officers demonstrate a level of contempt for their charges through discourse ('vulture', 'bodies', 'animals', 'scum', 'toe-rags', 'inadequates' etc), was undeniably in evidence, however, the nature of the institution in which I worked also allowed for a more positive relationship with prisoners.

The perception of prisoners by officers may be dependent on whether they share similar characteristics and the type of institution in which they work. Crawley notes that the dynamics in YOIs are very different to adult institutions, because young offenders are more needy and crave contact with officers, leading officers to become more involved with them as individuals. However, it is also contingent on the individual officer's approach: 'For some

prison officers getting staff-inmate relationships 'right' means helping and supporting inmates, while for others it means keeping a distance between 'them and us' (Crawley, 2004: 214). For me, the dynamics of a YOI, relatively relaxed regime, lack of institutionalisation amongst young offenders and the somewhat paternal relationship between officers and inmates, allowed me to deconstruct the prisoner class. I observed that prisoners are not classifiable as a single unit purely by their common trait of having infringed the criminal law. Prisons are a microcosm of society and its inhabitants as diverse.

However, this is somewhat at odds with the approach that I have used as an academic. By its very nature the criminological community is concerned with criminal behaviour, be it in terms of its governance or the differentials between criminals and non-criminals, and by default constructs its objects in terms of their preceding (or predicted) illegitimate activities. Its very existence implies that crime and the criminal are major social problems, and, however unintentionally, defines offenders as a distinct social construct. Any differentials between offenders' individual characteristics, be they crime type, age, gender, social status, race or religion, are merely variables within a class, a fact that did not escape Foucault's attention.

Having come to criminology as an established discipline, I had not overly concerned myself with such issues, but I have become increasingly concerned that through membership of the criminological community, I could actually be contributing to an arguably destructive social structure. In particular, criminology has guaranteed its own existence through continuously expanding its remit in terms of the classes of actions and agents with which it concerns itself. And yet, as Garland notes, its existence as a discipline was never inevitable. It was

perhaps Lambroso's concern with the criminal that led to the development of the crime science, but there was no reason why it could not have continued to exist within other disciplines, such as sociology or psychology, which also produce dichotomies of normality and deviance. However, our constructions of crime and deviance have become established conventions embedded in a consciousness, leading to a 'myth of a criminological science'. As Garland puts it '...criminology's claim to be an empirically grounded, scientific undertaking sets it apart from moral and legal discourses, while its focus upon crime differentiates it from other social scientific genres, such as the sociology of deviance and control, whose objects of study are broader and not defined by the criminal law' (Garland, 2002: 7).

In order to sustain its position as a distinct academic discipline, criminology has had to prove itself as a science by adopting a positivist epistemology that lends itself readily to the policy process. Some criminologists enjoy sufficient academic freedom to throw off these constraints and pursue critical and sociological theories, but the discipline is dominated by 'administrative criminology', which develops 'descriptive, analytical accounts of the state of crime, of the various classes of offenders, of the enforcement of criminal law [and] of the effectiveness of various measures of penal treatment' (Radzinowicz, 1961). Indeed, my first academic role was as a researcher for the Home Office and Office of the Deputy Prime Minister where the major emphasis was providing statistical evidence of the impact regarding crime reduction policies, with figures often 'massaged' to generate sound-bites revealing the favoured outcome.

This criminological approach also caused me to question my underlying philosophical approach to the use of imprisonment. Like many criminologists I have objections to the use of imprisonment, other than for the most dangerous offenders. Imprisonment must be justified because it causes harm to the offender through the removal of their liberty and the long term harm it has been shown to cause to offenders' life-courses (Cavadino and Dignan, 2002, Stern, 2002). Therefore, my approach to research has been based on the premise that imprisonment should be concerned with the rehabilitation of the offender. I have thus adopted an offender-centred consequentialist approach, which implicitly relies upon the rehabilitative possibilities of imprisonment through access to services that might lead to reform. However, there are various problems with this.

One argument, proposed by Mathieson, is that on the basis that rehabilitation literally translates as 'return to competence', the emphasis is on the individual, both for their offending and for their return to an acceptable social life (Mathieson, 2005 27-28). Thus, it is not 'primarily up to the authorities to act or decide in a way which restores, but rather primarily up to the prisoners themselves' (ibid p. 28). Yet the authorities fail to offer anything which allows the prisoner to re-enter into society, but instead focuses on the imprisonment itself and the degradation and disparagement this creates. Furthermore, it has been widely asserted that there is little evidence to support the rehabilitative effect of imprisonment, particularly in respect of recidivism rates (see for example Foucault, 1977 and Cavadino and Dignan, 2002). Mathieson and Foucault argue that the system has failed in this respect since its inception in the sixteenth century. More fundamentally perhaps, such a standpoint seeks to impose scientific social engineering. If we claim that we are imprisoning offenders as a means of rehabilitation, we are imprisoning them for what they

might do in the future, rather than what they have done, thereby 'failing to respect the offender's moral status' (Duff and Garland, 1994:12). This has led to a rise in popularity of non-consequentialist ideologies in which retribution is a justifiable end in itself. However, this does not sit well with my own values since I feel that the harm prison causes can only be justified if it has some positive outcomes, and I am thus left morally opposed the basic principle of imprisonment, with no satisfactory philosophical or theoretical justification for its mass use.

Whilst it is important to bear such issues on mind and the impact it has on the prisoner's experience, Duff and Garland offer a consolatory perspective: 'philosophical discussions are often far removed from penal practice, ...Serious thought about punishment must focus on 'working social categories' and institutional practices, rather than on merely abstract ideas or disembodied theories: but that focus must be informed by adequate understanding of normative theories...Philosophies of punishment must therefore be assessed not merely as they appear on the page, but as they are (or could practicably be) realized in specific practices...' (1994:1).

## *Research design*

In order to investigate the function of education in prisons, analysis of three main types of data have been triangulated. These are the design or architecture of prisons and their learning areas, the nature of prison learning spaces, and discourse related to prison education. Overarching and enveloping these data sources is the social context of learning in prisons. The intention is to provide explanatory case studies, which examine the competing explanations of the purposes of prison education (Yin, 1994). The case studies vary between the different analytical methods, and are detailed below.

Through focusing on case studies it is intended that an in depth and holistic appreciation of the function of education in specific contexts can be arrived at through the use of multiple methods and sources (Denscombe, 2003), something that would not have been possible if examining all prisons, prison spaces and texts. The use of such an approach is justified on the basis that the studies will be 'revelatory', such an approach having never been previously employed in this field (Yin, 1994). The case studies are not presented as a sample of the whole and lay no claim to replicability or generalisability. The ultimate aim is to induce theoretical conclusions about the function of education in the context of multiple case studies, based on the literature examined in Chapters 2 to 4.

It is necessary to contextualise the case studies being used (Blaikie, 2000), and in order to do so, there will be analysis of the historical and current social context as relevant within the individual analytical chapters. Historical analysis can 'help us understand how our present educational system has come about; and this kind of understanding can in turn help to

establish a sound basis for further progress of change...It enables educationalists to use former practices to evaluate newer ones' (Cohen et al, 2007: 192).

Political discourse in the form of Hansard debates and political announcements around the establishment of Secure Training Centres in 1994, and the establishment of Secure Colleges in 2014 have been analysed. The relationship between language and reality can be problematic and deconstruction for the purposes of analysis may be useful. In this way language can be better understood through the 'unpacking, decoding and unmasking of the texts through which places are constructed and experienced' (Dovey, 1999: 34). To this end, Fairclough's 'Analysing Discourse' (2003) and Fairclough and Fairclough's 2012 'Political Discourse Analysis' models have been used to analyse the practical reasoning employed through this form of argumentative discourse. Reeves (1983) account of 'Special Political Discourse' has also been drawn on, and is considered in Chapter 6.

Various aspects of a prison's form (or design) can provide data relevant to the function of prison education. These include the size of buildings, their appearance or facade, their location and their layout (King, 1980). Data are available through drawings, architectural surveys, photographs and models. In relation to the two case study prisons visited, some photographic images of floor-plans have been obtained, but architectural drawings were not able to be provided (despite requests to a variety of gatekeepers). However, permission was granted by HM Prison Service in relation to the use of a floor-plan of a traditional prison, and by the owners of the 'typical classroom' and a proposed 'ideal classroom' presented here.

Space can be analysed in a number of ways, including how it is allocated, the permeation of and access to areas (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) (or the rules which govern daily life), levels of surveillance, furnishings, lighting, the position of actors, partitioning and enclosure, the use of time (Foucault, 1977), and the impact of the space on experiencing subjects (Markus, 1993). In the current case studies, much of this data will be extracted from the created photographic images of prison learning spaces within the two visited establishments. This will provide data about the physical environment. Spaces will be analysed by considering the photographs as symbolic representations of what they denote about the function of education, in order to uncover ideologies and cultural codes, drawing on the field of semiotics (Penn, 2000). Their limitations as 'secondary, derived, reduced-scale simplifications of the realities that gave birth to them' (Loizos, 2000:94) are not denied, nor is the potential impact of my personal biography on interpretation. However, they also provide a source of rich data, analysis of which is presented in Chapter 8.

Initially, it is important to identify the spaces and places which this research is aiming to interpret. (Whilst I have taken care to be clear, there is an inevitable slippage between the terms space and place where the boundaries are less obvious). There are a number of forums which could be considered, and indeed the whole prison could be analysed, as learning spaces have extended beyond the boundaries of the prison classroom. Since many life skills as well as educational skills are now accredited by the Prison Service, one could include not only obvious spaces such as classrooms and libraries, but also kitchens, gymnasiums, reception areas, chapels, laundries, wings, cells, outside spaces; indeed any area where prisoners carry out daily activities. Braggins and Talbot (2003) refer to this as a 'mosaic of learning'. Beyond this, one might also include spaces in the wider community in

instances where prisoners attend colleges or work placements on temporary release, something contemporary (but unrealised) prison designs have attempted to build on and expand (Buschow-Henley Architects, 2007 and Rideout, 2006).

It is therefore clear that understanding prison spaces and places is fraught with difficulties, and these weaknesses must be borne in mind whilst developing the research tools. Drawing generalisable conclusions is also frustrated by the diversity of the prison system, which has separate establishments for the young, female offenders, long-term prisoners, therapeutic communities, those nearing the end of their sentence, different security classifications of prisoner, immigrants and deportees, private and public ownership, the mentally ill and so forth. Thus, the experiences of places are likely to be different for different subjects.

For the purposes of this study, two prisons will be examined in detail, one is a medium sized state-owned prison which houses category C (relatively low risk) adult male prisoners and young offenders. The second establishment is part of the privatised secure estate of Secure Training Centres for juvenile offenders aged 12 to 17, housing males and females. The priorities and regimes within these establishments do differ as a result of their functions, and the research aims to examine whether functional differences are evident through the spaces and places within them. In order to frame the research, those spaces identified by prison staff as designated learning places will be used for interpretation.

The relationship between space, place and the experiencing subject is not directly addressed by this research however, inferences can be drawn about the likely impacts of space through reference to existing research such as that outlined above, and particularly through educational research into the effects of environment. As with form, it would be

dangerous to consider prisons or learning spaces as 'spatial islands' because they need to be understood in terms of wider social, political and economic forces which are always acting on them (McGregor, 2003). To understand more about these factors discourse from political sources has been analysed.

### *Ethical considerations*

Access to prisons is notoriously difficult (Martin, 2000), and access to Secure Training Centres even more so, as a result of both security issues and the vulnerability of the prisoners. However, this was partially overcome due to my past experience of the prison environment and hence knowledge of security and safety issues (Kirby, 2000), but primarily as a result of the good will of the staff contacts that I made. In both cases the gatekeepers for my purposes were open to new research and made every effort to facilitate access. Three establishments were approached, but one declined to take part. The small number of establishments clearly has consequences for the external validity of the research findings. However, the distinct nature of the two sites, as outlined in table 5.1 below, does provide a number of variables in terms of age, gender, size, function, architectural history and ownership.

STC	12- 17 years	Mixed gender	Small population	Privately run	New & purpose- built	Governed by government contract
HMP&YOI	15 years upwards	Male only	Medium sized prison	Public ownership	Converted premises	Governed by public sector targets

**Table 5.1 Comparison of the two sites**

Access to areas within the prisons also has to be carefully negotiated, as Kirby (2007:65) notes: 'If someone in a prison decides that you cannot come in and carry out an interview or collect some other form of data, then you will not get in'. To a certain extent I was therefore restricted in the areas which I could photograph, predominately led by the prison staff in terms of what might be defined as 'learning spaces'. It was acknowledged that these could be found in virtually every part of the prison, but the images I took were generally restricted to classrooms within education blocks and workshop areas.

### *Photographing establishments*

One of the primary concerns in photographing areas in the establishments was the protection of individuals. It was felt that the inclusion of subjects in the photographs, that is prisoners and staff, would be too ethically problematic to be justifiable, and may also dissuade the Prison Service from allowing me to take images at all. Taking photographs can be regarded as a threatening act (Denscombe, 1995), particularly in a secure and secretive environment. These were concessions I was happy to make in order to conduct the

research, despite the possible compromise to its validity (Cohen et al, 2007). The importance of the protection of identities is particularly acute in relation to the Secure Training Centre where the age of the prisoners makes them especially vulnerable. Indeed, most prisoners would be too young to provide consent for themselves, and permissions from guardians would need to be sought. However, even adult prisoners are regarded as a vulnerable group by virtue of the inherently coercive nature of the prison environment which may preclude true voluntary consent (Kalmbach and Lyons, 2003). However, staff may also be opposed to appearing in photographs because of the potential danger to their personal security from being identified. It was therefore felt that, although the images would be poorer through the absence of human actors in terms of what they could reveal about the human relationship with space (Harrison and Dourish, 1996), prison learning spaces would be photographed whilst they were empty.

However, security issues also have to be considered in relation to the images produced. As Reuss (2000) notes, security will always come before the researcher's unique contribution to knowledge. In both instances I was allowed access to the establishments on the understanding that I used photographic equipment belonging to the establishments and that the images would only be provided once they had been through security processes. Whilst the approaches of the two establishments varied, one set of images was considerably delayed because all locks had to be removed from photographs. The protection of the images is also important and they cannot be shared without permission. Publication and dissemination of any materials involving these images can only take place after careful negotiation with the Prison Service.

### *Other issues*

Existing images of prison plans are used in the research, and one of the main issues for the use of such secondary data is establishing permissions from the owners of images and plans. These were sought and provided by the relevant gatekeepers. It is also important that rigour is employed in identifying such sources and establishing their authenticity (in the case of photographs for example), credibility and purpose, in order to avoid bias and to maximise the validity of the research.

Whilst it was a considered decision, one of the major flaws of this research is going to be the lack of direct input from prisoners themselves. Such an absence risks placing prisoners in a subordinate position rather than empowering them, and I may make suppositions that are potentially ill-founded and paternalistic (Bosworth et al, 2005). Whilst such research is not specifically analysed, the body of qualitative research with prisoner-learners referred to elsewhere, has been taken into consideration when discussing the findings of the research. The internal and external validity of the data collected is clearly subject to researcher bias in terms of, not only my standpoint, but the selection of documentary and primary data sources, the small sample size, lack of prisoner participation, limitation of methodologies as a result of security concerns and the relative esotericism of the research approach. As far as possible, issues of validity and reliability will be addressed through methodological triangulation of data derived from sound, authentic, credible and dependable sources (Cohen et al, 2007).

## Analysis

Form, space, and discourse have been synthesised in order to gain a better understanding of the function of prison education. An analytical tool based on these elements is presented in Table 5.2 below. These methodological tools are more fully examined within the individual analysis chapters, and will be used to analyse the various forms of data gathered and classify the data according to the categories identified in Table 5.3 below. The frequency and weight of the 'events' provide a basis for pattern matching in order to build explanations about the function of prison education (Yin, 1994), and hopefully provide the research with a form of internal validity. However, validity will always be restricted by the subjective nature of the interpretation of the various forms of data.

	Form	Space	Discourse
Photographs	✓ semiotics	✓ semiotics	
Plans	✓ semiotics		✓ discourse analysis
Official documents and sources			✓ discourse analysis

**Table 5.2 Analytical use of sources**

The major functions are divided between penal functions, individual functions and wider functions, termed socio-economic functions here. The social functions largely relate to issues of power and control, which are considered below, and which are ostensibly the

concerns of the major theoretical works discussed above (Markus, Foucault, Dovey *ibid*). The penal functions relate to management of individual institutions (micro-management), management of crime and disorder nationally (macro-management), and ideology. These are perhaps the most easily detectable elements as they will be obvious through security measures, design and (political) rhetoric.

The distinction between various penal and educational functions is doubtless a false one and it is not my intention to make value-judgements about these various approaches, but to investigate what existing research tells us about the impact such approaches are likely to have on prisoner-learners. The greatest challenges for this research are to make sense of the function of such places and spaces in a meaningful way by providing a workable model for analysis, and then to successfully unravel and synthesise the competing forces at work on prison learning spaces in order to inform a productive discussion. The danger is that the data may reveal conflicts which are ultimately irreconcilable. For example, to what extent are designated educational spaces in prisons primarily for learning, and how can this be reconciled with the primary aims of the institution? If learners or teachers wish to create their own learning spaces based on say, social and situational approaches to learning, how can this be performed in spaces with desks and seats bolted to the floor? Indeed, how can space be read to reveal these incongruities? I hope that the combination of data sources has allowed some sense to be made of prison learning environments.

	Penal functions			Individual functions		Socio-political functions	
	Micro- management <i>Managing establishments</i>	Macro- management <i>Reducing crime Managing costs</i>	Ideological/ symbolic <i>Denunciation Retribution</i>	Emancipatory Student- centred <i>Humanist Social/ situational</i>	Oppressive Teacher- centred <i>Traditional Behaviourist Cognitivist</i>	Control/ power <i>Production Reproduction Self-regulation Legitimation Populism</i>	Moral Responsibility of Responsibility for Culpability
<b>Form</b>  What architectural indicators would be present?	High levels of physical security Radial designs Control gates Zoning Physical barriers	Imposing exteriors Located in highly populated areas (deterrence)	Austere exteriors Located in highly populated areas/ highly visible	Discreet living units Open designs Part of community Pervasion of education	Traditional layout	Located in prominent areas Closed designs – Panoptical	

	<p>Separate staff</p> <p>Centrifugal</p> <p>BUT also</p> <p>required to be</p> <p>non-oppressive</p> <p>Prisoners held</p> <p>in small units</p>	<p>Located in</p> <p>unpopulated</p> <p>areas (cost)</p> <p>Functional,</p> <p>simple,</p> <p>durable,</p> <p>standardised,</p> <p>economically</p> <p>efficient,</p> <p>'bland'</p> <p>Converted</p> <p>from existing</p> <p>buildings</p> <p>'Humane</p> <p>containment'</p>		<p>throughout the</p> <p>prison</p>			
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		Small living units Spread out Beautified					
<b>Space</b>  How would learning spaces be designed, accessed, negotiated?  Where	Highly surveyed & managed  Negotiated and dependent access  Linear access	Access based on need/ cost-benefit/ compliance with organisational priorities/	Access based on deservingness  Access negotiated  Functional but basic	Relaxed  Intermingling between staff and prisoners  Attention to aesthetics  Highly prominent	Teacher in dominant position – centre of gravity  Student's passive/receptive	Separate (promotion of work ethos)  Regular  Ordered  Arranged around time	

would it be located?	Barriers to access Located on periphery - centripetal Fixed furniture Oppressive Minimum human contact Attention to aesthetics Clearly visible	likelihood of reform Links with wider community – learning may take place outside prison walls & continue after release Located throughout Larger cells		Self-directed Utilises learning technologies Learning fluid Outside learning Interactive technologies Physical spaces for interaction Free communication Moveable furniture	Rows of desks Geometric order Little space Bare walls Large numbers uniformity	Access tightly regulated Hierarchical pyramids Centripetal Promotion of structured dependency Wide access to basic skills etc Enclosure Partitioning normative	
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		Access controlled through technology May be no specific learning spaces or unplanned/ annexed Part of central nucleus of facilities for reform		'Softening of the space' eg rugs, plants etc.			
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<b>Discourse</b>	Control	Deterrence	Denunciation	Transformation	Cultural	Rights	
What	Security	Rehabilitation	Retribution	Empowerment	capital	Responsibilities	
language	Purposeful	Reform	Just deserts	Autonomy	Instruction	Social capital	
would be	activity	Risk		Self-	Presentation		
present?		Reintegration		actualisation	Control		
What		Costs		Holistic	Behaviour		
meanings		Cost-benefit		approach	Competency		
could be		What works		Needs	Skills		
attached to		Targets		assessment	development		
language?		Private		Group work			
		finance		Social			
				participation			
				conversation			

**Table 5.3 Analytical model to investigate the function of prison education**

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCOURSE

The aim of this Chapter is to analyse political discourse in order to understand more fully the social and political influences on the provision of education for young prisoners. By doing this, it will contribute to our understanding of its social and political 'function'. The importance of texts in this context is summed up by Fairclough (2001:14) who claims that they have 'social, political, cognitive, moral and material consequences and effects, and it is vital to understand these consequences and effects if we are to raise moral and political questions about contemporary societies'.

In order to analyse the function of education within prisons, two periods in time have been chosen: 1994 when Secure Training Centres were introduced and 2014 when Secure Colleges were announced. With one exception, the texts chosen for analysis are taken from Hansard, the written reports of proceedings in the Houses of Parliament (Commons and Lords). These have been chosen as reliable records of proceedings in Parliament, and are publicly accessible, more recently over the internet. However, caution has to be taken in their interpretation, as Clinton and Schaffner (2002:7) note:

*'it is often taken for granted that official printed versions of parliamentary proceedings, such as...British Hansard...provide a verbatim report...In fact, such versions follow rules, not always explicit, of linguistic propriety and idealized genre conventions, and they do not of*

*course have any means of representing paralinguistic features (prosody, gesture, posture etc) that are an intrinsic part of the communicative activity in parliamentary discourse’.*

Thus, they do not capture all the facets of political interaction, and in Parliament’s own words ‘members words are recorded by Hansard reporters and then edited to remove repetitions and obvious mistakes but without taking from the meaning’ (Parliament, 2014d). Such caveats must be borne in mind when analysing parliamentary discourse.

Hansard, as a record of parliamentary debate, forms what van Eemersen and Garssen (2012) refer to as ‘argumentative discourse’, and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) term ‘practical argumentation’. This too has an impact on language and thus, is a relevant consideration in analysing such texts. Parliamentarians, in engaging in such debate, must have cognisance of a variety of internal and external factors that require ‘strategic manoeuvring’ in the language that they use. Politicians need to continually reconcile the aims of being effective within the terms of the debate, with the need to be reasonable. Reasonableness is also a major concern for Fairclough and Fairclough and, from their account, is taken to mean that the proposition or standpoint has been arrived at following ‘a systematic dialectical procedure of critical testing or questioning’ (2012:68).

For Eemerson and Garssen there are three basic elements of strategic manoeuvring: topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices. For the analyst, these elements need to be considered in terms of their mutual interaction whilst taking into account the macro-context (p.44). In the case of parliamentary debate, the possibilities for argumentation are limited by: the institutional preconditions placed on discourse (for example, the pre-determined order of events, the need to address the Speaker, the

dialogical practices of Parliament of requesting others to give way, referring to Hon. Friends etc); the 'point of the institution', that is preserving democracy by deliberation (Eemerson and Garssen, 2012:47); and the external pre-conditions surrounding party politics, the relationship with the House of Lords, the desires of constituents, press reporting and so forth. Hence, in terms of Commons and Lords debating sessions, the aim is not just to convince the primary audience of the opposition or more realistically, find common ground on which to reach agreement in order to win the vote under debate, but to also have a view to the secondary audience of voters etc. Thus, this genre of discourse is limited in linguistic variability (Fairclough, 2003) and this must be considered in analysis. The inevitable impact of such conditions is the possible betrayal of the 'honesty' of the individual views expressed, which can be problematic for drawing firm conclusions about the motivations of individual actors.

For Reeves (1983), the motivations of political actors in engaging in such discourse, is to gain support through 'arrangements that can guarantee stability, whether or not that stability is at the expense of justice and economic equality' (p.61). Penal policy can promise stability through the deterrence of would-be offenders, and the incapacitation and rehabilitation of those who are imprisoned. However, in order to justify the continued use of such a resource-intensive punishment, political actors must convince voters of the effectiveness of proposed policies in meeting these ends. Whether or not such proposals further weaken social justice through disproportionately affecting already marginalised groups is thus, of lesser importance than the protection of other social and economic interests. Economic crime and violence in particular, present threats to economic and social stability. In this way, class conflict is minimised through the protection of the interests of those who most

benefit from current capitalist arrangements. Hence, Garland suggests that ‘law and order policies frequently involve a knowing and cynical manipulation of the symbols of state power and of the emotions of fear and security which give their symbols their potency. Such politics become particularly salient when a more general insecurity – deriving from tenuous employment and fragile social relations – is widely experienced and where the state is deemed to have failed in its efforts to deliver economic security to key social groups’ (Garland, 1996:450). Such a state of affairs may result in what Habermas (1975) refers to as a ‘crisis of legitimacy’.

Reeves considers the need for persuasion by political actors as increasing when there is a ‘legitimisation crisis’. Such crises arise when there is a threat to the acceptance of the existing political order because of perceptions that the state is failing to secure stability (in terms of the economy, society or security for example). In order to gain acceptance for policies that increase interference in public and private spheres, such policies need to be seen as necessary to manage this threat. If this is not addressed, citizens are likely to experience a ‘democratic shortfall’, through perceptions of under-representation.

Persuasion from political actors, is therefore more necessary in times when stability is under threat. However, politicians might not aim to persuade all citizens, as those that are ‘beyond the pale’ such as criminals, may not be regarded as entitled to a voice. Hence, prisoners are treated as ‘political ‘objects’ rather than agents within the political process’ (Reeves, 1983:65). The removal of the right to vote on imprisonment, perhaps exemplifies this point. As Pratt notes in relation to attitudes to offenders in the nineteenth century: ‘The convicts had been reduced to objects; if they had any sensitivities of their own, then these were only ‘brutish instincts’’ (Pratt, 2002:85).

However, as Reeves explores, the rhetoric that political actors use, may not be explicit about these motivations, instead choosing to couch discourse within the political ideology. For example, the offender is couched in terms of deviance from widely accepted notions of morality and the law, providing an enduring justification for the suspension of civil liberties through punishment, which has reached such a high level of innate acceptance amongst citizens that it is rarely questioned. However, when there is a need to reduce the prison population and restrict the use of custody, discourse may take a rhetorical turn, and focus on the harmful effects of imprisonment, as was in evidence in the 1990s (Pratt, 2002). Such ideology for Reeves is 'an example of a highly systemised public justificatory on which actors draw when they are required to give a reason for their action' (p.67). It provides a coherence to political action that might otherwise be missing, as well as providing an ideological link to the electorate.

Reeves also distinguishes Specialised Political Discourse (SPD) from general discourse. This thesis is concerned with the former, that is discourse engaged in by actors 'who have undergone a lengthy political apprenticeship' (p.75), by which he means backgrounds including public school, university, professional careers and the world of business. Politicians disproportionately share such backgrounds, and the impact of this apprenticeship is that words are likely to be 'carefully chosen in a self-conscious manner and for an instrumental purpose' (p.75). SPD thus has special features such as: presentation of self as acting in the interests of the whole community (as opposed to general discourse which can speak in sectional interests); the use of morality to overcome differences; emphasising policy impact as in the public good; persuasion of the justification; structure, systems and consistency; and focus on one major theme at a time. The focus is both on the technical,

prescribed, detailed and specific means, as well as the desired end, and the relationship between the two. Accompanying this, it is necessary to also have a response to the alternative views of others. This is further explored by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) in their account of practical argumentation, considered below.

SPD may also employ social science techniques as a basis, whereas general discourse is often based in folk knowledge. For example, Martinson's misreported assertion that 'nothing works' in relation to rehabilitation in 1974, is felt to have provided a justification for a retributive penal policy, despite the fact that there was evidence some things worked, and that potentially effective interventions were not widely or properly implemented (Sim, 2009). Thus, as Reeves notes, folk knowledge is interwoven into SPD and thus, must be taken into account. As will be seen below, this interweaving of SPD with folk knowledge can be seen in the discourse concerning Secure Training Centres in 1994.

Reeves further suggests that, as SPD is usually driven by party politics, it can be regarded as ideology. Rather than just responding to immediate concerns (for example, the Bulger case below), SPD must fit with long standing ideologies. Thus, it is far from a knee-jerk reaction, but tied up with the 'complexities of wielding and maintaining power' (Reeves, 1983:80). For example, Pratt's account of the 'sanitization' of penal language during the late nineteenth century, from 'emotive and pejorative' terms to more 'neutral, objective and scientific terms', due to the rise in popularity of Darwinism and its application to criminality through the work of Lombroso (Pratt, 2002:81), demonstrates how SPD can be acquired by political actors to maintain credibility without necessarily undermining core ideologies.

Reeves regards SPD as distinct, and of a higher status than general discourse, because it results in action that impacts on people's lives. For example, attempts to control costs and prison numbers through bifurcation in the early 1990s, by reserving custody for the most *serious offenders* may have prevented the imprisonment of some. Whereas, the adoption of discourse around 'risk' in the late twentieth century, was considered a justificatory system for the increasing use of punishment: 'policies based on fairness to offenders, proportionate punishment, and limitation of imprisonment could not survive the politicization of the risk of crime of the magnitude that has taken place in the Regan/ Thatcher, Bush/ Major, Clinton/ Blair times' (Hudson, 2002: 250). Thus, governments can legitimise increasing intervention in, and expenditure on, crime and punishment, as a means of managing the risk represented by the crime problem (Garland, 2001). However, Zedner (2002) questions the extent to which discourse is actually translated into practice *within* penal institutions, suggesting that whilst the rhetoric may change macro conditions (for example, who we determine should be sent to prison), the experience of the individual prisoner may not be affected. Furthermore, as we have seen in relation to Secure Colleges; 'Practical reasoning does not force agents to act in any way; agents may arrive at a judgement and then fail to act' (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 5).

Reeves sums up the three major elements of SPD as: description of the problem under consideration; evaluation of the cause of the problem (this being the most important part of the justification); and prescription of a solution to the problem. This is commonly found in the texts considered below. However, problems arise when the current issue under debate and the viable prescription, do not conform to the ideological first principles of the political party. In such cases, a secondary and supplementary justification system is required to deal

with the actual outcome. The ideal remains, but the constraints of the current context justify a less ideal response. This arguably explains the move of New Labour towards the political right in matters of crime and punishment in the 1990s, as Labour were unable to fulfil their commitment to socialism within the context of the late twentieth century. Thus, first principles of egalitarianism, social justice, government intervention in social and economic matters, welfare collectivism and so forth, could not be maintained in a period of social and economic context that required control of public spending, a desire for traditional standards and the maintenance of control through the rule of law (see below).

SPD also tends to employ simple and consistent language, and repeat key messages in order to make the message understandable and persuasive. This inevitably leads to simplification of the problem, an over-generalisation in the evaluation and grand claims about the prescription. Political discourse is also prone to reduce the complexity of social problems by the use of pseudo-scientific mechanisms such as performance indicators, in this case reducing the effectiveness of youth justice to reoffending figures (Lea, 2003). Furthermore, ideological integration may feature in SPD. For example, the crime problem has variously been related to social injustice and inequalities (left realism), or the breakdown in family and community structures, and rejection of traditional values (right realism). Such integration results in variable and consistent ideological complexes. For example, prison as a natural response to crime has been a constant for at over 150 years. However, the aims of punishment have been more variable, although rehabilitation has remained one of a handful of consistent variants such as deterrence and retribution. The technologies of reform too have varied, with psychological intervention, for example, being favoured in the

mid-twentieth century, and education, as the primary vehicle of reform, in the early twenty-first century.

Reeves account of Specialised Political Discourse, forms one part of political reasoning that Fairclough and Fairclough term 'practical argumentation'. As opposed to epistemic reasoning, which is theoretical and based in what is or is not true, thus providing a reason for *believing*; practical reasoning focuses on practical problems and solutions and reasons for *action*. Epistemology may enter the terms of the debate, but the function of the debate is persuasion of the need for a particular action. Practical argumentation includes a number of forms of political discourse, not just parliamentary proceedings. However, the rationale is the same, that the discourse has the aim of providing agents, on the basis of current circumstances, with reasons for particular actions in order to achieve particular goals, or imagined notions of what the future might be like. In order to be persuasive, there must be a rational logic or evidence for the means-end hypothesis. Often there is little certainty in matters under debate and therefore, the plausibility of the argument and its persuasiveness, may be based on what is known, rather than fact.

In respect of the topic of the thesis, the core issues for the public in the early 1990s might be summarised as follows:

*Current circumstance/ problem: Youth crime is out of control*

*Goal premise/ imagined future: Youth crime is reduced*

*Value premise: Offenders should be punished, including through imprisonment*

*Means-end premise: Effective rehabilitative interventions should be available in prison to prevent future offending*

In this example, the premises are somewhat flawed as youth crime is actually falling, however, the perception is based in folk-knowledge underpinned by media reporting, and thus a perceived circumstance that political actors needed to respond to in order to maintain legitimacy and avoid Habermas's 'democratic shortfall'. Furthermore, the goal is not disputable in that no actor would advocate that crime is a good thing and should be encouraged. However, if we reframe the current problem, with an emphasis on systemic issues, the premises are refined:

*Current circumstance/ problem: Youth custody fails to rehabilitate offenders*

*Goal premise/ imagined future: Young people do not reoffend following custody*

*Value premise: Prison should aim to rehabilitate young offenders/ the financial costs of crime must be reduced/ social stability should be ensured/ the current social structure should be protected/ the interests of the wealthy should be protected/ all citizens should contribute positively to the economy*

*Means-end premise: Effective rehabilitative interventions should be available in prison in order to improve the performance of prisons*

Here, any number of values could lead to the same means-end premise, and understanding these values is core to understanding what the function of education in prisons. Another way of framing the issue would might lead to a different means-end premise however:

*Circumstances/ problem: Young prisoners have poorer educational backgrounds than the general population*

*Goal premise/ imagined future: Young people do not offend*

*Value premise: All young people should have equal educational opportunities/the financial costs of crime must be reduced/ social stability should be ensured/ the current social*

*structure should be protected/ the interests of the wealthy should be protected/ all citizens should contribute positively to the economy*

*Means-end premise: The education system should be strengthened to ensure that all young people receive a good education*

Here, the same problem is now framed as a systemic education issue, rather than a penal issue, although both arguments could be based on the same set of values. Accordingly, there are endless possible combinations of premises which may be employed, and in this way political argumentation is based on conductive reasoning, with multiple premises potentially used at any one time to make the argument stronger. Exploring and unpicking these premises in relation to the chosen texts, might help to reveal more about the functions of education in prisons.

For political actors, aiming to arrive at reasonable decisions, being able to respond to alternative propositions, and either rebut or accede to their logic, is part of the process of political deliberation (a sub-genre of argumentation), and will form part of the means-end premise. Thus, analysis of the relationship between the premise and the goal, is fundamental to understanding political discourse, and hence 'how discursive practices contribute to maintaining or transforming a given social order' (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 12). The argumentative nature of political reasoning can therefore help to expose how power is being used, in whose interests power is exerted, and the ideologies that underpin it. These complex speech acts can reveal both views of how the world is and how it should be, as well as the motivations and emotions underlying such perspectives (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). Modality, and other aspects of language explored by

Fairclough (2003), can be useful in determining the extent to which statements are the internalised values of the individual, or else externally informed by factors such as duties and obligations.

Fairclough and Fairclough also consider the difference between instrumental and normative practical reasoning, the latter being based in values whereas instrumental practical reasoning could be value-free. For example, if the major premise is that offending needs to be reduced, instrumentally the minor premise could be that we should kill all young offenders as that is the most cost-effective way of preventing reoffending. However, this would not be acceptable because of the values, beliefs and morals of both political agents and society. Thus, practical argumentation is based on both circumstances and normative values. There is much evidence to support the assertion that imprisonment is harmful to individuals in a variety of ways, and it is expensive. However, these unintended consequences of imprisonment are widely deemed acceptable so long as it is perceived to achieve some positive ends, such as rehabilitation. However, the much cheaper and more effective method of achieving the same ends through death, is not normatively acceptable and therefore, not promoted.

For Fairclough and Fairclough, the analysis of deliberation in practical discourse should consider the following elements: the claim; circumstantial premise (problems); goal premises (the imagined future); value premises (internal/ external); means-goal premises; alternative options; and the addressing of alternative options. For the authors, the evaluation of such an argument should be judged in terms of universally accepted norms and values, such as human rights, or actions that promote human well-being. Anything that

infringes such notions should not be considered a reasonable argument. However, my aim here is not to evaluate the worth of the arguments, but to determine what the elements of the argument can reveal about the function of education in prisons. From a macro perspective, none of the arguments would reach Fairclough's threshold for a good argument, as the use of imprisonment prima-facie infringes on human rights and individual well-being. From a utilitarian perspective however, it might be said that the greater good in terms of reduced harm to wider society, justifies its use.

The first set of texts relate to parliamentary debates in 1994 when the then Home Secretary, Michael Howard, introduced the Criminal Justice and Public Order Bill which included provision for Detention and Training Orders for young offenders between the ages of 12 and 17. The proposed new orders included a period of the sentence spent in a new custodial setting; Secure Training Centres. The remainder of the sentence was to be spent under supervision in the community. The Bill proposed the reduction of the lower age limit for imprisonment from 15 to 12, the lowest in Western Europe. Following this, a further two texts are analysed which relate to the announcement in 2014 by the Coalition Government of the establishment of a Secure College on the site of Glen Parva prison, intended to be the first in a network of such establishments. Although these plans have subsequently been abandoned, they still reveal much about political thinking regarding the role of education in prisons. The texts will be analysed individually before being discussed comparatively.

### *Secure Training Centres in Context*

Although Frank Reeves' 1983 account of the differences between the two major political parties were less relevant by 1994, due to the move of New Labour towards the centre-right on crime and justice, his consideration of British political discourse in relation to race is still relevant. There was still a clear sense of class-based politics during this period, although it was less marked than a decade before. The Conservative Government had come into power under a Law and Order manifesto, a period which many have attributed the politicization of crime control. During the Thatcher years there had been substantial increases in spending on crime control, particularly policing, against a backdrop of cuts in other public services (Eadie and Morley, 1999). Massive increases in the prison population were seen during the 1980s and yet crime rates continued to rise. The fear of crime became a significant political issue, as did the control of crime (Faulkner, 2001).

In response to prison overcrowding and the ever growing costs of imprisonment, the Criminal Justice Act of 1991 had a temporary impact in reducing the prison population, but a series of events, including Howard's declaration (in response to Martinson) that 'prison works' saw numbers again increase. Faulkner notes how there was an adoption of warfare type discourse at this point, with terms such as 'war on crime', 'defeat criminals' and so forth becoming evident (2001: 126-127).

Combined with this, during this period there grew an increased focus on what were termed 'persistent young offenders' or PYOs. Davis and Bourhill (1997) map the focus on youth that had been a feature of Conservative policy since 1979 when Thatcher came to power. Youth

had long been a public concern (see for example Cohen's seminal work on Mods and Rockers (2002)), however it was perhaps the influence of the mass media that generated a moral panic around the issue. Davis and Bourhill draw on a number of examples from the popular press in the early 1990s, to demonstrate the demonization of youth at this time. Terms such as 'yobs', 'sick', 'tiny terrors', 'mini mafia' sought to expose young people as uncontrollable, with comparisons drawn to Golding's 'Lord of the Flies' (p. 34-35). The threat to economic and social stability that these young people represented, required a response from policy-makers that would also take account of the problem of offending and reoffending (Reeves, 1983).

Politically, this media frenzy led to a change in tone towards juvenile offenders. The media reported that there were a small number of essentially uncontrollable young people who were responsible for the majority of crime in communities and, if authorities focused on their apprehension and incapacitation, large decreases in crime rates could be achieved. The police led 'a sophisticated campaign' against PYOs (Rutherford, 1996: 127), capitalised on by the media, who coined pejorative terms such as 'Rat Boy' (so termed because he was living in the roof spaces and meter cupboards on an estate) and 'Balaklava Boy', contributing to a moral panic about the dangers of young people (Scott and Codd, 2010).

However, it was perhaps the events of 1993, immediately preceding this Bill that had the greatest impact on the social and political attitudes to young offenders, when a 2-year-old boy was abducted and murdered by two 10-year-olds. The Jamie Bulger case was to have a significant impact on the public psyche regarding the capacity of young people to commit serious crime and led to the abolition of doli incapax for 10-14 year old children (Hossetler,

2009), despite the fact that juvenile crime was actually decreasing at this time (Faulkner, 2001). Davis and Bourhill (1997) attribute the Bulger case with promoting two assumptions about young people: 'the decline of family and parental discipline' and 'the lost innocence of a previous 'golden age' of childhood' (p.29). The sensational media coverage contributed to the moral panic that suggested that there was a fundamental breakdown in morality in society, and the myths surrounding the case, propagated by the media and responded to by politicians, inevitably led to changes in approach to youth offending. As opposed to the idealised image of children as innocent, they were constructed as evil (the Sunday Times declared the Bulger murderers had the 'Mark of the Beast imprinted on them' (Scott and Codd, 2010)), bereft of personal responsibility and unaware of the difference between right and wrong, requiring alternative responses from the institutions that manage children. Coupled with this there was a growing feeling that the government did not have the answers to the youth crime problem, and thus, a legitimacy crisis arose.

Under the 1994 Bill it was also proposed that these new STCs, of which there would only be a handful around the country, would be constructed and run by private providers. This was in line with the Conservative's Private Finance Initiative, whereby the tendering out of public services was regarded as the most cost effective method of delivery. Cavadino et al (2013) suggest that this managerialist strategy is also related to a neo-correctionalist approach, whereby punishment becomes less about proportionality, and more about increases in the intensity of intervention with each successive punishment, in order to prevent reoffending. Mayr reveals the managerialist influences on crime control through examining discourse in relation to cognitive behavioural programmes in Scottish prisons. Here again, the move towards managerialism is related to a crisis in the Scottish system in

the 1980s whereby there were riots, hostage-taking of prison officers and overcrowding. Around this time in Scotland there was a move towards discursive practices which termed imprisonment and rehabilitation an 'enterprise', and prisoners as customers. The services for these customers were to be provided with economy and efficiency (Mayr, 2008:47). Garland considers this a product of social, economic and cultural changes, concerned with risk and the 'efficient enhancement of social control' (Garland, 2001:176).

It is also important to understand the personalities involved. Michael Howard was known as a hard right wing politician in relation to his stance on Law and Order as exemplified by his statement the 'prison works' and calls for the reintroduction of the death penalty. As an advocate of the 'short sharp shock', he reintroduced boot camps for young offenders in 1996, which had failed in the 1980s; an experiment that was abandoned when offending rates amongst released prisoners proved to be higher than those from traditional institutions (Muncie, 2006).

At the 1993 Conservative Party Conference, Howard announced that 'Prison works. It ensures that we are protected from murderers, muggers and rapists...This may mean more people will go to prison. We should not flinch from that. We shall no longer judge the success of our system of justice by a fall in our prison population' (cited in Ryan, 2005), and reportedly regarded the Home Office at the time as full of defeatist liberals. Once in office he surrounded himself with like-minded individuals, including David Cameron who became his policy advisor. He was also critical of the breakdown of the family and lax discipline in schools and was keen to reinforce individual responsibility for criminality (Sim, 2009).

Prison, Howard maintained, needed to be a more austere experience, and there followed

less attention on education and preparation for release. The period was marked by what Sim refers to as an 'intensification in the climate of punishment' (2009:61), much of which was based on his overriding concern with public perceptions: 'the long term benefits of educational programmes...were, he said, low on his scale of priorities' (Derek Lewis speaking in 1997, cited in Sim, 2009:61).

Labour had been out of power since 1979, and under Tony Blair announced a commitment to be 'Tough on crime: Tough on the causes of crime'. This tough stance reflected the public appetite for retribution, but the focus on the 'causes of crime', the social, differentiated them from the Conservatives.

Concern was not just in relation to 'feral youth', but also the ineffectiveness of prisons to prevent reoffending, with up to 76% of young offenders being reconvicted within two years. In 1994, a Home Affairs Select Committee had concluded that the three main factors that would increase the chances of rehabilitation were family ties, accommodation, and education and employment (Parliament, 1994).

In reviewing the 1994 debates, it is therefore crucial to bear in mind levels of public concern about crime, and especially youth crime, and the perceived failings of the justice system to respond to them. Two texts from this period have been selected: House of Commons debate 11<sup>th</sup> January 1994 in relation to the proposed Bill (Hansard, 1994a) and the House of Commons Debate on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1994 specifically in relation to Secure Training Orders (Hansard, 1994b).

The first extract is from Mr. Michael Stephen, the Conservative MP for Shoreham, over 5 hours into the debate around the concept of Secure Training Centres.

*'I thoroughly welcome the proposal in the Bill to establish secure training centres, but I should prefer it if they were called secure schools. If a young person qualifies for custodial treatment, he is in need not of punishment but of a rescue operation.*

*Such establishments should principally be schools that happen to have a fence around them, not prisons that happen to have a few teachers inside them. Sadly, also, there are young offenders of 10 and 11 who commit serious and persistent crime. Fortunately there are not many of them, but I feel that the Bill should be amended in Committee to provide for that, if a court thinks it appropriate, it can send someone 10 or 11 to a secure school.*

*It is said that there was a high rate of offending from borstals, but let us not forget that we are dealing with a hard core of young criminal. Part of the problem was that they were there for too short a time. Very soon after going in, they were let out to continue their criminal careers. That is the wrong approach.*

*Such children should be educated in secure schools for as long as needed. It is no good sending them in for a few months. If necessary, and if the headmaster is of that opinion, it should be possible for them to be detained in that school until their normal school leaving age. I see no reason why a headmaster should not have the right to use the cane on boys in appropriate circumstances in those schools; nor do I see why the headmaster of any school should be prohibited from using the cane on boys.'*

### **Text 6.1**

The Conservative MP is making several claims in this speech. He is suggesting that Secure Training Centres (STCs) should principally be schools and be called secure schools; that the

minimum age of imprisonment should be lowered to 10; that young offenders should be held indefinitely; and that physical punishment should be used in both prison and school classrooms.

The claim that all STCs should be schools in name and function, appears to be based on the circumstantial premises that hard core, serious and persistent young offenders are in need of a rescue operation and, although not explicitly stated, it is implied that education is a fundamental part of that rescue operation. He is suggesting that the proposals contained in the Bill will mean that the new establishments will continue to be prisons with a few teachers, to which young people are sent for too short a period, and this will not be sufficient to rescue them.

In making this point he has classified the social actors as, not only young offenders, but a 'hard core of young criminal'. Thus, we have a number of sub classifications, increasing in gravity: the young; young criminals; hard core of young criminal. The trope 'hard core' generates an image of something physical that is difficult to break-down, reflecting the language used elsewhere in the debate. However, it also sub-classifies such young offenders as a more challenging problem and a special case, thereby justifying the proposed treatment of the young people; '*such children* [the hard core] should be educated in secure schools for as long as needed', and providing plausibility to the argument.

In relation to this statement, the actor suggests that the length of sentence is dependent on the individual, not the crime (as long as is needed), and the end-point appears to be a subjective decision for the 'headmaster'. This implication of this is that release should come

not when the punishment has fitted the crime, or when the offender is felt to be of low risk of reoffending, but when they have reached a certain educational threshold, since the decision is being made by an expert in education, rather than criminality. The claim is thus implicitly based on the transformative impact of education, albeit without empirical evidence.

The claim that the minimum age of imprisonment should be lowered to 10 is made on the basis that 10 year olds commit serious crime, and would very much have spoken to those expressing concerns following the Bulger murder. Logically, the suggestion is that they are in as much need of a rescue operation as those who are aged 12. It is difficult to rebut this argument from a logical standpoint, particularly as the age of criminal responsibility has been lowered to 10, however, this proposition might contravene normative values based on the protection of children and their well-being.

The claim that the period of imprisonment should be indefinite until school leaving age is based on the premise that borstals failed to reduce reoffending rates, and he attributes that failure to the short length of time that offenders spent in borstals. He attempts to increase the plausibility of this argument through the use of inter-textual references to previous statements and legislation: 'It is said that there was a high rate of reoffending from borstals'. However, some assertions, such as the period of incarceration being the core of the problem, appear to be without empirical basis, potentially undermining the plausibility of the argument. However, the argument may remain plausible in the absence of any other facts or rebuttals.

Many of the claims about current circumstances are therefore based in assumption rather than evidence or fact. For example, 'he is in need not of punishment but a rescue operation'. This statement is unevidenced and based on assumptions about what young offenders need. He is also assuming authority to make such evaluations, although he provides no basis for this authority. This evaluative assumption also neglects the agency of the social actors (offenders) of which he speaks, a trait that appears several times in the text. Interestingly, the author speaks of the offender in the singular ('he is in need not of punishment...') and, although this is intended to apply to the class of social actors to which he refers, it nevertheless provides a sense of agency. He is also assuming with some authority, that he has the solution to the problem of youth offending, although this solution is somewhat ethereal and presented as a rhetorical trope in the form of a 'rescue operation'. This may be regarded as reflective of the dominant discourse of the time around systems failure and social breakdown (Sim, 2009) and is suggestive of an 'emergency service' response to a crisis. However, this could also be construed as a welfarist approach, whereby society's need for punishment is subordinate to the needs of the individual.

There appears to be no premise for the use of physical punishment, and no claim as to what this would achieve. Presumably, this would achieve discipline, but this would seem to contradict the statement that young people do not need punishment but a rescue operation. One might therefore assume that physical punishment forms part of a rescue operation, and that part of a rescue operation is actually discipline. Although arguably tenuous, one might then further consider that, in the actor's opinion, education as a rescue operation is a form of discipline also.

The overarching goal is that reoffending rates following custody are reduced, and in pursuit of this there are various other goals, namely that STCs will be primarily schools, that children as young as 10 can be sent there and held until their school-leaving age, and that physical punishment can be used. The lower age limit and physical punishment suggest that the 'rescue operation' is not a welfarist approach, but rather a right-wing neo-correctionalist approach, related to reduced proportionality and increasing intensiveness of punishment (Cavadino and Dignan, 2013).

Further examination of the text, in terms of modality, provides further insights into the value premises informing the actor's proposals for action. Contrary to what one might expect from a Conservative MP, analysis of the modality and language reveals a fundamental conflict between Mr Stephen and the Bill proposed by his party. The MPs acceptance of the Bill is qualified: the highly committed epistemic modality of 'thoroughly' welcoming the Bill is qualified by the modality of the second clause: 'but I should prefer'. The second clause does not demonstrate similarly high modality (*I should prefer* rather than 'they must be'). However, throughout the rest of the text his epistemic modality is more highly committed as he makes assertions such as: 'such establishments should principally be schools' (although note the qualification of '*principally*'); 'I feel that the Bill should be amended'; 'That is the wrong approach'; 'such children should be educated in secure schools'; 'it should be possible for them to be detained'. He also goes on to use the term 'secure schools' throughout the speech, implicitly asserting his position through hermeneutics. The unqualified use of the term 'headmaster', when there is no intention for such institutions to be run by educationalists, is further evidence of conflict.

These unrealistic assertions are not only in conflict with the Bill before Parliament, but also outside the philosophy of the his own Party's Criminal Justice Act of 1991, which was developed on the basis of 'just desserts' or 'proportionality', encouraging consistency in punishment rather than indeterminate sentences. In this respect there appears to be a form of polemic at work, with the author apparently challenging his own party's world-view.

Thus, it would seem that Mr Stephen's views are based on internal values, rather than the external duties or obligations to his political party. That being said, the differences he expresses are more right wing, arguably more Conservative than the proposed Bill, but it might be the case that the framing of the proposed legislation has been limited for fear for economic or normative reasons. Thus, the actor may be holding true to his political ideology, but feel that the party has had to modify its position towards a 'less ideal response' in Reeves terms, in order to take account of competing concerns. For example, holding 10 year old children until their school leaving age would be expensive and out of line with the same government's legislation on proportionality. Therefore, the issue here may not be with the values of his own party, but with a perception that the current administration has not held true to its primary values.

In terms of the means-goal premises, the goal of reduced offending is thus achieved through holding young offenders for longer, indeterminate periods, so that they can be educated for as long as required. What is missing from this argument is the mechanism by which indeterminate detention and/ or physical punishment will achieve the goal of reduced reoffending.

The MP implicitly anticipates objections and alternatives to his proposition, which are primarily based on the acceptance of the Bill as it stands. This would include potential objections concerning the prominence of education within the regime, and the length of sentence. His manner of addressing these alternatives is to differentiate the proposed secure schools from previous failed approaches, which he perceives will be replicated in the current Bill. For example, in discussing the failings of borstals, which ceased to exist in 1982, there is a mix of temporalities, past and present, with the former being used to justify the proposed approach of the present: 'we *are* dealing with' 'part of the problem *was* that' (note the qualification of '*part*'). In doing so, assumptions are made about the failings of the past, and offered as solutions to the present; namely, that offenders were held in those prisons for too short a time. Again, this is stated with authority, high epistemic modality, but there is no reference to support this assertion. Here there is an omission regarding the other 'parts' of the problem, which presumably would play no part in his argument and he is either unaware of or chooses to ignore.

There is also an interesting use of temporality in relation to the operation of borstals: 'very soon after going in they were let out to continue their criminal careers'. Aside from the lack of agency afforded to young offenders, the omission of what happened in between going in and coming out is critical. The author has chosen to omit a significant part of the process suggesting that nothing of value happened in the intervening period: it was a vacuum or irrelevant.

Overall, the mood generated is a challenge to previous, existing and proposed systems. The actor is making unrealistic statements and judgements about the future (futuresology)

acknowledged by Fairclough a feature of political discourse. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on rehabilitation through education as opposed to punishment. Education appears to be represented with some authority as the active agent in the process of reform that works on passive social agents. However, the emphasis on long sentences and physical punishment contradict the notion of a 'rescue operation' as a welfarist approach, and suggest that the actor holds values closer to the political right. In relation to the research question, the actor regards education as a reformative intervention that can be enforced through physical punishment: and the manner in which the actor has bound education with physical punishment, suggests that the mechanism at work is discipline.

The second extract is taken from a later debate on the 19<sup>th</sup> October 1994 (Hansard, 1994b), and is from a speech made by a Labour MP, Sir Alan Beith, approximately one hour into the debate concerning Lords amendments to the provision of Secure Training Centres:

*'One could also be forgiven for imagining, from what the Home Secretary said, that the Government has a clear picture of the kind of regime of supervision and training that will do the trick in the institutions. Several times the Home Secretary said that, with their 40 young people each, the institutions will enjoy the right supervision, training and education regimes. That betrays a degree of knowledge about what we are going to do with these people which neither I nor many professionals in the field claim to share. There is no such certainty about what measures will effectively help some young offenders to lead useful lives and to abandon the ways of crime into which they have entered at such an extraordinarily early age.'*

*...The Home Secretary should not glibly use phrases such as 'an appropriate regime of education and training' as though there were a known and recognized answer to the problem.*

*Clearly improving youngsters' education so that they have the opportunity to make a useful life must be part of the exercise. Some young people who became involved in that level of crime appear to be pretty intelligent and shrewd about how to carry out crimes and how to evade them. They have energies which need to be channelled effectively. A number of them are clearly in need of discipline and a framework in which they can begin to understand that they have obligations to others'.*

## **Text 6.2**

The text opens with an ironic retort to the Government's claims about the new institutions, immediately establishing difference between the Labour MP and the Home Secretary in particular. However, this difference differs from the first text, as it is not creating a polemic about the nature of punishment, but about the Conservative Party's understanding of the processes that will bring about reform in young offenders. In this sense, although the epistemic modality is as strong, and the language is confrontational, there is also a sense of commonality in the overarching ethos of the proposition.

In this statement, there are several claims being made. Firstly, there is a claim that the government do not have a complete understanding of what will 'do the trick' in STCS, the meaning of which becomes clearer further into the statement, when the Sir Beith talks of 'what measures will effectively help some young offenders to lead useful lives and abandon the ways of crime'. He claims that education is part of this exercise, but this seems somewhat less important than the need for 'discipline and a framework in which they can

understand that they have an obligation to others'. He also claims that these young people are shrewd and that their energies need to be more positively channelled.

The discourse is largely negative, dismissing the position of the Government as unfounded and ill-informed. In relation to the Home Secretary's claims about providing the 'right' supervision, training and education for young people, the MP states not only that it 'betrays a degree of knowledge', but that no one possesses such knowledge: 'there is no such certainty about what will help young offenders to lead useful lives'. In challenging the Government's position, the author makes use of demeaning tropes: the metaphors 'do the trick' and 'clear picture'. These tropes invoke the sense that the Government see STCs as a form of panacea for the problem of youth offending, but that they have applied an overly simplistic lens to the issue. Chandler (2013) relates such metaphors to anarchism.

The author is challenging the Home Secretary personally in terms of his knowledge of the mechanism of reform, using the expertise of a generic class of 'professionals in the field' to lend authority to his arguments. He uses intertextuality by directly quoting a previous statement made by the Home Secretary to expose the 'glibness' of his words. The suggestion here is that the Home Secretary is making unrealistic statements which are unevicenced, in order to provide simple solutions to complex problems.

In terms of the circumstantial premise, the actor points to several problems as he sees them. Firstly, no one actually knows what will do the trick in rehabilitating young people; secondly, young people are shrewd about how to carry out crime, implying their intelligence exacerbates the problem; and thirdly, the implication is that these energies are not being

effectively channelled. The goal premise is that 'some' (note not all) young offenders will lead useful lives and abandon the ways of crime.

In identifying the challenges faced by the youth justice system, the actor again turns to various ontological and structural metaphors, which are powerful in problematizing young offenders: 'abandon the ways of crime into which they have entered'; energies 'which need to be channelled'; establishing a 'framework' for understanding obligations. These tropes are referring to an assumed process by which young people enter into a life of crime (by some omitted mechanism), have their energies channelled into more positive endeavours through a (vague) framework and discipline, and consequently desist from offending because they recognise their 'obligations to others'. Here the outcome of desistance of crime is omitted but assumed, and the assumption is that desistance arises from the understanding of obligation to others. This pre-echoes the responsabilisation agenda that grew up during the New Labour Government. The modality suggests a high level of commitment to the truth of this mechanism, but there is no attempt to provide evidence that this mechanism is real. Furthermore, the position of the social agents in this discourse, is that of passive receptors of this technology of change, rather than active agents in their own development, other than in the choices they make when returning to the community.

Amidst all these unknowns the author makes a strong claim that education is an effective technology of reform: 'Clearly improving youngsters' education so that they have the opportunity to make a useful life must be part of the exercise'. The epistemic modality ('clearly', 'must') suggests a high degree of commitment to the truth of this concept, but also that this is a known truth that is universally accepted. However, there are various

contingents which temper his commitment. Education must firstly 'lead to the opportunity', the social agent must then realise that opportunity by making the choice to use their education to this end, thus, the young offender must capitalise on the opportunity provided to them to desist from offending. However, the author refers to a 'useful life', rather than a 'crime-free' life, and there thus appears to be an implicit interchangeability between the terms 'useful' and 'lawful'.

The modality becomes weaker at this point, with a number of contingents placed on the discourse surrounding the ability to harness young offenders' attributes positively: 'some young people', 'appear to be'; 'a number of them'. The author appears to be constructing a further sub-class of young offenders; those who demonstrate intelligence through their criminal behaviour. The actor's statement, that some young people are shrewd about how to 'evade crimes', makes no sense, as if they had evaded crime they would not be offenders. He may be referring of course to evasion of the authorities, but this is omitted if it is the case. However, his evaluation of young offenders as high achievers in illegitimate pursuits, appears to be based on some form of knowledge or observation: they appear to be. There is an implicit attribution to some known, but there is no discussion of where this impression has come from. Even without evidence, such assertions would no doubt be plausible within the social and political context at the time.

In terms of values, there seems to be a clear emphasis on the use of discipline, very much a component of traditional Conservative values, as well as a responsabilisation value base, whereby reform is not just about the actions of individuals, but about them internalising the need to respect their obligations to others.

The means-goal premise then appears to be that discipline and a framework for understanding obligations to others, coupled with education and a positive channelling of energies, will help some young people to lead useful lives and abandon the ways of crime. Thus, rather than challenging the premise of the Bill, discipline and 'framework' are being suggested as part of the purpose of the new institutions.

The alternative options in this instance would appear to be purely focusing on education, but, as Sir Beith states, this is only part of the exercise. However, the means of rebuttal here is to state that the Government does not understand, or have the means to understand, what will work in rehabilitating young people. Indeed, no one including Sir Beith have such knowledge. Accordingly, the weight of this argument is questionable, as Sir Beith provides no substantive grounds on which to base his conclusions. He could be accused of making assumptions in the same way as the Conservative government. However, it is also true that the emphasis on discipline is in line with other actors in this debate, and would have been plausible to an anxious public looking for simple solutions to the perceived breakdown in society and discipline amongst young people. This speaks to the legitimacy crisis of the day.

It is noteworthy that this is a Labour MP speaking, and yet the value premise employed can barely be distinguished from that of the Conservative party; but can be regarded as consistent with the two major parties' attempts to 'out-tough' one another on crime during this period (Faulkner, 2001).

This later quote from Sir Ivan Lawrence (Conservative), commences at 5.15pm, approximately 90 minutes into the debate (Hansard, 1994b). Sir Ivan has been dominating

proceedings for approximately 15 minutes by this point, responding to Sir Beith. This short extract from several long monologues, comes towards the end of his contribution.

*'Opposition members do not seem to have grasped the point that what we want to do with young offenders, to re-programme their minds by education and training and one-to-one hands-on help, cannot be done in local authority care. One reason is that local authority institutions are not just for persistent hard-core juvenile offenders: they are for all other kinds of juvenile offenders, who might be much less to blame and have done so much less wrong than the hard-core persistent offenders.*

*To put the two together in the same institution will only make the less bad worse, because the persistent hard-core juvenile offenders are what we say they are – hard-core, hard-bitten; it has gone into their souls. We must somehow get hold of their souls and change them. They will be the strong ones influencing those who have done wrong but no so much wrong.'*

**Text 6.3**

The actor here is claiming that rehabilitation (through reprogramming) of hard-core offenders cannot be undertaken in local authority care, and that attempting to do so would be harmful through the corruption of the less bad. He is also claiming that persistent hard-core offenders require different treatment because they have internalised their offending behaviour (it has gone into their souls), and that they will negatively influence those who are less 'criminal', although it is not clear whether this would be an intentional or an unintentional act.

The circumstantial premise, or problem here, is that local authority care is not capable of 're-programming' hard-core young offenders and that placing such individuals in care is leading to the corruption of less blameworthy individuals. The goal premise, or imagined future, is that hard-core young offenders will be re-programmed and their souls changed, (presumably) to reduce reoffending. At the same time, the less bad will be protected in local authority care.

One of the values in evidence would appear welfarist, in terms of the protection of 'ordinary' young offenders from corruption. However, the intentional or unintentional side-effect of this is to demonise hard-core offenders. However, there seems to be a reasoning process based on hierarchies of blame and thus, unintended negative consequences may be acceptable from a utilitarian perspective. There also appear to be religious values at work, with the references to the young people's souls and the need to get hold of their souls and change them. Another value which is more concerning perhaps, is evidenced by the notion of re-programming. This would seem to relegate hard-core offenders to sub-human, evidenced by the need to work on them as if they are computers.

Clearly there are variations in modality in this piece, but there are other strong features such as the use of tropes, strong evaluations and value-judgements and omissions that are telling in relation to the author's standpoint. The use of tropes such as 'grasped', replacing a mental process with a physical one, and the synecdoche 'hands-on help', replacing the whole with a part, are rather common turns of phrase, but Chandler (2013) suggests that the synecdoche is related to radicalism. However, there are a number of metaphors that are more telling. 'Reprogramming their minds' stands out amongst these phrases, and suggests

education as a mechanism of reform that echoes strongly the approach of the Victorians. The ontological metaphor of 're-programming' seems to compare young offenders to computers, inanimate objects, which can be acted upon to bring about change. This metaphor neglects any element of agency, and positions young offenders as objects to be changed through technology (the technology of education). There is also a strong assumption here that education can produce this change, but no evidence to support it. It is not clear how this mechanism acts on the offender to produce change, but it appears to be an unspoken paradigm.

The second strong trope is one that has been used and discussed above: 'hard-core' (note 'hard-bitten' is added here) offenders. However, in this case the actor goes on to extrapolate why they are different from other young offenders, using the notion of culpability and hierarchies of 'badness'. They require different treatment because they are more blameworthy and more-bad. However, the terminology used is interesting, as initially, instead of talking directly about the 'hard-core' the discourse relates to the other category of young offenders, those who should be in local authority care. In this way the actor creates difference between the topic of his discourse and others: 'juvenile-offenders, who might be much less to blame and have done so much less wrong' and that 'they will be the strong ones influencing those who have done wrong but not so much wrong'. He postulates that these offenders might make 'the less bad worse'. Throughout this section there are strong value-judgements and evaluations about the features of this group, their culpability, and their potential negative influence through a mechanism of relativity. In this way difference is created not between the law-abiding potential victims, who are generally regarded as requiring protection from offenders, but between the sub categories of

offenders themselves. This serves to further demonise this class of offender, and justifies differential treatment. One might regard this as a form of paternalism for the less bad, suggestive of a welfarist approach. However, it is not clear whether the welfare of the hard-core is of equal concern.

The following, and probably most striking ontological metaphor, echoes religious and ethereal discourse evident elsewhere in the debate: 'it has gone into their souls'. This religious reference is picked up more strongly later in the debate by Mr Peter Bottomley, a former Chair of the Church of England Children's Society, who talks of 'helping to reconstruct their lives - with redemption and resurrection, and the re-creation of a life of worthwhile activity'. The use of religion provides a new perspective, and is reminiscent of the discourse of the Bulger murderers who were defined as 'evil' in the British Press. The implication is that this badness has affected not only their minds, but has influenced their whole being. The continuation of the metaphor in terms of 'getting hold of their souls and chang[ing] them' relates back to the notion of re-programming, and although omitted, would seem to refer to the use of education as a technology of change. The use of a physical trope, 'getting hold of', in relation to the ethereal soul, is suggestive of the power 'we' (the political establishment) perceive they have in relation to young offenders, and again denies the acted-upon any agency in this process.

One turn of phrase of particular interest, demonstrating high levels of epistemic modality, is the claim that 'the persistent hard-core juvenile offenders are what we say they are – hard-core, hard-bitten'. The 'we' here, could be taken to mean the Conservative party, although this information is omitted, but the challenging nature of this language also serves to create

difference between the 'we' and others (potentially the Opposition) as there is a suggestion that the others would dispute this fact. However, there is no evident challenge to the existence of a 'hard-core' of offenders, with the term being used by the Opposition also. Therefore, it may be that the 'we' making this assertion is not the party, and that the voices of dissent that are implicitly referred to are from outside Parliament. Thus, whilst it is clear that there is a difference being expressed, it is not clear who with. Through the use of strong ontological metaphors, the position of the young offender as a passive social agent again comes to the fore.

The means-goal premise therefore seems to be that through reprogramming minds through education and training and hands-on help in specialist institutions, we can change the souls of the hard-core of young offenders (presumably) resulting in reduced reoffending, and protect the less blameworthy. Through the protection of the less-bad, their chances of rehabilitation are presumably also improved.

The alternative that the actor seems to be rebutting here is that such young people continue to be placed in local authority care, and he rebuts this on the basis that local authority care does not have the ability to change hard-core offenders, and that the hard core would corrupt the less blameworthy.

## *The Intervening Years*

The Conservative administration was to remain in power for another three years before the first New Labour administration. There has been much consideration of the rhetoric of New Labour in terms of social and economic policy, but in terms of law and order it is suggested that there was little real difference from the Tories. Law and order had been a major issue in the 1997 election, and the Conservatives and Opposition seemed bent on outdoing one another on 'toughness', a state of affairs Cavadino et al (2013) refer to as an 'arms race'. Indeed, New Labour barely opposed Tory proposals in relation to law and order during the final years of the latter's administration. However, discourse was marked by what Sim (2009) refers to as deliberately 'precise, value-laden [with] binary categories and dualisms'. This is perhaps best exemplified by the famous mantra, 'Tough on crime. Tough on the causes of crime', suggesting that one could be both punitive and welfarist. Allied to this were the tabloidisation of discourse, and the rise of the sound-bite, in which threats to society could be boiled down to subcategories of harm such as drugs, immigration and anti-social behaviour.

The crusade against prolific offenders continued with Tony Blair suggesting that 5,000 offenders committed 90% of all crime. The focus on family, discipline and respect continued, framed within a modernisation agenda which required the reform of institutions 'to equip them to respond to the economic and political demands of a free market [and] globalised economy' (Sim, 2009:78). Indeterminate sentences for 'dangerous offenders' also epitomised this approach. Even the moves to rebalance the system in favour of the victim can be seen to have led to more punitive responses to crime, since this was interpreted to

mean longer and harsher sentences through the juxtapositions of victims and offenders (Tonry, 2004). As a result the prison population rose by 25,000 in the first decade of the New Labour administration, and there was a 100% increase in the imprisonment of 15-17 year olds.

In terms of prison regime, the administration was marked by an emphasis on psychological interventions designed to change behaviour through improvements in rational thinking and cognitive processes. Far from focusing on social circumstances, this suggested that the problem of criminality lay with the individual's psychology (Sim, 2009). There was also a focus on education, but this was largely focused on basic skills to make prisoners more employable (see above).

A key element of the New Labour approach was partnership working (Fairclough, 2000) including in the areas of crime and punishment. Multi-agency youth offending teams were introduced with representatives from a variety of statutory organisations, such as health and education represented.

### *Secure Colleges 2014*

In considering the context of the second set of texts, in relation to the proposed construction of a Secure College announced by the Coalition Government in January 2014, it is important to note differences in the socio-economic and political context in which these texts are located. As opposed to two decades before, crime has been falling year-on-year since 1995, the prison population is decreasing, and the original six privately run Secure

Training Centres have now reduced to four due to decreases in the use of youth custody. The number of young offenders entering the youth justice system virtually halved between 2000-01 and 2011-12 (Cavadino et al, 2013) and the average custodial population almost halved between 2008 and 2012. Multi-agency partnerships, promoted under New Labour, are regarded as having contributed to this outcome, but are being dismantled under the Coalition. However, there are still a significant number of young offenders held in Secure Children's Homes (around 300), which this proposal aims to relocate to Secure Colleges in some instances.

In some respects, there are indicators that the Coalition's approach is less punitive than that of New Labour, exemplified by the reform of indeterminate sentences and the coining of the term 'Rehabilitation Revolution' when Kenneth Clarke was Home Secretary. Cavadino et al (2013: 313) regard the Liberal Democrats as the least, and the Conservatives the most punitive of the three main political parties, however, the Coalition and New Labour would appear to have little to differentiate them in the early years of the administration.

In 2012, Kenneth Clarke was replaced by a hard right-wing politician, Chris Grayling as Minister of Justice, who declared that he had no intention of reducing the prison population. Cavadino et al attribute this to the media backlash that followed any proposals to be soft on offenders, and this can be read in the discourse below. The primacy of the economy in political debate has led to an increasing use of private providers in punishment and rehabilitation, including youth justice, seen by Cavadino et al as 'dismantling the joined up approach created by New Labour' (2013:281). Neo-correctionalist approaches have also

been growing marked by offending prevention, responsabilisation, reparation, early effective and progressive intervention and efficiency (Cavadino et al, 2013).

Public concern about crime was not as marked in 2014 as it was in 1994, and law and order was not as pronounced in the political manifestos of 2010 as previously. There are still concerns about youth, but the economy has been more prominent in political discourse under the Coalition, than crime and punishment.

In January 2014 the establishment of a Secure College in Leicestershire was announced, and in parallel to this, a similar development was already underway in Northern Ireland in the form of 'Hydebank Wood Secure College'. The vision expressed by the Northern Ireland Alliance Party is that there will be a 'free-flow movement of prisoners, revised scheduling arrangements and a review of security classification, all of which are aimed at supporting the creation of a college-based ethos' (Ford, 2014). The need for innovative learning and skills provision to support rehabilitation based on individual prisoner needs, was also expressed.

However, there was much opposition to the planned development, expressed by both Labour and Liberal Democrat MPs, campaign groups and education bodies (Prison Reform Trust, 2014b, TES, 2014), and in November 2014 the plans were defeated by the House of Lords who insisted on an amendment that girls and children under 15 should not be housed in such establishments. In December 2014 it was announced that this amendment would be made, although the exclusion of these groups was to be reviewed in the future

(prison.org.uk 2014). Finally in July 2015, it was announced that the secure college plans would be abandoned altogether.

The first text in relation to the 2014 debate around secure colleges is the Ministerial Foreword from the response to the consultation process on the introduction of the new institutions (Ministry of Justice, 2014). Although still political discourse, with similar aims to Parliamentary debate, this is part of a different genre of discourse. Here the authorship is less certain, and this text may have been revised many times in order to project the desired political message. This text will be used by the media in reporting on this new development, as well as being aimed at the various NGOs, public bodies and parliamentarians who fed into the consultation. It is also attributed to both sides of the Coalition Government, signed on behalf of Conservative Minister Chris Grayling, Minister of Justice and Lord Chancellor, and Nick Clegg the Deputy Prime Minister, during a period when the cohesion of the Coalition was under great scrutiny.

*'It is right that young people who commit crime should face appropriate punishment, including custody where they have committed serious or persistent offences and there is a need to protect the public. However, at present 71% of young offenders released from custody reoffend within 12 months. If the public is to continue to be protected after a young person is released, then custody must do more to tackle the causes of offending and set young offenders on the path to leading productive, law-abiding lives.*

*This Government believes that providing high quality education to young offenders in custody is central to tackling this problem. Latest figures suggest 86% of young men in Young Offender Institutions (YOIs) have been excluded from school at some point, and over*

*half of 15–17 year olds in YOIs have the literacy and numeracy level expected of a 7–11 year old. Research also indicates that 18% of sentenced young people in custody have a statement of special educational needs.*

*We have a responsibility to give young people the best start in life, including access to high quality education that gives them the opportunity to work hard and fulfil their potential. This does not change if a young person breaks the law. We must give them help and support to get back on the right track, equipping them with the skills, training and self-discipline they need to stop offending and contribute positively to society in adult life.*

*Today we are setting out the radical steps that this Government is taking to transform youth custody and to place education at the heart of detention. We will legislate to create Secure Colleges, a new generation of secure educational establishments where learning, vocational training and life skills will be the central pillar of a regime focused on educating and rehabilitating young offenders. We are also announcing plans to launch the first purpose-built Secure College in the East Midlands in 2017, and will invite educationalists and others to compete to run this pathfinder establishment.*

*If successful, this pathfinder will represent the first step towards our vision of a network of Secure Colleges across England and Wales which would replace existing expensive and inconsistent provision, raise educational attainment, reduce cost and act as a catalyst to reduce reoffending.'*

#### **Text 6.4**

The first three paragraphs of this political statement set out the rationale for the proposed changes, with secure colleges not being mentioned until well into paragraph four. Thus, there is a clear sense in which the authors are first providing the problem to be addressed

before delivering the solution. Being a public statement, for public consumption, there is a substantial reliance on statistics to present the knowns, thereby providing a sense of authority, with metaphors extensively used to justify the unknowns. There are various claims being made here, namely that it is right to punish young offenders, including through custody; that custody needs to tackle the causes of offending; that radical reform is required; and that education should be at the heart of detention.

The circumstantial premises are that reoffending rates are high, that offenders tend to have poor educational backgrounds, including through exclusion, leading to low literacy and numeracy levels, and that many young offenders have special educational needs. The proportion of the Foreword dedicated to laying out the circumstantial premises, suggests that there is felt to be a strong need for persuasion, perhaps due to the cost implications of such a development during a period of financial austerity. Accordingly, the first three paragraphs are strongly focused on persuading the audience that there is a problem that needs to be addressed, and that the problem (of reoffending) is strongly related to educational attainment. There is therefore an implicit position being stated that it is low educational attainment that is responsible for young people offending. The use of statistical evidence is common in contemporary political discourse, and here provides the reader with a sense that there are significant issues which are not currently being adequately addressed. It is also clear from the outset that the Coalition want to position themselves as tough on crime, sensing the danger that an emphasis on education will be construed as a 'soft' approach. Thus, the authors demonstrate a high epistemic modality of the 'rightness' of punishment for serious and persistent 'offences'. The suggestion here is that the offences rather than the individuals are being punished, removing the human actor and focussing on

the action. There is also an implicit intertextuality, as this is a direct reference to the terms of the Criminal Justice Act 1991, amended in 2003, whereby the concepts of proportionality in punishment continue to be dominant.

The authors continue to set out the problem by asserting that 'custody must do more' in terms of public protection. There is an interesting metonymy, whereby 'custody' is substituted for the human actors and processes that bring about this change. However, the succinct use of 'custody' in this context may be more meaningful for the intended reader. This sentence also creates a polemic through the evaluation of the existing system as not doing enough, and the reference to doing more than just 'tackle the causes of offending', appears to be a reference to New Labour's mantra as 'tough on the causes of crime'. In this way, difference is created between New Labour and the Coalition. However, the existing system of STCs was a Conservative policy, and perhaps the authors are also creating difference between themselves and the old Conservative administration.

Whilst the authors make significant use of statistics and research through intertextual references to other 'research', the attributions are vague, such as 'latest figures suggest' and 'research indicates'. Thus, whilst this provides a sense of authority, the reader cannot actually assess the validity of this data should they wish to do so. Furthermore, the causal relationship between education and offending is assumed due to the educational backgrounds of offender but, with no comparison between young offenders in custody and the rest of the population, the assumption is flawed. Nevertheless, the author is implicitly creating difference between young people in custody in terms of lower educational achievement and greater educational needs, thereby attributing offending and reoffending

to educational shortfalls. The authors thus create a context in which they can promote better education as the solution, with no empirical evidence (despite its existence) that we should expect such outcomes. Instead, they tell us that it is their 'belief', which would be more questionable for the reader were the previous statistics not provided. The plausibility of the argument may be sound in the absence of any competing claims.

The goal or imagined future is that people leaving custody do not reoffend, and go on to lead productive, law-abiding lives in which they work hard to fulfil their potential and contribute to society. The use of the orientational metaphor of setting offenders on the 'right path' provides the reader with meaning, but the path is of a productive as well as law-abiding life. This plays to the contemporary rhetoric around economic improvement, transforming what is currently a cost to society into a potential benefit. The concept of productivity is also reminiscent of Foucauldian perspectives on the purposes of state institutions, with the achievement of docility (law-abiding) and productivity seen as positive outcomes. Such sentiments appear again later in the text: the 'opportunity to work hard and fulfil their economic potential' and 'contribute positively to society in adult life'.

The value premises can be broken down into several elements, namely: public protection through the reduction of risk; the rightness of punishing crime; welfarist notions in terms of responsibility to young people; and managerialism in terms of reducing costs and reducing inconsistency in the system.

Responsibilities towards young offenders come through strongly in this text. It is suggested that we' (the 'we' here being suggestive of everyone rather than just politicians), have a

responsibility to young people, which is not contingent on their behaviour, to provide them with the 'best start in life'. Whilst the 'we' appears to be inclusive, this creates a sense that the state is hereby assuming a moral responsibility, which has been neglected by other parties. This may be a reference to the political status of the family, which has been the subject of much modern discourse. However, it would also implicitly include the wider state education system. The use of the moral here acts as a fail-safe, since it is impossible to argue that we do not owe young people the best start in life, and is more difficult to challenge than empirical findings. Whilst the basis of the argument is fundamentally different, moral and emotive, in contrast to the preceding paragraphs, the basis of the argument is the same: the purpose of education in prisons is about being given 'the opportunity to work hard and fulfil their potential'. Fundamentally it is about becoming economically productive.

It is also interesting to note that the offender is here referred to as a 'young person' with no reference to their criminality, setting it out from the earlier debates above, and normalising young offenders rather than differentiating them. This could serve to sell the ideas that will come later by ameliorating the 'undeservingness' of persistent and serious offenders that was dominant in the 'hard core' rhetoric of 1994, and relates to the moral responsibilities that the authors talk of later. However, there is also a sense of paradox here, as these young people are also the people from whom we require protection.

The welfarist overtones of providing 'help and support' are also qualified by a further orientational metaphor, this time the 'right track', so that help is provided with a view to facilitating a 'positive contribution' (economic) in adult life. In order to achieve this they

must be equipped with skills, training and self-discipline to stop offending. As with STCs there is an unevidenced evaluation that these elements are not present in the young person, and an unevidenced assumption that their introduction into their lives will lead to the desired outputs, thereby neglecting the agency of the individual.

There are also allusions to a wider policy, as this is referred to as a 'first step', but one that the Government is committed to through the metaphorical use of 'vision'. Furthermore, this vision is differentiated from past and existing provision, which is evaluated as 'expensive and inconsistent', to something which will reduce costs, (later the 'burden on the taxpayer') and raise 'educational attainment'. In this way, it is proposed that it will 'act as a catalyst to reduce reoffending'. The structural metaphor of catalyst, also widely used in discourse, suggests a mechanism that speeds up a processes, with secure colleges being this mechanism that acts upon the individual, again minimising the agency of the young offenders themselves.

The means-goal premise is that radical reform which places 'education at the heart of detention', where 'learning, vocational training and life skills' are central, will reduce offending following release and protect the public. The mechanism being that such education and training will provide young people with the 'opportunity' to work hard and fulfil their potential. The new colleges will also lead to reduced costs and more consistency in provision, thereby achieving managerialist goals.

Whilst the goal has been a constant, it is suggested that the proposed means are 'radical' and transformative. Later in the text the phrase 'transformation on this scale' is used,

suggesting this is new thinking, enforcing the idea of difference with the past: a new paradigm. Secure colleges are presented as a 'new generation' institution, again breaking from the past and suggesting modern thinking and a strong difference with that which exists.

The radical element, it is suggested, is 'placing education at the heart of detention'. This trope, 'at the heart of', is a dominant trope in criminal justice and other political discourse, and is an effective signifier to the reader of the importance and centrality of the concept in thinking and action. A further metaphor whereby education is the 'central pillar', similarly signifies to the reader that education is the foundation on which these institutions will be based, but this time using a trope from the man-made world. The suggestion is that education is the factor that will hold everything else up. Furthermore, the ontological modality of 'we will legislate' demonstrates high commitment to this approach, based on the epistemology in paragraph two.

The alternatives would be not to introduce radical reform and continue with the present system. The argument is rebutted by describing the current system as 'expensive and inconsistent'. The current proposals on the other hand, would both 'raise educational attainment, reduce cost and act as a catalyst to stop reoffending'. It will also fulfil a moral obligation in giving young people the best start in life.

However, there is an acknowledgement that the approach may not be effective and hence the final paragraph is the least committed in terms of modality, commencing with the phrase 'if successful'. In what feels like a departure from the high modality and solid

conviction of the preceding paragraphs, there is a sense here that they may not be successful, enforcing that this is a political belief rather than a fact. The term 'pathfinder' which is used extensively in relation to government initiatives, is suggestive that this is an experiment or pilot.

Overall, the purpose of this statement appears to be to create a problem in terms of the current youth offending system through its evaluation as expensive, inconsistent and, through the use of reoffending statistics, ineffective. The authors then present education as a radical solution, again with the help of statistics, but also by emotively appealing to our responsibility towards young people. However, the ultimate aim of this reform is clearly about transforming young offenders into law-abiding and economically productive members of society, albeit for their own good. There is no mention of individual differences or human agency in this process, other than the implicit stage in this mechanism of reform whereby these young people respond positively to the opportunities provided and make a choice not to reoffend.

Taken from the afternoon session on the 18<sup>th</sup> March 2014 (House of Commons Public Bill Committee, 2014) where secure colleges were debated, the following quote from Jeremy Wright responds to a question from Labour MP Mr Andy Slaughter on the size of the project.

*The hon. Gentleman is right: we have made it clear, in our response to the “Transforming Youth Custody” consultation, that if the pathfinder proves successful, our vision is to roll out a network of secure colleges across England and Wales. We envisage that the vast majority of young people aged 12-17 in custody in future will be detained in secure colleges and benefit from the enhanced educational and rehabilitative services provided. I make no apology for saying, as I have on a number of occasions, that I think that it is crucial that we do better than we have in the education of young people in custody. They are school-age children and we have an obligation to educate them. There are formidable challenges in doing so, as the hon. Gentleman rightly says, but that does not mean that we should duck that responsibility. Secure colleges are a way for us to seek to address it..’*

*I agree entirely with the hon. Lady that design will be crucial. The way in which we design such institutions will be vital in giving the right impression to those who cross the threshold as to what type of activity goes on there. The Secretary of State’s view of the matter is that we should move from the point where we are essentially adding education to detention facilities, to a point where we enforce detention in an education facility. There is a real difference of approach, and we hope the design of the buildings and the general environment will reflect that. I hope that, when she starts to see the way that secure colleges might look, she will see that too.’*

### **Text 6.5**

The actor creates a sense of commonality with his opening remark that the ‘Hon. Gentleman is right’ later reiterated through ‘as the Hon. Gentlemen rightly says’. However, this commonality is limited by the author to the previous speaker’s interpretation of events, as opposed to real agreement. This is later reinforced through the use of the phrase ‘I make

no apology for saying' which seeks to acknowledge the views of dissenters, whilst simultaneously dismissing them. It also provides a sense that these are the internalised values of the speaker. This sense of difference emerges again when, in his reference to a previous speaker's comments, he suggests that the speaker is not in possession of all relevant information when saying 'I hope that when she sees [secure colleges] she will see that too'.

Mr Wright makes two significant claims in this speech. Firstly, that detention should be enforced in an education facility, and secondly, that the design of the buildings is crucial to transmit the function of the establishments. The circumstantial premise, or problem is that we are not doing as well as we could in the 'education of young people in custody'. Currently, we are 'essentially adding education to detention facilities' and a different approach is required. It is also implicit that current prison design contributes to this, since the new approach will be reflected in the 'design of buildings and the general environment'.

The goal-premises, or imagined future, is the vast majority of 12-17 sentenced to custody will be held in institutions primarily designed to deliver educational and rehabilitative interventions. The implication that this will result in reduced reoffending might be inferred, from the notion of the pathfinder being 'successful' and the reference to 'rehabilitative services'. What success might look like is not explicitly stated, but it would be reasonable to imply that such success is reduced recidivism. However, the goal is not without qualification. There are differing levels of modality in the author's arguments. Because of the uncertainty of the success of the pathfinder, the modality is often mediated by the possible outcomes of the pilot at Glen Parva: 'our vision is to roll out' (rather than 'we will roll out'); 'our vision is

that'; 'we envisage that'. However, in discussing the philosophy behind secure colleges, the modality of the author is high: 'we must do better'; 'we have an obligation' and so forth.

The values premise is very much based in the notion that it is a responsibility of government (and society) to 'do better than we have in the education of young people'. The duty is related to the fact that they are 'school-age children', and the suggestion is that they should receive the same access to education as any child. Therefore, there is an implied value of equality of opportunity. However, although education dominates this text, it is not just education for opportunity, but education combined with 'rehabilitative services'. I would however suggest that there are elements of this text that are significantly different from those considered above due to the rationale provided. As opposed to unrealistic moral or philosophical reasoning, or realistic ideals of reducing reoffending and reforming the individual in some way, here the author draws on a statutory obligation: 'they are school-age children and we have an obligation to educate them'. The need for equality of provision with other children in society moves away from concepts of blameworthiness, which required special treatment and generated inequalities in the 1990s. Thus, education in prison is a statutory rights-based concept, rather than an ethereal unquestionable truth. This appears to shift the terms of the debate significantly through framing young prisoners as a group defined by their educational age rather than their actions. The trope of 'ducking' this responsibility highlights the moral and statutory impetus to provide education in order to avoid the creation of inequalities amongst young people: a moral-legal obligation.

The author goes on to consider the design of the building with high levels of epistemic modality, suggesting that design is 'crucial' and 'vital'. In terms of the function, the actor

used an orientational metaphor to suggest a movement from the old system, where education was added to detention 'facilities', to the enforcement of detention within education facilities. The two functions are thus the same, but the suggestion of a paradigm shift to the primacy of education over detention is evident. The use of the term 'facilities', as opposed to 'institution' for example, suggests a more functional rather than symbolic purpose, again reiterating the salience of function over form. Again he talks of how the design and environment must reflect that. 'Environment' is a somewhat vague term, and suggests more than just the physical, but also the ambience that is created, perhaps suggesting place and space making. In diminishing the symbolism of prisons and promoting the function, both through design and practice, there is a sense of differentiation from past approaches. However, the enforcement of detention means that power will still be a critical element of these new institutions.

The means-goal premises is therefore that our responsibilities to all school-age people, and (less explicitly) rehabilitation, will be achieved by housing most young offenders sentenced to custody in institutions whose primary purpose is education and rehabilitation. There is also reference to a mechanism whereby the design of such institutions will have a positive effect (although this is vague) through the message it sends out to those who enter them 'as to what type of activity goes on there'. The importance of the design however, is not framed in terms of facilitating education and reform, but in terms of the signals it emits: 'giving the right impression to those who cross the threshold as to what type of activity goes on there'. This strongly mirrors the function of prison design in the mid-nineteenth century. However, in that instance design was intended to create a mystique and fear about what went on, in order to control the communities in which they were located (Pratt, 1994). Here, design is

required to directly reflect function. Nevertheless, the symbolic importance of design is a recurring theme in prison design.

The alternative premise is to continue with the present system, with detention as the primary purpose, and education secondary, within institutions that are not designed for the purpose of education and rehabilitation. The implied rebuttal here is that the current system is not providing sufficient or a good enough ('we need to do better') education for young people, and thus we are not fulfilling our duties to school-age children. During the statement there is also a mixture of temporalities, with references to the past, the bad old days, the present in terms of the current proposals, and the future in terms of how we must respond in the future. In this sense the author generates a sense of progression in the approach to the incarceration of young offenders.

Throughout this piece the author omits a lot of information, leading the audience to make assumptions. For example, there is no explanation of how success will be measured in the new prisons, but one assumes this will be in reoffending rates. However, it might also be educational achievement, but this is vague. There is also no explanation of how design will reflect the function of the institution, although one is led to assume it would look more like a mainstream school or college. This lack of detail might be based on an assumed shared collective understanding of success and educational environment, making interpretation subjective to the individual. This could undermine the persuasiveness of the argument unless, once again, it takes its plausibility from the absence of any other compelling arguments.

As with the majority of the discourse examined, the position of the individual actor, whether prisoner or learner, is still overlooked, and the sense of lack of human agency remains. For example, there is no explicit (or arguably implicit) consideration of the approach to education in these establishments, no sense that it is intended to be empowering or emancipatory, and no sense of personal development based on individual needs.

## *Summary*

There is evidence to suggest that there has been a general paradigm shift between the two periods examined here, from a position of education being used as a technology of reform of the undeserving and blameworthy, to a position where educational improvement, costs, efficiency and consistency are the primary aims, as well as a moral and statutory obligation towards young people. The goal of rehabilitation has largely stayed the same, but the construction of the offender has shifted in terms of their moral status. In respect to this, the mechanism of reform that education performs, is neither overtly based in discipline as in 1994, nor solely about outcomes: it is also a statutory obligation. Thus, the values expressed are no longer in relation to the culpability of hard core offenders, but concern their status as school age children. This can be seen in the framing of the costs of youth custody. In 1994 the Labour politician, Robert Maclennan (Hansard, 1994a) compared the costs to that of 'living at the Savoy'; in 2014 it was compared to sending a child to private school (House of Commons Public Bill Committee, 2014).

However, the framework of debate (Reeves, 1983) is largely constant in the sense that education will achieve rehabilitation, something that transcends time and political ideology. Furthermore, there is no sense of change in terms of the position of these young people. Whilst culpability may have disappeared from the terms of the debate and been replaced with a moral responsibility towards these young people, there is still an overriding sense that they represent a collective problem that must be acted upon by the state in order to render them lawful and useful. In this way, these young people are not afforded agency and the technology of education is restricted to the terms of reductions on reoffending or else

moral and statutory obligations. The nature of education is subordinate to the power of education as a technology of reform.

This shift in the moral status of young offenders can also be seen in discourse that accompanied the abandonment of secure colleges in 2015. The Lords debate that followed the announcement that they would not go ahead (Hansard, 2015) reveals something of the political construction of prison education. In response to a question from the Labour Shadow Spokesperson for Justice, Lord Beecham, regarding plans to support young people in the criminal justice system following the decision, the Minister of State cites the high reoffending rates amongst young offenders and the need for the justice system to prevent reoffending, in order to 'set them on a path to a better future'. Pointing to the poor education background of many young offenders, the Minister implies that imprisonment can remedy the educational shortfall and 'unfortunate starts' that the 'majority' of young offenders have experienced. Indeed, the cross-bench member, Lord Ramsbotham, refers to young offenders as 'damaged'. Thus, the purpose of prison education in the context of the secure college is reminiscent of the earlier discourse whereby rehabilitation is achieved through the righting of social wrongs that preceded incarceration. The outcome of this is better prospects for the young person's future life course.

Baroness Walmsley, health spokesperson for the Liberal Democrats, summarises the issue as follows:

*'My Lords, the purpose of incarceration is rehabilitation. In view of the growing clarity of the importance of education in that function, when did the Government last review sentencing policy, and are there available sentences that enable children to be held in suitable*

*accommodation long enough to achieve some educational progress?’ (HL Deb, 14 July 2015, c462).*

To which Lord Faulks responds:

*‘The noble Lord identifies one of the main philosophies behind the secure college which was to enable a sufficient block of education to be provided to young people when they were in youth custody in one form or another.’ (HL Deb, 14 July 2015, c463).*

This philosophy very much reflects the treatment model of the 1970s whereby rehabilitation came to mean cure, and thus the sentence length was one that reflected the time needed to meet these ends, rather than the seriousness of the offence. However, rather than psycho-social interventions, the treatment here is education. This seems at odds with the modern context of proportional punishment and just deserts, and a potential paradigm shift. It could be suggested that there is an attempt to use the technology of education for rehabilitation as a justification for longer prison sentences for young people, a position that would concern many penal reformers. It would seem, as stated elsewhere, that education has become the primary means of rehabilitation within the custodial setting, but that reform is still the ultimate goal. Education is now the predominate technology, supplanting other approaches such as cognitive skills, but its primary function in prisons is to reform the offender.

## CHAPTER 7

### DESIGN

In this chapter I aim to examine the major influences on the development of prison design. The design of buildings not only ‘determines...the quality of human interaction within them’ (Fiddler, 2010:3) but is also determined by the historical, social and political context in which they are designed and built (Markus, 1993, Fairweather and McConville, 2000). In order to make sense of this, it is important to understand the purpose of imprisonment which, like the criminal law which produces the prisoner, is by no means consistent across space and time (DeLacey, 2006). Hence, this chapter aims to examine the historical development of prison design in relation to the dominant contemporaneous philosophies, and to develop some form of understanding as to how this has impacted on learning spaces within them. Such development is very complex and far from linear, with approaches falling in and out of favour and varying in prominence.

#### *Design and discourse: an account of prison development*

As discussed in Chapter 3, the emergence of the prison can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, as Markus (1993) notes, it is difficult to distinguish carceral institutions before the mid-eighteenth century, but those that did exist held not just ‘felons’ awaiting trial or execution, but also debtors and petty criminals. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century however, that prisons came to be regarded as a primary means of punishment, replacing public torture, execution and transportation.

For early purpose-built prisons, the primary concerns were the prevention of contagion, both in terms of disease, namely gaol fever, and what was termed 'moral contagion'. Gaol fever led to designs on stilts and in elevated positions to allow for better ventilation and better access to water for washing and drinking (Markus, 1993). The prevention of moral contagion was facilitated through the separation and classification of prisoners, by gender, crime and economic class. John Howard's ideal gaol, designed in the 1770s, utilised separation and silence to encourage reflection and repentance. However, the cellular design that resulted was also a reflection of changes in the design of dwellings and religious buildings, and was as much concerned with rationalisation and order through design, as it was with reform (Fiddler, 2010:4).

However, the need to create more prisons following the end of transportation, and their changing function, meant that by the end of the eighteenth century the prison estate was comprised of a mixture of purpose built buildings based on a variety of designs, and small haphazardly planned prisons, often combined with other functions. They often resembled ordinary houses and were chaotic environments, easily permeated by goods and persons from the outside (Markus, 1993). Furthermore, a change in purpose for the prison from housing persons awaiting punishment, usually execution, to places used to 'isolate people on account of their 'otherness' and to retrain or discipline them so that they could be returned to society as 'normal' human beings' (Pratt, 2002:36) required a rethinking of the prison design. Surveillance and economic production were at the heart of the most famous prison design, Bentham's Panopticon.

Despite the design never being realised in practice, many regard the Panopticon as an exemplification of the social relations that informed attitudes towards offenders during this period. Bentham was actually one of a host of prison designers in this era, such as William Blackburn who won a prize for penitentiary design. However, Bentham's work seems to have received the greatest attention, with sociological theorists such as Foucault using the Panopticon to exemplify the relationship between space and control or power, holding it up as a metaphor for modern disciplinary societies and their institutions.

Bentham's 'Panopticon' is predominately famed for its concerns with issues of construction and surveillance. Fundamentally, the prison is designed to allow optimum surveillance of the prisoner with minimum resources. But importantly, prisoners are not only watched but are aware that they are being watched, because they look towards the central observation 'alter'. This, according to Markus, is what separates the Panopticon from other prison designs around this time. The knowledge of surveillance is designed to promote self-regulation and good behaviour amongst prisoners, enabling them to become 'agents of their own reformation' (Markus, 1993: 95).

It was intended that, through the design, prisoners should conduct most of their business from their cells which separate them from other prisoners, thereby reducing the chances of disorder and conspiracy (although research shows that similar designs actually promoted sub-cultures (McGowan, 2006)). Reformation was to be achieved through the use of hard labour, and accordingly, as in the workhouse, prisoners are classified according to their productive capacity. However, such labour was designed to save the soul (as well as money for the owner) rather than provide opportunities on release. Indeed Bentham did not

foresee any benefits for prisoners once liberated because of the 'stigma cast on him by the place of his abode'. However, it would serve to alter his mind and inculcate him into industrial society, much as the school was intended to.

In relation to schools, Bentham extols the virtues of the Panopticon model in terms of the banishment of 'all play, all chattering – in short all distraction of every kind...by the central and covered position of the master, seconded by partitions or screens between the scholars'. Combined with systems to measure talent, such processes would deliver a form of equality in knowledge. Students would be motivated to apply themselves fully during the hours of study through the 'galling struggles between the passion for play and the fear of punishment'. In both schools and prisons then, the Panopticon could be used to instil self-regulation into individuals through the knowledge of surveillance and the threat of punishment (Bowring, 1843:63).

Bentham's writings tell us much about thinking in relation to both prisons and schools from the period, and illuminate the important relationship between education and punishment that became integrated into institutional spaces. The basic prison design that evolved during this period still endures today, a constant across 'buildings of power' (Markus 1993) such as prisons and schools, designed to produce hierarchical relations based on strong ideologies of religion, order, surveillance, discipline, hierarchy and competition. They reflected in microcosm wider socio-economic relations.

However, the Panopticon was a theoretical model for a penitentiary that was barely realised in Britain other than at Millbank Prison in London completed in 1821, a sop to Bentham that

was only Panoptical in terms of surveillance, but essentially inefficient and unproductive. Pentonville, built in 1842 was also believed to be based on Bentham's design, but could not allow for complete surveillance. However, many aspects of its design were incorporated into the design of prisons, including separation and the use of labour. Prison accommodation became more cellularised and enclosed and the majority of the Victorian prisoner's day was spent undertaking hard labour in silence (such as through the treadmill) designed to 'grind men good' and, where the task made it possible, such labour was conducted in the prisoner's cell (DeLacey, 2006). As explored in Chapter 3, this manifestation of the separate system also precluded communication between prisoners in order to prevent moral contagion. Chapels were provided in prisons where religious instruction was designed to contribute to reformation, and classes were also supervised in reading, writing and arithmetic. However, such 'instruction' was very limited (see Chapter 3).

As well as the function of the interior at this time, a primary concern with the early prison design was the message it conveyed to society. Prisons were designed to be representative of state power, being strategically located across the colonies in areas where they would be highly visible to the population. They resembled castles and religious houses (Hancock and Jewkes, 2011) with bold and imposing architectures, largely neo-classical and gothic, but the interior was hidden from public view: 'The exteriority of the prison itself, sometimes embellished with gargoyles or other forms of penal representation, meant that the public would now be able to 'read off' from it appropriate messages about its interior, as the new prison designs effectively screened from public scrutiny what was taking place behind their

walls' (Pratt, 2002:37). In this way, the 'perils of crime and the uncompromising nature of the state's retribution' were visible to the public (Hancock and Jewkes, 2011:616).

Pratt notes that these splendid buildings had another purpose: to remove the association between punishment and squalor and deprivation, which had been condemned by penal reformers such as Howard in the late eighteenth century, towards an 'ostentatious, dramatic, communicative penalty' (Pratt, 2002: 40). Prison structures indicated that punishment now belonged to the state, and as such was ordered and contained and importantly, separate from the public. Markus also considers their palatial form, in many ways a recreation of 'the iconography and formal devices' of the dwellings of the elites, with the prisoner, it is argued, located as the palace guest. The strict rules were the same as the etiquette of the royal court, in which visitors were equally powerless under the absolute power of the hosts (Markus, 1993: 96). Of course, the architecture belied a monotonous and dreary regime within the prison walls, and thus in some ways misled the public.

However, the growing use of imprisonment also led the public to fear 'convicts' who were no longer removed permanently from society but held within society, in prisons, from which they would eventually be released. Accordingly, the splendid architecture of prisons such as Holloway could not be maintained because it came to be perceived as honouring crime and privileging criminals above those law-abiding citizens living in relative poverty in the surrounding areas. Thus, from the mid to late nineteenth century there was a move towards more simple, functional buildings, and thus prison architecture and penal function become more explicitly linked, moving away from concerns about the spread of disease to reflect contemporary penal thinking (Jewkes and Johnston, 2007). Pentonville, London's New

Model prison, built in 1842 is described as displaying 'functional austerity' (Pratt, 2002): maintaining its imposing presence, but without the architectural splendour of palace prisons. In this way, prisons more accurately conveyed the prison regime of loss and deprivation, and were therefore more likely to instil fear in onlookers and deter crime. It is for this reason that many philosophers see this period, and this prison, as marking the tightening up of social controls (see DeLacey, 2006). Such prisons were heralded as a mark of civilisation also, being designed with humanity and reformation in mind as much as deterrence. However, as Hancock and Jewkes (2011) note, the architecture of such buildings led to the psychological 'compression' of inmates and their institutionalisation.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, prisons became more about deterrence than reform, with punishment being applied in equal measure, rather than based on the previous career or character of the prisoner. The system thus became highly regulated and impersonal, with the aim to contain and control the prisoner (Jewkes and Johnston, 2007). Despite causing prisoner insanity, Pentonville was to become the model prison because of both its internal disciplinary regimes, based on the prevention of moral contagion, and its exterior. In particular, the interior of Pentonville's chapel, an image gracing both Foucault and Markus's seminal works, demonstrates the silence, immobility and isolation of prisoners. By 1847 there were 51 prisons built or under construction using the Pentonville model (Markus, 1993). It represented the regularity and order of prison life, 'but in addition it would also signify the way in which punishment was now organising itself around deprivation of time rather than infliction of physical pain' (Pratt, 2002: 44), encapsulating the Victorian obsession with discipline.

During the late nineteenth century, prison architects came to use modern materials and the prison became virtually invisible during the early twentieth century, as high walls and gates physically excluded society, which did not want to be presented with the revulsion of punishment. The conversion of disused buildings such as army camps and country houses also contributed to the invisibility of the prison (Jewkes and Johnson, 2007). However, changes in penal approaches were also exemplified by architectural prison developments. Whilst the architecture of prisons became more simple, adopting what Hancock and Jewkes term a 'proto high-modernist rejection of the aesthetics of ornamentation and decoration' (2011:617), at the same time prisons were increasingly beautified, to incorporate gardens, fountains, flowerbeds and lawns. Accordingly, the Pentonville model was replaced by the borstal model of prison in the 1930s, which aimed to incorporate healthy outdoor work and exercise as far as possible. Open prisons, often converted from disused POW camps, had no need for high perimeter walls and allowed for relatively free movement around the prison. This not only allowed far greater flexibility but also links between prisons and the communities in which they sat.

The rise of the rehabilitative model also led to a reappraisal of design which was regarded as an obstacle to progressive approaches to reformation, including education (Pratt, 2002). Prisons increasingly became less austere and more integrated into their surroundings – indeed less like the traditional image of a prison at all, coming to resemble other public buildings. This was designed to reduce opposition from those living in the surrounding areas of prisons, but also meant that prisons came to look more like modern schools – *on the outside*. For example, Blundeston, opened in 1963, resembled a school or university campus with 4 T-shaped houseblocks holding just 75 inmates.

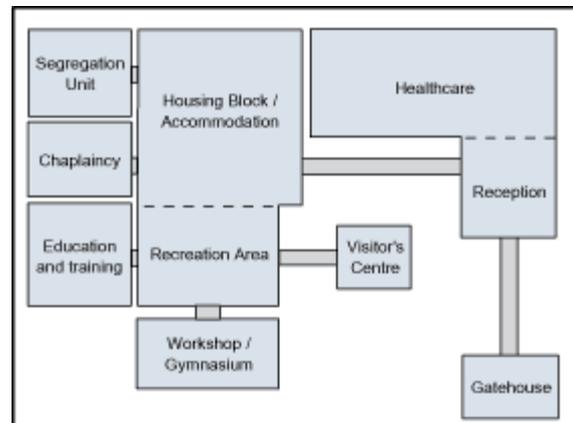
During the 1960s, various breaches of security led to greater security measures incorporated into prison design, with more control gates and prisoners becoming physically zoned off from particular areas, as well as an emphasis on 'decent and humane' conditions. Design during this period was marked by 'bland buildings' (Jewkes and Johnson, 2007) resembling private hospitals or hotels, designed to blend in with their surroundings, and making little difference to 'the spatial structure, functional programme and institutional regime' which resembled those of the nineteenth century (Markus, 1994: 19). Nevertheless, by 1978, two thirds of the prisons in operation were built during the Victorian era.

The Woolf Report which followed the infamous Strangeways riot in 1990 considered that poor conditions and the design of prisons, aggravated by mass overcrowding had contributed to the disturbances (Woolf, 1991). Woolf considered that Victorian designs were incapable of delivering modern, humane regimes satisfactorily and acknowledged that architecture and environment impact on the prisoner, not least their sense of justice (Prison Reform Trust, 2001). Woolf was so concerned that he commissioned a review of prison design by RIBA. However, there was no reconstruction of the prison estate, instead it was considered that inhumane conditions might act as a deterrent to offending, and that exposing the unpleasant nature and deleterious effects of prison life to the public might rouse public support for policies aimed at reducing the prison population (Pratt, 2002).

Over the past few decades the design of prisons has been influenced by the private sector as prison building programmes have been tendered out. For private builders, the primary drivers are arguably cost and efficiency and, although still based on the cellular construction of the Victorian era, the buildings are simple and functional, merging into their

environment. Hancock and Jewkes (2011) note that not only do prisons look like ordinary buildings, but ordinary buildings have come to look more like prisons due to increased security.

In both private and public institutions, regardless of the time frame in which they were built, prisons must be built or adapted to accommodate the major technologies of reform, based on the paradigms of rehabilitation and the evidence base of effective interventions ('what works'). Thus, the modern prison does not need to accommodate a treadmill or a mailbag sewing room, but the design must promote education and training, family contact and the standard institutions of modern society. The layout of a standard prison below, shows in simple format how this has transformed the prison.



**Image 7.1 Typical prison design: HM Prison Service website (2006)**

The prison layout above demonstrates how various spaces for modern (and some enduring) technologies of reform have been annexed to prison houseblocks, these being 'scientifically proven' through a wealth of government and private research to contribute to the rehabilitation of the offender (see for example Parliament, 2002). We can see from this plan

that the primary technologies for reform in the current context are: health; punishment and separation (segregation); religion (chaplancy); education and training (workshop); physical activity (gymnasium) and outside contact (visitor's centre). The image also depicts education, as with the other reformative technologies, as very much divorced from the prisoners by virtue of its physical location. This may be regarded as an intentional product of the prison design, producing and indicative of the social relations in the building whereby interactions between people, objects and activities are strictly managed through the use of space (Markus, 1993). This is also part of the technology, as it is suggested that the physical movement to education on a daily basis might instil in prisoners a structured work ethos, vital for life on the outside (Bayliss, 2003), inculcating the prisoner into economic systems by enforcing the correspondence between the classroom and the workplace (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

However, education's physical separation serves to frustrate engagement as overcrowding, under-resourcing and the low status of education in the prison regime, often prevent prisoner movement from accommodation to education blocks (Braggins & Talbot, 2006).

The only communal areas that are more generally available to prisoners have been described as 'common areas offering little more than a pinball machine and a broken blackboard – designed to repress learning' (Cottam, 2002). This seems to contradict central government penal and educational policies such as 'lifelong learning', and might be taken to reinforce the exclusionary experiences of many prisoners in relation to education (Wilson and Reuss, 2000). Indeed, it could be argued that the whole experience might contribute to a reproduction of the prisoner-learner's low levels of achievement, necessary for support of the economic base-structure (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). This has been argued to

permeate the very nature of educational opportunities offered to prisoners, predominately skills for blue-collar industries, particularly leisure and construction (Poole, 2007).

However, perceptions of where learning occurs are shifting within and outside the prison environment. No longer is the classroom regarded as the only place of learning, but there is increasing recognition of what Braggins and Talbot (2006) term a 'mosaic' of learning opportunities, including distance learning, cell work, vocational training, peer education, workshops, gymnasiums, NVQs, prison work and offending behaviour programmes. Such learning activities could use all available space and would not entail the presence of the authoritarian teacher at all. This has been the basis for a new wave of prison designs that have yet to be realised (Rideout, 2006, Cottam, 2002).

The annexation of prison units, conversion of existing buildings, idiosyncratic approaches of private providers and hasty construction of prisons, designed to meet the accommodation crises, has served to blur the relationship between function and form in modern times, making the narrative more difficult to read than at perhaps any other point in history:

*'So far as design is concerned, philosophy and buildings have rarely synchronised because of the stop/go policies and the long lead-in for designing and building prisons. Design has largely been backward-looking, and related more to expediency and cost than to the latest penal ideas and philosophies...the actual connection between policy and design is often tenuous and very much more difficult to establish'* (Dunbar and Fairweather in Fairweather and McConville, 2000: 17).

## *Summary*

Attitudes to prison education have clearly developed considerably since the beginnings of the state prison system. However, for a variety of reasons, including the age of many prison buildings, prison design has barely kept pace with these developments. Old Victorian prisons, which make up about one quarter of the modern prison estate (and are now to be sold off), were not built with education as the primary focus, and have had to be adapted to meet the requirements of modern penal-education policy. However, merely annexing educational blocks to modern prison buildings may have done little to promote the importance of education to prisoners or the staff that inhabit them. Future building programmes, such as those announced in early 2016, will continue to be challenged by economic, engineering and political considerations, and education continues to be discussed in terms of the promotion of disciplined citizens with an investment in society.

## CHAPTER 8

### SPACE

In this chapter I aim to present analysis of a selection of still images from the two case study research sites. One needs to move from design to space, because as Fiddler notes, the 'rigid determinism' of the prison's fabric, does not reveal 'the collective use of...spaces by a diverse array of inhabitants that allows 'place' to be formed in the everyday' (Fiddler, 2010:3). From the prison I will analyse images of the art room and the PICTA (IT) room, and from the secure training centre (STC) I will analyse images of a classroom and a design-technology room. The process of selection of the images, approximately ten percent of those I gathered, limits the validity of the research (Rodowich, 1994). They cannot be taken as a representation of the whole, or reflect the variety of spaces within both institutions, but they do provide a starting point for analysing these complex spaces.

The aim is to identify the signs that may lead us to understand the function of prison education, particularly when triangulated with other data sources. Such analysis is fraught with caveats as images are polysemic (Penn in Bauer and Gaskell, 2000). As Grosvenor et al (2004) note 'a photograph must be read not as an image, but as a text, and as with any text it is open to a diversity of readings' ( p. 318). Chandler (2013) notes that there is no existing semiotic science, little agreement as regards its scope and methodologies and it does not lend itself well to quantification. Furthermore, in analysis there must be a consideration of the social context. However, in the field of semiotics, photographs are regarded as the most useful data, since the signifier and the signified are almost identical (Monaco, 1981:127-8).

Roland Barthes is regarded as one of the leading scholars in the field of semiotics. Drawing heavily from the work of Levi Strauss, Barthes wrote a variety of works on the topic in the mid-twentieth century. Much of Barthes' focus was on the semiotics of language, but he also considered photographs in his 1978 text, 'Image Music Text'. The semiotics of objects were also a focus in his works, and more particularly assemblages of objects (Barthes, 1988), which forms a core of the analysis in this Chapter. However, Barthes was keen to note that even objects and photographs are carried by a linguistic structure through the written texts that accompany them (Barthes, 1964, Barthes, 1978). Thus, the semiologist has to be constantly reflexive in questioning their own discourse.

Semiotics can be regarded as a system wherein there is a signifier (language, image, object etc.) and a signified: 'Every message is the encounter of a level of expression (or signifier) and a level of content (signified)' (Barthes, 1988:173). Thus, semiotics is based on the relationship of two relata, which can take various forms (Barthes, 1964). In this case, the objects contained in the photographs and their relationship to one another as an assemblage represent the signifier, which will be analysed to determine the signified. However, semiotics is not a positivist science, and there is a constant need to distrust the connection between the signifier and the signified: 'the connection of...the signifier to the signified is mobile, precarious, nothing certifies it; it is subject to the vicissitudes of time, of history' (Barthes, 1988: 154). However, for Barthes, considering multiple signifiers in relationship to one another, can act as a stabilising influence that enables the signified to be determined, albeit still open to multiple interpretations.

Barthes also considers the fact that signs are constituted in binary terms. For example, the binary of the criminal or prisoner, as opposed to the law abiding, is a natural construction in the mind. Alternatively, the binary of the prison classroom with a 'normal' classroom may also be pertinent. The blurring of these binaries through the notion of 'Secure Colleges' for example, may provide a further layer of complexity. As we have seen, such binaries are less in evidence in some modern discourse, with young offenders referred to as 'children', however, the institutional position of the young person still elicits the binary. The systems of differences, oppositions and contrasts that constitute the signification of objects are explored through the use of an image of a 'typical classroom' from outside the prison walls.

In relation to photographs, Barthes (1978) notes that they transmit a perfect analogon of reality (a literal meaning), portraying an exact likeness, and thus we can draw an objective denotive message. However, photographs also have a connotive aspect (a secondary meaning), with the connotations dependent on the historical, social and cultural position of the reader. Thus, photographs are not purely objective but are open, on the connotive level, to multiplicities of readings, both between readers but also potentially within one individual reader (Barthes, 1988, Grosvenor et al, 2004). As I have both created and analysed these images, the messages are internal to me; I am not subject to another photographer's attempts to portray a particular message through positioning, posing or the techniques of photogenia that Barthes considers. However, there is a subjectivity in what I have chosen to photograph, how I photographed these spaces and objects and what I have chosen to include in my analysis. Of more importance though, is my social and cultural background, discussed in the methodology, which has affected the connotations I draw from these 'texts'. Thus, for Barthes, the problem with interpreting such images is the influence of

ideological and ethical, of values, in how we might read images, and thus, the way we interpret images in terms of their signification, is a product of society and history and open to debate.

Beyond the photograph itself, are the objects within the images and what they can tell us about the function of those spaces. Quoting Levi Strauss, Barthes notes that human 'productions' such as institutions and usages, 'never reach the point of consumption (or consummation) without being subjected by society itself to the mediation of the intellect; reconstructing them in a system of practices', and thus the intelligible is everywhere (Barthes, 1988:162). Everything is used for something, it has a function, and thus the object acts as a 'mediator between action and man' (p.181). However, an object has meaning beyond its functional use; a symbolic or metaphorical meaning, and this represents the signified. In order to reach the signified, it is necessary to look at objects differently, in order to overcome what Barthes refers to as the 'obstacle of the obvious'. In other words, we need to make the known, unknown (Grosvenor et al, 2004). In order to achieve this it may be necessary to look at the attributes of the object rather than the whole object, or else look at the juxtaposition between assemblages of objects.

However, Barthes' consideration of the classifications or taxonomies that we apply to the social world provide a dichotomy that is difficult to reconcile in this research. If we consider these spaces as educational spaces, we might apply one lens and one set of values, based primarily on educational theories related to pedagogical approaches and the like. If, on the other hand, we see them as penal spaces, we might apply a different set of values, such as punishment, control and rehabilitation. The common language we can apply, regardless of

where they are situated, is 'classroom', which would seem to prioritise the educational over the penal, and would perhaps explain why existing literature suggests that such spaces are quite distinct from their context, particularly from an emotional standpoint (Braggins and Talbot, 2003). By the same token, classroom spaces have been interpreted in terms of their disciplinary functions (Foucault, 1977), so the interrelationship between education and the penal is complex. Thus, there is a need to utilise both educational and penal cultural knowledge as a reference system. However, as will be explored below, learning spaces can physically reflect their wider environment quite closely. This tension between connectedness and distinction (Harrison and Dourish, 1996) is an interesting dimension to the prison learning space.

Barthes (1964) suggests a two stage process in order to analyse such 'texts'. Firstly, the function itself is analysed, since the function itself has meaning as a sign of social relations. As noted above this is complex due to the dual functions of punishment and education (unless we regard the function of prison as education or education as discipline). Secondly, one should look for the connoted meanings through the manner in which the function is represented.

A further caveat for the analysis of these images is that they are, in one regard, empty images. There are no human actors present in the photographs. Had there been human actors present, the interpretation of the signs may have been very different. Indeed, prisoners and teachers would have provided a different form of signifier that may have provided new signs. However, some might regard their emptiness as having its own strengths, allowing the reader to see the 'spaces of schooling' (Grosvenor et al, 2004: 320).

Or, as Antonio Novoa notes in relation to Paulo Catrica's empty images of classroom spaces, 'absence is the most powerful presence' (Grosvenor et al, 2004:325). However, unlike Catrica's images, which we can populate through our own personal experiences and memories of the classroom, the prison classroom is a space that few of us have inhabited as a learner. Therefore, any presumptions we make based on our own experiences, maybe false. This presents a further binary: the manner in which we might imagine inhabiting these spaces may be different from the experiences of the actual inhabitants.

I would maintain that the images are inhabited to varying degrees, evidenced through the presence of learning materials and other personal objects. The images represent more than physical structures, with the experiences that take place in them in evidence. How far this analysis can reflect the 'place-making' which might occur in these spaces is nevertheless questionable, and perhaps it is more realistically a reflection on the opportunities of the spaces, rather than the reality of the places (Harrison and Dourish, 1996).

### *The Secure Training Centre*

Presented below are the self-created images from the Secure Training Centre, as well as an image of a 'typical classroom' taken from the archives of the Commission for Architecture and Built Environment, a government body designed to provide independent advice to create better buildings and spaces (CABE, 2016). The archive contains documents of varying sorts from the period 1999 to 2011. One of the significant areas of the Commission's work was in relation to education, and I chose this image because of its description as a typical classroom, aware that it would have been misleading to choose an extraordinary classroom

as a point of comparison. Clearly, the claim of typicality is the open to dispute, as a non-scientific and subjective evaluation by the archive authors, but the credibility of the Commission lends some plausibility to the claim. Furthermore, as a reader, I do not sense that this image has been staged to convey a particular message. This image is presented as a point of comparison to explore the differences in learning spaces inside and outside the prison walls. Another possible approach, not explored here, would be to compare prison learning spaces to other prison spaces, and to thus explore their connectedness or otherwise to the wider prison. In this way, one might gain a better understanding of whether they are primarily penal spaces or educational spaces.



**Image 8.1 Secure Training Centre classroom**



**Image 8.2 'Typical classroom' at London Academy (CABE, 2016)**

The layout of the STC classroom presented above is replicated several times in the prison learning block where it is located. The block is in a separate building to the living accommodation but is located close to it. It is therefore visible to the children who reside in the STC. It is clear from the posters on the walls that this room is used for the teaching and learning of French. At first level of analysis, the functional level, one might perceive this space as a modern, light, clean classroom with learning materials to support the learners present on the walls. Aesthetically, one might find this more appealing than the typical classroom presented at 8.2, which looks very tired and drab in comparison. The function of both spaces is that of a classroom, for teaching and learning. However, there are a variety of signifiers that suggest that there is more to these spaces on a connotive level.

8.1 is perhaps the most dramatic image that will be presented in this section in many ways. It is probably the image with the least evidence of human actors, as aside from the carefully placed and neatly arranged posters on the walls, the only other internal objects we can see are the furniture. The furniture is highly functional and very basic. The white metal chairs and the simple tables are bolted to the floor and thus totally immovable. The openness of the desks allows complete visibility of the students' actions. This room will always look the same. Such furniture may also increase the labelling effects on young people, sending out the message that they are vandals or animals and reinforcing their criminal identities (Hancock and Jewkes, 2011). Furthermore, with fixed seating for eight learners, the class size is non-negotiable. In comparison, despite being laid out in formal rows when this photograph was taken, the typical classroom has moveable furniture and single desks, providing greater opportunities to reconfigure the layout and facilitate group-work activities, for example.

Both images however share a sense of functionality above aesthetics. The STC walls are painted in a neutral colour but straight onto the exposed block work. The carpet is that which one would expect in an office block, bland but functional, as with the typical classroom. The STC image also suggests limited place creation by teaching staff, which may suggest either a number of staff teach in this room, or else, such activities are precluded or not valued. In the typical classroom there is less evidence of placemaking in terms of wall displays, but evidence of human actors through the books and papers visible on the teacher's desk.

However, the STC window presents a slight paradox. The relatively large (by prison standards) window has no bars, as one would normally expect in a prison. Thus, the clear emphasis on control evident through the fixed furniture does not appear matched by an emphasis on security. However, when one examines the view outside the window, the tantalising vista of open countryside and trees, is broken by the posts and gauze of the high prison fence. Even if the students were orientated to see the views, which they are not, they are starkly reminded of the environment they inhabit and their isolation from wider society. However, this is the image the teacher will see, and thus their awareness of where they are is reinforced both internally and externally.

On a personal level, I find this image highly emotive since this building is designed for the youngest prisoners in our system, aged between 12 and 17 years. Aside from any concerns about the morality of imprisoning people of such a young age, their treatment, as exposed by this image, seems brutal and cold. Certainly, when compared to the images from the adult and young offender prison, the visible levels of control and management are far superior. However, when compared with the typical classroom, aside from the evidence of use of technology through the projector and screen and the lack of any posters on the walls, the only significant differences are the size of the classroom and the inflexibility of the learning space. However, this inflexibility, connoting oppressive levels of control in my reading, and reducing pedagogic opportunities, is a major difference. That is not to say that 'strict authoritarian relations' (Smaller in Grosvenor et al, 2004:329) are not in evidence in the typical classroom, and indeed as they were in Paulo Catrica's images of classroom spaces. The teacher is the centre of gravity through their position in the classroom, and the

space has its own level of discipline. However, for me, this is more evident in the STC classroom.

If space is the opportunity and place is the lived reality, there appears to be very little scope for place-making in the STC classroom. The young learners' individuality seems largely suppressed; they are prisoners first and foremost. The danger here is that their learning experiences will only further reinforce negative experiences they may have had on the outside, potentially further alienating them from the learning process (Wilson and Reuss, 2000). Furthermore, the clear 'prisonness' of this learning space may serve to reinforce the criminal label that the justice system has provided them with, increasing the chances of reoffending (Becker, 1963). There is a clear sense that the philosophy is that of instruction, dominant in the late nineteenth century, and that the learners are to be managed rather than developed.

My contact in the prison, the Head of Psychology, informed me that prisoners of this age are more volatile than older prisoners, suffering the pains of adolescence, explaining the need to teach them in small groups and to restrict their ability to cause harm. Undoubtedly, this image reflects the practical realities of managing such individuals. However, this does not explain the sterility and hardness of the room, and in my mind, the spectral bodies that inhabit this space (including the teacher) are highly oppressed.

The following two images from the Secure Training Centre are from the design technology room, and appear to reveal a notably different sense of place.



**Images 8.3 and 8.4: Design Technology Room in the Secure Training Centre**

The two images of the design technology room shown above suggest some similarities and differences in approach to teaching and learning to that shown at 8.1. There are some signs of place-making in these images. For example, there are many more posters on the walls related to the learning that takes place in the space, making the room look busier. There is some free furniture in the form of high stools, and wheeled chairs, and the space is less cold due to the use of materials such as wood. Most surprisingly, in contrast to the first image, there are also cushions visible on two of the chairs suggesting a sense of place making, and a consideration of the learner's comfort.

However, there is also a fixed table and chairs, similar to the first image, and it would appear that the fixed furniture is where the students conduct their formal learning, whereas the free-standing furniture is where the learning is applied through practical activities. For example, a vice can be seen attached to the free-standing table. However, there are also a collection of 'emergency chairs' around the fixed table, two wheeled stools and an office chair. This suggests that the room is being used beyond the occupancy originally envisaged, or else that the use of the room has changed. This raises the question of how the occupants determine who gets use of the fixed and wheeled chairs.

Despite the business of the room, it is very highly ordered. The posters are displayed in a very ordered format, as are the filing cabinets and equipment in the room. The tools can be seen housed in shadow boards behind the practical area, and are a reminder of the dominance of security in such environments. Aprons can be seen neatly hung in the top right of the top image. Despite some hints of place-making, the room is both functional and durable. The teacher/ instructor is positioned at the far end of the room in the sense that

this is where their chair appears to be and where the PC, printer and video screen are positioned. However, it is likely that in such a space that the teacher would be mobile whilst students were undertaking practical activities.

This is much more evidently a training space than the teaching room discussed above, and is less cold and hostile. However, the continuation of the fixed seating and tables bolted to the floor reinforces the feeling of distrust of the prisoner learners and the priority of security over education.

*The Adult and Young Offender Prison*





### **Images 8.5 – 8.7 Art Room in Young Offenders Institute**

The three images of the art room in the prison presented here seem to contrast starkly with the learning space of the STC. Three images were taken because of the size and layout of the room, meaning that one image could not encapsulate the signs I wished to present. The art room is part of the original prison building, rather than a separate learning block or training space as exist elsewhere in the prison. The art room is located off a wing of the prison dedicated to education, with several classrooms located off a long corridor. This area of the prison has been adapted from the original borstal days to reflect the increasing emphasis on education in prisons and need for more dedicated space. The space was therefore not designed for this purpose, but has been adapted over time. Such adaptation, it appears, is an enduring feature of such prison establishments.

When contrasted with the STC, this room appears chaotic and uncontrolled. The furniture is not fixed to the floor, the seats have padding and are presumably more comfortable, chairs have been left in different positions, and there is far more evidence of human interaction with the space through the pictures on the walls, the floor, and on desks. The books on the bookcase appear to be well used and left untidily, there are papers stacked on filing cabinets, there is paint on the walls and the floors, paintbrushes abandoned on desks, a (presumably) student mural on the wall, and even potted plants on the window ledge. These plants in particular are suggestive of an attempt by the teacher to soften or even disguise the environment of the classroom. It appears that one teacher has taken ownership of this space.

Notable by its absence is any evidence of a clock in the room, which is generally visible in the other images I took. These signs seem incongruent with the image of a prison, but perhaps in keeping with a creative learning environment. In this sense we might regard this space as disconnected from the wider prison environment. The clear evidence of place-making serves to further this disconnection.

However, to approach this image purely from this perspective would be misleading. When one looks more closely there are paradoxical signs and a clear connectedness to the prison environment. One issue which is evident in the images, but its meaning only exposed through speaking with prison staff, is the single chair at each desk. On the face of it this might be seen as a pragmatic response to the need for space when creating artwork, however, in interview it was revealed that originally students were seated two to a desk. The art teacher reported difficulties with students squabbling over space and materials, and

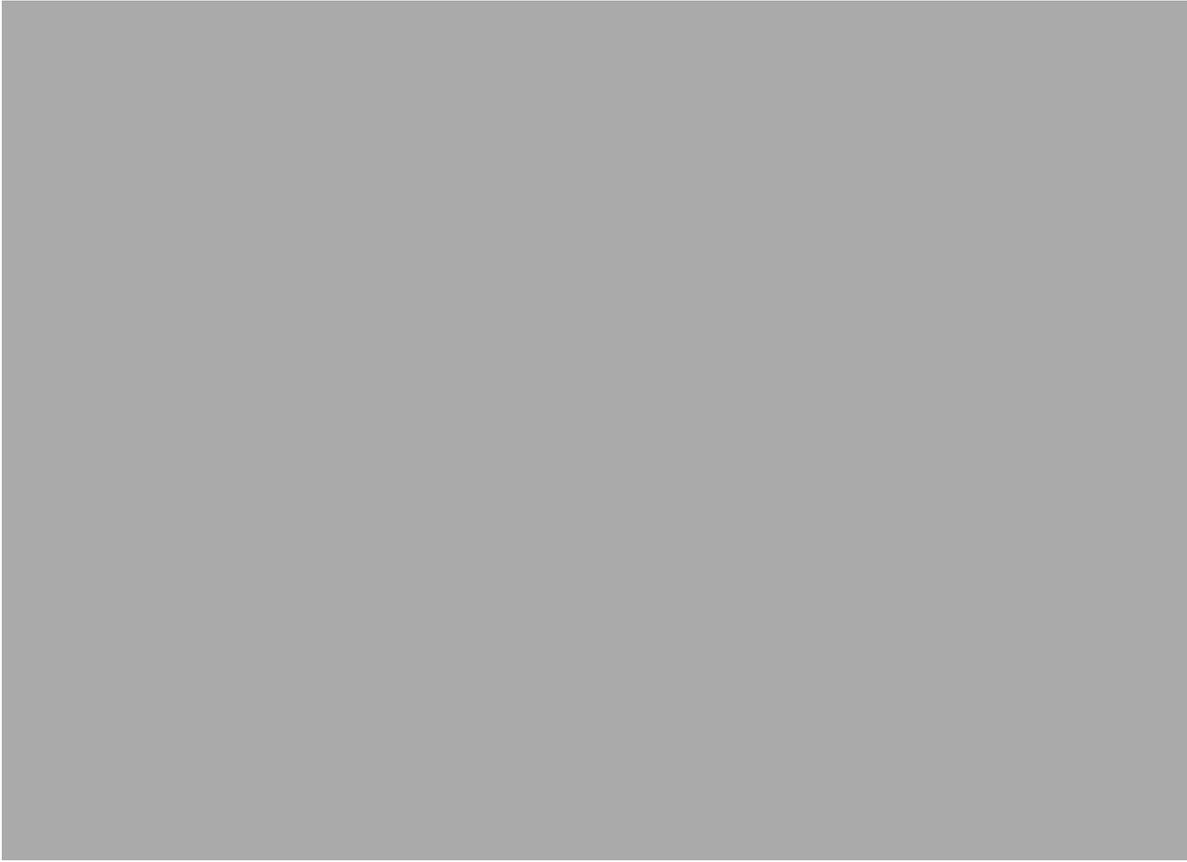
so the decision was made to separate students. Presumably, this has had an adverse impact on the number of students able to undertake art classes at any one time, and one can therefore suggest control or micro-management taking precedence over learning.

There are also more obvious signs of control and security, which act as constant reminders of the environment in which this space resides. The bars on the window, functionality of the fixed elements of the room such as the lighting and flooring, the prison locks on the doors, a space in the corner of the room which is closed off to prisoners and the notices displayed in various locations suggest a controlled environment. However, this is not more or less apparent than in the typical classroom shown above.

Some of the signs appear to suggest a contradictory approach to learning. The amount of student work around the room and comparative chaos might suggest a student-centred approach. However, the overwhelming signs are more traditionalist. Despite the apparent chaos the desks are actually arranged in a very uniform way which does not facilitate student interaction. The teacher sits at the front of the class, facing the students and is thus the centre of gravity. Behind her are a whiteboard and several printed posters displaying the basics of art theory. The whiteboard, like many in the establishment, has three pre-printed headings: 'today's lesson', 'aims' and 'objectives'. However, there is a suggestion that the teacher does not use these in the manner in which they were intended, with generic messages written next to each of these headings: 'Today's lesson: individual work as set'; 'Aims: to develop skills in specific areas', 'Objectives: achieve your smart targets'. It appears that the teacher feels she must use these headings, but has no investment in them. Furthermore the teacher has added the message 'BE GOOD OR ELSE!' Rather than

threatening, the warning appears almost humorous, as if to say 'we both know where we are'.

With regard to the posters around the room, it appears that the pre-printed learning posters are largely positioned around the teacher, and the student art-work around the student area. No doubt this is necessary as the teacher would need these closest to her if referring to them whilst teaching. However, it serves to further delineate the separateness of the teacher's space. This is perhaps further reinforced by the teaching poster on the locked door in the corner of the room. The student work itself has been classified into various artistic areas: colour and moods, lines and marks, textures, pattern and so forth. It can therefore be seen that the display of student work is not random, but designed to form part of the learning process, albeit that students are a part of that process. What might therefore appear as a very inclusive learning environment, is clearly regulated by the teacher and the institutional needs. Nevertheless, the impression is that the inhabitants of this space no doubt feel less confined than in the STC classroom above, however illusory this the impression of freedom may be (Foucault, 1977).



**Images 8.8 and 8.9 PICTA Training Room**

The two images shown above are of the prison 'PICTA' room. PICTA is a project managed and funded by NOMS Offender Employment, Skills and Services Group, which aims to promote IT training in prisons. Since 2004 the scheme has offered training and recognised qualifications in areas such as computer hardware and software building, repair and maintenance, networking and voice and data cabling.

The PICTA room formed part of the prison learning block in the establishment, which had been built for purpose (unlike many of the other learning spaces) and formed a detached separate unit from the main living and working areas. Access to this space was thus highly regulated and dependent on staff and management facilitation.

When physically present in the room my feeling was that the environment was chaotic, due to the amount of paraphernalia being stored in the room. Clearly a lot of hardware is required to support such a programme, and this was causing pressure on the available space, despite this being by far the largest room in the education block. The sense was that items were simply placed in or on any available space, and this is incongruent with the usual orderliness of prison spaces. There was a feeling that there was no human investment in the space (in terms of pride or ownership).

What is also quite striking about this space is the use of colour. In contrast to the off-white tones of the art room, there are walls painted in a yellowy-green colour, and a bright red carpet through the entrance area. Despite this there is a clear emphasis on function within the space, dictated by the nature of the type of teaching and learning being practised.

Despite the lack of uniformity in the room, the teacher is still very much the centre of

gravity, as demonstrated by the position of the desk and the large video screen behind him. However, the teacher/s pervade the whole environment through the paraphernalia positioned throughout the space. One notable absence from all the other images considered in this chapter, is the lack of any posters on the walls. Again, this reinforces the lack of place-making in the space or emotional investment by staff.

There is also a continuation of various signifiers that remind us of the environment that is being occupied, namely shadow boards for any implements that would comprise a threat to control and security should they be misplaced, and bars on the window, both visible in the second image. However, there are also signs of occupation through the books and papers visible throughout the room and, unusually within these images, the use of technology, not just through the computers for learners to use, but the projector and screen for teaching, visible in the first image. Presumably, the latter would be used for demonstration purposes in the use of IT. Accordingly, like the art room, these images suggest competing functions, or signifieds, with concerns about education and control both in evidence. It should perhaps therefore be concluded, that the two ends are not mutually exclusive, and that education can be achieved within a controlled environment, albeit control impacts on the nature of the environment.

### *Summary*

There are a number of commonalities between these images. All reveal a predominant concern with the micro-management of the inhabitants of the spaces in terms of control and security. I would suggest that control is more apparent in the classroom from the STC,

particularly through the fixed furniture. However, all images reveal signs of restricted access and control (through shadow-boards, window bars and so forth).

Macro-management in terms of economics, is more apparent in the first set of images, and this may be a result of the fact that STCs are privately run for profit, and also modern purpose builds. Penal ideology and symbolism are also more apparent in the images from the STC than in those of the YOI. This may be a result of the fact that the establishment was built in the middle of the twentieth century when prisons were moved out of urban areas, and there was much more emphasis on the rehabilitation and treatment of prisoners who were regarded as victims of circumstance. However, the STC was conceived in a period of arguably disproportionate feelings of fear and retribution towards young people (see Chapter 6).

In terms of educational ideology, the overwhelming feeling from the STC is that it is a teacher-centred approach. There is no sense of student empowerment, and a clear feeling that the purpose is instruction. Potentially this is because it was built by a private contractor, not concerned with modern learning theory, or simply because the classrooms were a contractual requirement with little thought given to their design. In any case it could be that micro-management overrode any concerns about pedagogy and the classrooms are merely a pragmatic response to control maintenance. The users of these spaces have little opportunity to alter the spaces being strongly restricted by the layout of the small rooms. There is much research to suggest that this approach could have negative impacts on the learners.

The teaching approach in the prison and YOI is far more ambiguous with contradictory signs. The art room appears student-centred in the sense it is relaxed, there is attention to aesthetics, self-directed learning seems facilitated through the lack of direction from the teacher on the board, 'individual work as set'. However, the room is dominated by the teacher, and there is little evidence of interaction between students with the desks separated and geometrically laid out. Whilst this is an arguably more student-centred environment than the STC, there is still no doubt where power lies.

Again it is the STC that demonstrates far clearer evidence of control and power. The image would not look out of place amongst the images of Discipline and Punish (Foucault 1977), with a highly ordered, tightly regulated, enclosed and oppressive ambience to the classroom. It feels like something from the nineteenth century, and when combined with the knowledge that this houses the youngest offenders in the prison system, the design is all the more poignant. I would suggest that control and power is implicit in this space and there appears to be a deliberate effort to reinforce the students' otherness through this space. Nevertheless there is an honesty about this space. It is clear where you are and who is in control. The prison/ YOI on the other hand could be accused of providing an illusion of freedom that is not matched by the reality. The posters on the wall and apparent chaos of the room, belies the reality of the control that is being exercised over its inhabitants. Place-making has been allowed, but only within the parameters of the maintenance of control and security. In truth the teaching staff and students probably do not recognise this, in fact they probably enjoy occupying this space.

## CHAPTER 9

### DISCUSSION

In this chapter I aim to bring the findings from the previous chapters together and assess the extent to which the data analysed has provided answers to the research questions. In order to do this, the findings from each of the three analytical sections, on discourse, design and space, have been brought together in order to consider the dominant functions suggested by the data. This was achieved by ranking the frequency and modality of signs and words and generating the top three 'functions' for each of the data sources analysed. The results are presented in table 9.1 below.

		Penal			Individual		Socio-political	
		Micro	Macro	Ideological	Transformation	Oppression	Control	Moral
Discourse	6.1		(2)			1	2	3
	6.2		1				2	3
	6.3		(2)	1		3	2	(1)
	6.4		1		2		(1)	3
	6.5		3		2			1
Design	7.1		1		2		(1)	
Spa	8.1	1		3		(1)	2	

8.2- 8.3	1		3			2	
8.4- 8.6	1			2	3		
8.7- 8.8	3			2	1		
8.9- 8.10	1				2		

**Table 9.1 Comparative analysis of dominant themes**

Table 9.1 shows the dominant functions interpreted from each piece of data from one to three, with one being the most frequent/ highest modality. Several issues with the model become apparent when attempting to triangulate the information, which must be borne in mind when reading the subsequent discussion of findings.

Firstly, it is apparent that some sources will reveal certain functions more readily than others. For example, macro penal functions are evident from discourse but not from looking at prison learning spaces. Micro-functions are more easily detectable in the latter. Similarly, it is easier to read educational functions from looking at prison learning spaces than from discourse. Often discourse talks of education in such vague terms (eg high quality) that the exact nature of the education provision is difficult to determine. However, there are some instances where language provides some insight into the nature of education provision (eg 'supervision and training', 'discipline and framework').

What also becomes clear is that some functions are highly related and inter-connected, although subtly different, and this is denoted by the rankings in brackets. For example, control and macro-penal functions can often be read from the same discourse or signifiers. This is not surprising: if one wishes to rehabilitate an individual for example, instilling some form of self-discipline or self-regulation may be regarded as one means of achieving this. However, the two functions are subtly different. Macro-management includes elements that are arguably not relevant to control and power, such as protection of the public and cost reductions and efficiencies. In a similar vein, populism and legitimacy are relevant to control and power, but not directly relevant to the management of the penal system.

Another area of crossover in the model became clear through analysis of the still images, which is the inter-link between teacher-centred approaches and micro-management, or management of the establishment. It is difficult to determine here whether the primary concern in the design of the learning spaces, particularly in the STC, are driven by a behaviourist educational approach, or a need for establishment control. It seems most likely that control was the overriding concern here, and that the actors in the spaces have then had to make them work for educational purposes. It is in such instances that the absence of human actors reduces the validity of the analysis, as we cannot see how these spaces are actually used.

Looking broadly at the data, the one theme that comes out consistently from all sources is the function of control and power which, as noted above, is highly related to macro-management of the system, particularly in terms of rehabilitation. Whilst other functions are dominant in specific data types (for example, morality in discourse, and educational

approaches in space), it is only control/ macro-management that is dominant across nearly all the texts. Looking at the detail of these occurrences, the dominance of education as a rehabilitative tool that cannot only give prisoners knowledge and skills to provide them with opportunities and capital, but also to allow them to self-regulate through self-discipline and 'reprogramming' is enduring.

Furthermore, this dominant theme has been in evidence through time, and across institutions and political parties. The theme was not one of the three most dominant in relation to the spaces in the young offender institution, but would have ranked fourth. This paradigm remains largely uncontested since rehabilitation through education is seen as a positive function of the penal system.

However, whilst the mechanism of education as a technology of reform has not changed, there is a palpable change in rhetoric as to how and why it should be used. Whilst discourse in the 1990s and 2014 both use morality, there has been a shift away from the culpability of hard-core offenders who should have education as part of their punishment in order to allow them to work hard and contribute to society, towards a moral responsibility to these very young people in order to restore some form of equality with other school-age children. Whilst the ultimate outcome remains a law-abiding and productive life, there is a change in the status of the individual actors, who are still essentially acted upon, but who have assumed a refined moral status. This shift to concern with equality of opportunity will potentially have a positive impact on the breadth and depth of opportunities we offer to young prisoner-learners, and may help to shift the emphasis away from propensity to reoffend. Thinking about these young people in terms of their status rather on that what

they have done (Morris, 1994) potentially represents an important step in a shift in discursive practices that may lead to change (Fairclough, 1995:111). However, this may also be interpreted as a paternalistic authoritarian discourse, which Morgan, in the context of the rise of early twentieth century borstals and other closed institutions, argues to be primarily concerned with instilling discipline.

Furthermore, equality does not necessarily mean a replication of the education system outside the prison walls: statistics demonstrate time and again that the state system has failed to engage such young people prior to imprisonment. For example, 79% of imprisoned young offenders have been excluded from school and, on average, those entering custody have the basic skills of a 7 year old (Scott and Codd, 2010). Furthermore, imprisoned young people are disproportionately affected by learning difficulties, psychiatric disturbances, histories of sexual and physical abuse and neglect (Scott and Codd, 2010). Engaging such individuals in education within the prison walls will therefore require an approach that takes account of such factors by understanding individual needs.

The spaces from the two institutions also demonstrate conflict in relation to the prisoner-learner's status. Overall, the Secure Training Centre images suggest management of the individual is the primary concern, broken down into 'viable' groups much as the Learning Works Model would recommend (Cottam, 2002), and educated in teacher-centred, oppressive environments. The workshop has conflicting signals, with evidence of place-making, and these same conflicts are replicated more dramatically in the learning spaces in the Young Offender's Institute where the juxtaposition of student-centred learning and the prison regime seem to fight for dominance. Thus, the political rhetoric surrounding

'education with detention' fails to appreciate the complexities of creating suitable learning environments within secure environments, and the inevitable tensions this creates. This may be further frustrated by the tendering process which often emphasises costs and efficiency, potentially compromising such buildings, and the disjuncture between politicians, educationalists, architects and building contractors. What is eventually built may not, therefore, reflect the original intention (Dunbar and Fairweather, 2000).

It is clear that the architects and contractors of future prisons should consider the design of learning spaces carefully if they wish to achieve the desired results of educational achievement and crime reduction expressed in the discourse. Although in Braggins and Talbot's research prisoner-learners reported that physical conditions in classrooms were less important than what went on inside them (2003:43), there is evidence to suggest that environments do impact on student learning. For example, Brooks 2010 quasi-experimental, multi-method study in Minnesota found a strong relationship between physical environment and student-learning outcomes when accounting for other variables and student abilities. Whilst based on higher education, the study compared a traditional classroom, (described as whiteboard, projection screen and instructor desk at the front of the room, students facing the front etc (p. 3-4)), with delivery of the same materials in an Active Learning Classroom (ALC). ALCs are designed to encourage innovative and flexible pedagogies, and featured 'large round tables that accommodate up to 9 students each, switchable laptop technology... an instructor station from which content is displayed on two large screens and feeds to the student display screens' (p.3). Statistically significant improvements in performance were found in the students taught in the ALC.

Wollins and Monague's 1981 study found that an attractive physical environment with furnishings such as posters, plants and rugs improved attainment levels, which then returned to previous levels when the students were returned to the less attractive classrooms. Berry reported improvements in staff and student attitudes when the physical environment was enhanced in 2002, and similar findings have been reported from numerous other studies looking at seating positions, heating, and class sizes (see Long et al, 2011).

In terms of the approaches to education within prisons, its omission from much of the discourse is more telling than anything that is said. In political discourse it appears that there is an assumption that education is a panacea for rehabilitating offenders, regardless of the nature or level of that provision, and accordingly discourse is vague. Traditionally, the debate concentrates on the criminal/ offending status or age of the individual, rather than the nature of education. 'Education, training and life skills', and 'high quality education' are the only specifics we are provided with here. Thus, there is no sense of the breadth or depth of the education to be provided, let alone pedagogic approaches. However, further data can be found through documents from Government bodies, such as OFSTED. The document that lays out guidelines for the inspection of Secure Training Centres for example, requires Inspectors to focus on the following elements:

- "young people enjoy happy, useful and productive lives and their personal development is enhanced through a range of suitable activities and interventions

- all young people are engaged in a programme of education and training that meets their individual needs
- young people benefit from assessment, education and training that is of a high standard and supports their learning and development
- young people achieve learning goals and qualifications that are sufficiently challenging, support their personal development and enable them to progress to further education, training or employment on release
- opportunities for young people to extend their knowledge, skills and understanding through leisure and enrichment activities are effective
- young people address their offending behaviour or other behaviours that cause them or others distress or harm.”

“Inspectors will evaluate the extent to which:

- planning for a young person’s release or transfer starts upon their arrival and continues throughout their time in the centre
- preparation for resettlement is outlined in training plans and progress is monitored as part of the young person’s reviews
- good resettlement planning, including input from external community partners, ensures a seamless transition to the community or to another secure or open establishment
- the secure training centre takes account of evidence-based practice and what is known to reduce the likelihood of re-offending.” (OFSTED 2014b).

Several functions can be read through this text. In many ways this appears to be promoting a student centred approach, in which young people are offered education that responds to their individual needs and allows them to reach their full potential. Furthermore, their development is promoted outside the classroom through effective enrichment activities. However, reading this document in combination with the images of learning spaces in these institutions renders the notion of humanist pedagogic practices problematic. Again, there is discord between space and discourse.

The other function that is evident through this text is the idea of rehabilitation and integration into society, and with it the associated sense of control and production.

Inspectors need to assess whether education programmes are going to lead to useful and productive lives, enable young people to progress in education or employment, allow them to resettle into society and to reduce the likelihood that they will reoffend. Furthermore, their regime must also challenge the harm that they cause to society. There is no sense, here or elsewhere in the document, as to what teaching and learning practices will produce such outcomes, other than the need for it to be based on evidence-based practice, and traditionally this has been linked to cognitive-behavioural processes in recent penal practice (Hornqvist, 2007-08). Thus, education in prisons is required to demonstrate explicitly those ends that are argued to be hidden agendas in the wider education system.

In relation to young adults, Inspectors judge prisoner's outcomes in terms of the extent to which: "all learners achieve and make progress relative to their starting points and learning goals; achievement gaps are narrowing between different groups of learners; learners develop personal, social and employability skills; [and] learners progress to programmes leading to higher-level qualifications and into jobs that meet local and national needs."

(OFSTED, 2014a).

In many ways this reflects the guidelines for STCs in the sense that the student-centred approach gives way for the need to produce ex-prisoners who are equipped to accommodate the local and national needs of the economy. Thus, it is implied that provision in prisons should be responsive to the needs of the economy, rather than the needs or aspirations of the individual. However, for education to have a transformative effect, the needs of the individual, not the economy should be considered.

Prisoners who have successfully engaged in prison education and reported it having a transformative effect, have often spoken about the need for a sense of achievement (see for example Wilson, 2000), and such achievement may take many forms. However, if this motivation can be identified and responded to, the transformative effects of education, especially in respect of the individual's identity, may help lead to a reduction in recidivism. Though somewhat outdated, Boshier's 1983 study takes a psychological approach to understanding the motivations for participation in prison education using motivational scales. He suggests that the motivation for education can be increased or decreased by manipulation of a number of variables, including the environment.

Many studies have identified the transformative effects that education can have on prisoners (Wilson and Reuss, Braggins and Talbot, Hughes *ibid*). In Anne Pike's qualitative study of Higher Education in prisons, she found that all learners developed hope, resilience and a positive student identity (Pike, 2014) and their individual accounts provide a sense of transformation. In contrast, the non-learners in her sample were found to lack hope and

aspirations. Pike suggests that for a prison to become a learning environment a number of factors are required, some of which relate to design and space, and some of which need to be embedded within the culture of the institution. Space, time and resources are already known in this respect, but she also talks of a learning culture, peer mentoring, dedicated management, and the involvement of stakeholders. Pike identified self-efficacy, awareness, belonging, confidence, self-esteem, determination, and personal and social identity as outcomes from a positive learning experience. In order to achieve these ends however, there need to be a robust means of assessing individual's needs.

In Pike and Adams' 2012 study on prisoner learning, the qualitative interviews with adult prisoners regarding digital learning revealed three main themes: physical environment, student identity and institutional visions (p.368). In juxtaposing 'learning' and 'working' prisons, their findings show that prisoners reported that high security prisons provided more learning-centred environments, where prisoners felt they were able to 'learn independently and grow as individuals through reflection' (p.369). Thus, the freedom to be independent learners was negatively related to the freedom of movement within the institution, but positively related to the existence of dedicated space with access to appropriate resources. For example, students in higher security prisons were given laptops to work on in their cells, whereas in lower security establishments, access to computers was highly restricted. Thus, as prisoners worked their way through the prison classification system towards more trusted open conditions, the level of trust placed in them to be independent learners was perceived to reduce. This might suggest that the straight-jacket of confinement may not be a barrier in itself to effective learning, providing there is a learning focus within an establishment. More important for the prisoner-learner is a dedicated space

for learning that is adequately resourced.

However, prison learning spaces have also been described 'an oasis' (Braggins and Talbot, 2003) and 'a lifeline in an otherwise desolate environment' (Pike and Adams, 2012:370), not least because they allow prisoners to identify with other learners and establish a student identity. However, the clear message is that to achieve this end, they must be dedicated spaces with adequate resourcing, and not just 'add-ons' or after thoughts (Pike and Adams, 2012).

Accordingly, prison learning spaces can be beautiful and inviting and have the potential to promote transformation amongst learners, but this is no use if prisoners are unable to access them or the users fail to employ them in a manner which allows them to realise such potential. Equally, learning spaces may be stark and ill equipped, but still allow for transformation through their use, the culture of the prison, and the practices within them. However, the design of prison buildings and spaces cannot, on their own, ameliorate some of the effects of prison life that result from social relations, day-to-day practices and individual differences. Hence, there may be unintended consequences of design, or consequences that are intended but not realised.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

Far from merely being a means of ‘preventing idle hands from making mischief’ (Wilson, 2000: 11), the function of education in prisons has penal and political dimensions whereby it has become central to a strategy to reform young people. It is regarded in 2016 as the main technology of reform for young offenders, and a silver bullet for solving the problem of offending. This being the case, there was a palpable opportunity with the development of Secure Colleges to rethink the nature of education for prisoner-learners and provide them with a learning experience that would have a positive effect on their identity and life-course. However, the abandonment of these plans in July 2015, fundamentally on the basis of economic efficiency, only serves to highlight the sense that we have yet to see a real paradigm shift in our approach to education of young people in custody.

A major challenge for this research has been understanding the interrelationship between education and imprisonment as explored in Chapter 8. The issue of how we approach spaces of learning in prisons is challenging because we need to understand the function of the spaces in terms of both penal and educational paradigms, and it is not always clear which frame was applied by the designers. This is not merely a semantic issue, it will impact on the experience and success of the users of those spaces, both teachers and learners. The issue of connectedness or disjuncture between learning spaces and other prison spaces is also important, as it may make the difference between whether they are regarded as ‘an oasis’, or just another form of control. What the images in Chapter 8 cannot reveal, are

some of the challenges of working in a secure environment that are not present in the wider education system. For example, prison teachers are not permitted to take memory sticks or other data devices into the prisons for security reasons. Therefore, the ability to prepare materials in advance, at home or in another place of work, are limited. Similarly, one could imagine that setting prisoners learning tasks outside of classroom hours is difficult, due to the nature of the regime and lack of suitable learning spaces.

The images in Chapter 8 reveal the sense of being in a disciplinary environment that may have psychological effects on the users of those spaces through the sense of control. Moving from the position of detention (primary) *with* education (secondary), to education with detention will only represent a real change if the design of learning spaces and the activities that go on in them are student-centred and emancipatory, providing learners with a student identity and an opportunity to develop their own learning. The danger is that design will be compromised in the process of translation from philosophy, through discourse, commissioning, design, construction and use. Inevitably, the issue of cost will also influence the practice in the classroom at the end of this process. However, defining what education in prisons should look like is philosophically precarious. If education is a means of legitimising the use of imprisonment, then engaging with the debate will only contribute to this agenda. It is for this reason that many academics refuse to do so (Duguid, 1981).

However, there is an opportunity for education to have a positive impact on the prisoner's life, if that experience is informed by pedagogic rather than penal practices. The image below is taken from an article entitled 'How flexible layouts and technology in the classroom

better prepare today's students for their future' (BNP Media, 2016), and represents something approaching an ideal learning environment for me.



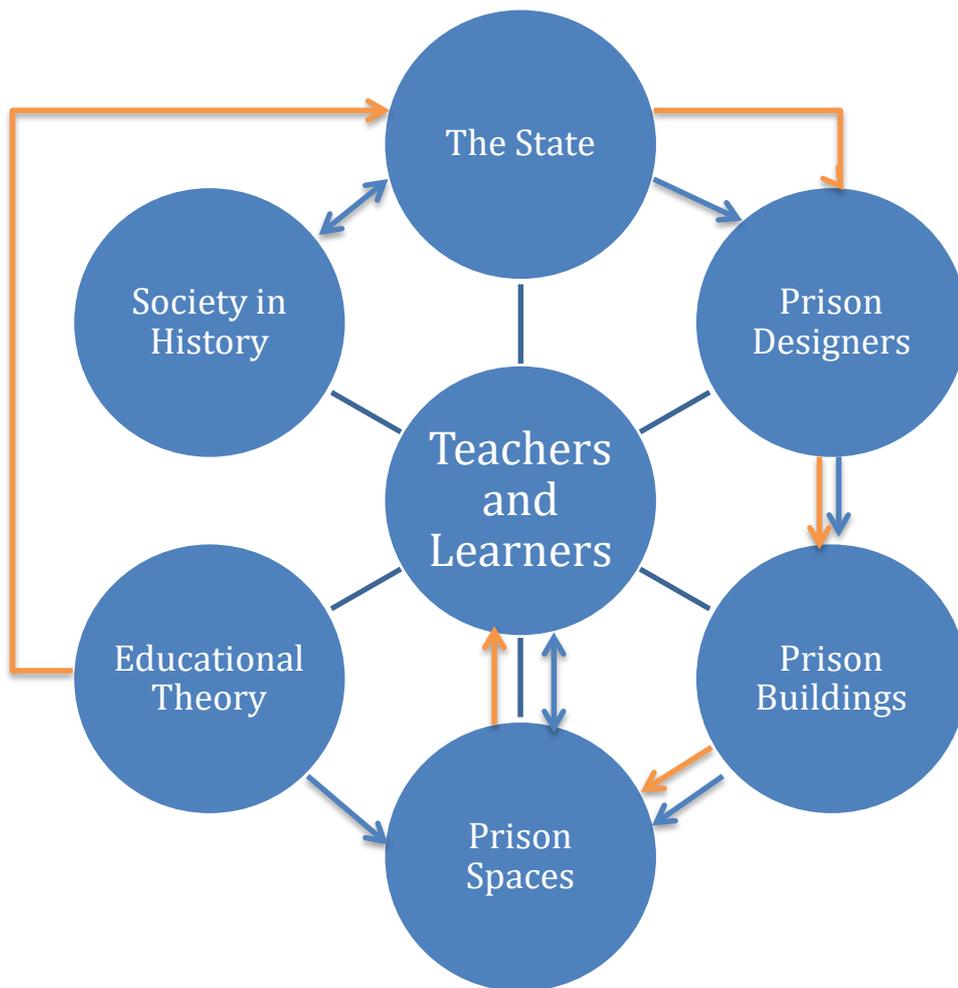
**Image 10.1 Image Courtesy of MooreCo Inc**

Whilst I would prefer tables with wheels, the furniture appears light and moveable, allowing flexibility in pedagogic approach, peer learning, the use of technology, as well as being bright and inviting. Inhabiting this space would hopefully impact positively on the prisoner's sense of self, as well as the ability to develop and learn. Of course, it may not be well received outside the prison walls, since investment in the broader education system may not match the level of investment within prisons. However, one could also argue that it is socio-economic conditions that brought prisoners into conflict with the criminal law, and thus justifies investment in their rehabilitation. The cost-benefit ratio might also be highly favourable.

In re-examining the figure presented in the introduction (1.1 above), this research has revealed that the picture is more complex than first proposed. This is illustrated in figure

10.1 below. The research suggests that there has been a discursive shift from the religious and retributive discourse of the 1990s, towards obligations towards young people expressed in the last few years. However, the realisation of the now abandoned secure college vision is contingent on a number of factors. Firstly, the state will need to commission contractors based on their understanding of the current paradigm, and not purely on the basis of economic efficiency and security. Secondly, there will need to be a demonstrable understanding of educational theory and how prisoner-learners are motivated to learn and achieve (highlighted by the connections in orange in Figure 10.1). This will need to be reflected both in the design and the learning spaces, but also in the way such spaces are used. Finally, the success or otherwise of such an approach, will be contingent on the culture of the establishment and attitude of officers, from Governor-grade down to teachers and wing officers.

However, the realities of penal design and management, not least the financial imperatives in the current climate and the overriding emphasis on security, may mean that educational theory will continue to be overlooked. If this new model merely fuses punishment and education into one and the same thing, arguably exposing the controlling aspects of both, then education and imprisonment may become synonymous with one another and merely exacerbate the average prisoners existing problematic relationship with learning (Devlin, 1995). If executed correctly however, it has the potential to promote learning as an integral part of the individual's life.



**Figure 10.1 Influences on prison teaching and learning (Figure 1.1 revisited)**

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