JOURNAL OF PRISON EDUCATION & REENTRY

Dialogue for researchers & practitioners

Artwork by M. Nguyen, Courtesy of CSUSB Community-based Art from the archive, "Beyond the Blue: Prison Arts Collective"

FEATURE

Lead Editor's Welcome

Editor's Welcome

Cormac Behan

Lead Editor, University of Sheffield

This letter welcomes you to the *Journal of Prison Education and Reentry* (JPER) Volume 5 Issue 2, the second half of our first volume in our new home on the Virginia Commonwealth University Library platform. It was fitting that *JPER* was launched on 13 October 2014, which has been designated by the Council of Europe as the International Day of Education in Prison. As an international journal that welcomes contributions from around the globe, the *Journal of Prison Education and Re-entry* will continue to facilitate the collaboration of researchers and practitioners in prison education through the publication of a variety of papers exploring the theory and practice of prison and correctional education.

We began Volume 5 Issue 1 with a vignette, "The Hidden Heritage" by Thom Gehring, detailing the rich tradition of prison education and penal reform. Thom's vignettes remind us of the work done by prison educators and prison reformers throughout our history. 'The Conduits and Barriers to Reentry for Formerly Incarcerated Individuals in San Bernardino' by Annika Anderson *et al.* considered the challenges of re-entering society and community. Using a sample from San Bernardino county callers using United Way's 211 Reentry Call Center, they found that the callers have intersecting, disadvantaged identities and require multiple services, which suggests a need for collaboration across agencies. They found that human needs resources (i.e. housing, clothes, and food assistance) and legal assistance are the two most frequently requested services.

In the paper, 'Identity, Discourse, and Rehabilitation in Parole Hearings in the United States', Danielle Lavin-Loucks and Rachel Levan adopted an ethnographically informed conversation analytic approach to address one tactic prisoners utilize to appeal to a state parole board for release – claiming rehabilitated status. They found that prisoners appealing for parole attempt to establish, in a performative space, their identity as 'rehabilitated'. The study was used to address how individuals manage, assert, and negotiate identity in the course of this interaction.

In the paper 'Realist Model of Prison Education, Growth, and Desistance: A New Theory', Kristine Szifiris *et al.* offered a new insight into the relevance of desistance theory and understanding of prison sociology to the lives of men engaged in education whilst in prison. Using a realist review method (Pawson, 2002b; Wong, 2013a), the paper articulated three inter-related CMOs (context-mechanism-outcome configurations) that were grounded in prison sociology and desistance literature: 'hook', 'safe space' and 'qualifications'. In their review of the literature, they took a targeted view of relevant fields to identify the most relevant evidence base for (or against) the three CMOs under scrutiny. They identified a stronger evidence base to support the 'safe space' and 'hook' CMOs than for the 'qualifications' CMO.

Silvia Lukacova and colleagues in 'Prison Education in Slovakia from the Teacher's Perspective' dealt with teaching practices in prison education in Slovakia. The research sought to find out in what ways, in the view of the teachers, prison education and school education differ and how they react to the differences. As is the case in many jurisdictions, it found out that the absence of teacher training for prison education and the power of the prison regime strongly affect teaching practice. However, the teachers adjusted the syllabus, the pace and demands placed on the learners according to the conditions of the prison regime. The authors believe

that the present study sheds more light on teaching practices in prison education and helps recognize such areas where specific teacher training is needed.

June Edwards' review of 'Prison Pedagogies: Learning and Teaching with Imprisoned Writers', edited by Joe Lockard and Sherry Rankins-Roberson, highlights for those who work in prison education the constant grapples with the challenge of making our classrooms relevant, welcoming and creative. Edwards concluded that this book was a fascinating collection of essays exploring a range of pedagogical practices that support writing as a form of self-development and cultural resistance.

The final paper in Volume 5 Issue 1, on 'Demographic Variations in Achievement Goal Orientations among Prisoners on Formal and Vocational Training in Uganda' by Irene Aheisibwe and Aloysius Rukundo, examined why, despite the introduction of free prison education, prisoners in Uganda have lower formal and vocational skills compared to the general population. The study found statistically non-significant differences in achievement goal orientations across all the demographics. The main conclusions include the need to deepen prisoners' knowledge on setting various achievement goal orientations to help them in information acquisition and engagement in learning; support goal orientations equally regardless of age, gender, religion and level of education; and achievement goal orientations that allow academic social comparison among learners, which results into richer academic engagement. It recommended that teachers/ instructors in prison education use achievement goal orientations to improve prison education programme through measurement and evaluation of learning outcomes, choosing appropriate methods of instruction and instructional materials, and in helping learners to choose achievable and realistic goals.

We look forward to 2019 and our second issue of JPER Volume 5. You will also find us on Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/#!/JournalofPrisonEducationandReentry). Please join the conversation as we endeavor to build our journal together. I appeal to all those involved in prison education and learning to consider writing a research paper, contributing examples of best practice, writing a book review or updating us on policies, to make *JPER* the primary source for prison education and reentry. I look forward to working with prison education researchers, prison educators and learners inside as we embark on a new phase of our journey.

FEATURE

A Note About the Cover Art

My Choice of Weapon, 2017
M. Nguyen
Oil Pastel 16" x 20"

“Beyond the Blue” is a traveling exhibition of over 100 works of art created by incarcerated individuals participating in weekly arts programming through the Prison Arts Collective (PAC). The artists included seek to transform their lives through art and aim to shift society’s stereotypical image of ‘inmate’ or ‘prisoner’ by sharing their personal expressions and common humanity. “Beyond the Blue” opened at CB1 Gallery in Los Angeles in June 2017 and has traveled to additional venues, including Homegirl Cafe in Los Angeles, with scheduled visits throughout Southern California galleries and museums through 2020. Along with the exhibition, the PAC has organized a series of panels on Art and Restorative Justice which seek to examine a variety of issues and considerations surrounding the experience of incarceration. The **Prison Arts Collective** is a project led by California State University, San Bernardino, professor, Annie Buckley, which facilitates weekly programs in eight California state prisons and will expand to twelve institutions by 2020. The PAC’s multidisciplinary arts classes are led by a collaborative team of teaching artists, university students, and peer facilitators. The program also offers a comprehensive Arts Facilitator Training program for incarcerated individuals that want to grow as leaders and mentors. The PAC is supported by Arts in Corrections, an initiative of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation and the California Arts Council.

FEATURE--HISTORICAL VIGNETTE

Mettray

by THOM GEHRING

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In 1840, near Tours, France, jurist Frederick Auguste Demetz founded Mettray, a family substitute institution for juveniles. Before opening Mettray, "Demetz trained 27 assistants for. . .seven months." (Eriksson, T. [1976]. *The Reformers: An Historical Survey of Pioneer Experiments in the Treatment of Criminals*. New York: Elsevier, 1976, p. 102). The institution was known as a school and employed teachers. Its curriculum consisted of "religion, philosophy, physics, chemistry, mathematics, French, Latin, Greek, German, English, writing, book-keeping, drawing, and music. . ." (Eriksson, 1976, p. 122). Mettray students were "from more or less wealthy social backgrounds," and they "left it reformed" (Eriksson, 1976, p. 123). In France, reforms in juvenile facilities took center stage around 1900. By that time, Mettray:

> had become almost military. . .the institutional population consisted of
> 325 boys sentenced for crimes, 99 who had been remanded for reformative
> Treatment (correction paternelle), and 25 who had been handed over . . .
> by affluent parents. . . .Each week the 'families' [groups of prisoners were
> assigned to a housing unit with a teacher(s) and called a family] had a good
> conduct competition, the winner being the one with the fewest penalties. The
> reward was an extra meal with meat and the best placing at institutional
> festivities. Fourteen different trades could be practiced, but the majority of
> pupils (a total of 253) did farm work. (Eriksson, 1976, p. 123).

Mettray closed in 1937. During its early years it had been the innovative French juvenile institution. Later Mettray had become "the focus of increasingly bitter public criticism." (Eriksson, 1976, p. 128).

Thom Gehring is the research director of the Center for the Study of Correctional Education at California State University, San Bernardino. His scholarly emphasis is on the history of correctional education and prison reform. He has been a correctional educator since 1972. Thom did his Ph.D. dissertation on the correctional school district pattern of organization. He serves as the historian for the Correctional Education Association. Thom is a professor of education who directs the EDCA correctional and alternative masters degree program.

Implementing Successful Jail-Based Programming for Women: A Case Study of Planning Parenting, Prison & Pups – Waiting to 'Let the Dogs In'

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Abstract: *With 68% of prisoners recidivating within a three year period, designing and implementing innovative programming within the corrections setting is a necessity. The transient nature of the jail population begets difficulties for its successful implementation and maintenance. Since incarcerated females represent a smaller portion of the population, women, who face different challenges than their male counterparts, often receive less opportunity for programming, especially within the jail setting. Parenting, Prison & Pups (PPP), a program which weaves together an evidence-based parenting curriculum, integrated with the use of Animal-Assisted Therapy (AAT), serves as a model for how to implement innovative programming within the jail setting at both the federal and county level for female prisoners. This paper outlines strategies to employ and discusses challenges that arise during program creation, implementation, and evaluation, which all require consideration prior to starting a new jail-based program. Despite a multitude of challenges, well-developed strategies can advance program goals and outcomes.*

Keywords: *Women prisoners, jail programs, parenting, animal assisted therapy, jail research*

Two million people are incarcerated in the U.S and upon release, 68% of prisoners will return within a three year period (Durose, Cooper & Sydner, 2014). In an updated report (Alper & Durose, 2018), BJS (Bureau of Justice Statistics) finds that 79% of prisoners will recidivate within six years, while 83% return within a nine year period. Most prisoners (82%) will be arrested within the first three years of release, with 44% arrested within the first year; only 24% of prisoners recidivate in year nine, demonstrating recidivism occurs earlier, not later, during the post-incarceration period. Skills (i.e., communication, parenting, etc.), learned prior to release may help to delay or inhibit this process by maintaining or mending familial relationships and mitigating recidivism rates; strong family bonds, particularly for women in relationship to their children, often serve as a protective factor against recidivism (Loper & Tuerk, 2006). Women typically feel the pains of imprisonment more harshly than their male counterparts because of the separation from their children (Collica, 2006). They suffer from higher rates of depression, self-destructive behavior, and other types of mental illness (Jasperson, 2010; Keaveny & Zauszniewski; 1999). Presently, 1.7 million children in the U.S. have a parent behind bars and these children suffer from many issues, including depression, social exclusion, family instability, anxiety, substance use, early criminality, conduct disorder, antisocial behavior, poor educational attainment, educational under performance, school failure, mental health issues, limited future income, physical ailments, and unhealthy intimate relationships (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010; Christain, 2009; Maruschak, Glaze, & Mumola, 2010; Mears, & Siennick, 2015; Miller & Barnes, 2015; Will, Logan, Whalen, & Loper, 2014). Seventy percent of incarcerated women are responsible for a minor child (Maruschak, Glaze, & Mumola, 2010) and these children are six times more likely to be criminal justice involved (Purvis, 2013). Therefore,

restoring mother-child bonds could impact intergenerational offending patterns. A child's adjustment to their mother's incarceration is dependent upon his/her quality of care in the mother's absence and the ability to maintain contact with his/her incarcerated parent; maintaining contact with an incarcerated parent can aid in reducing the potential for high risk behavior, mitigating the effects for intergenerational offending (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001). With this in mind, it is vital to provide programming to female prisoners, not only to help them, but also their children.

Female prisoners need programs that are gender responsive and address issues that may hinder reintegrative and rehabilitative success. Jail administrators face many challenges in providing new programming and often rely on volunteers or staff from community-based organizations (CBOs). Yet, outsiders who want to develop and implement innovative programming within the corrections setting will quickly learn that despite the innovative nature of one's program, implementation will not be an easy endeavor even though the need for such programming is vital. This article discusses strategies to advance program implementation, maintenance and evaluation within the corrections setting, based on a case study of one jail-based program employed at two separate jails – *Parenting, Prison, & Pups (PPP)*. PPP is the only corrections program to integrate animal-assisted therapy (AAT) into an evidence-based parenting curriculum. The discussion that follows examines the parenting program, before AAT was incorporated, to establish the effectiveness of the parenting program, independent of AAT. We hypothesize that the effectiveness of this parenting program will be enhanced once AAT is fully integrated into the curriculum during the next set of jail classes. When introducing a new program in the corrections setting, it is often best to begin slowly and in stages. We discuss all necessary steps prior to AAT integration to assist others interested in implementing similar programs.

Literature Review

Corrections-Based Programming

Corrections-based education programs, whether traditional (i.e., GED, vocational, etc.) or non-traditional (i.e., HIV, parenting, etc.), provide numerous benefits, not only to prisoners, but also to corrections administrators (Collica, 2002). They reduce maladaptive behavior within the corrections setting, leading to a safer environment for staff and other prisoners (Collica-Cox, 2014; Taylor, 1993), they restrict idleness (Harer, 1995), and they serve to provide positive role models and support for conventional behavior (Collica-Cox, 2016b). In essence, such programs help to encourage law abiding behavior, especially since maladaptive behavior often leads to program loss (Duew, 2017). For female prisoners, the importance of learning/sharing in a confidential and nurturing environment should not be underestimated (Koons, Burrow, Morash & Bynum, 1997) and prosocial relationships with staff members are more likely to make the prisoner's experience a successful one (Collica, 2016b; Toch, 1987). Staff members, who can serve as a source of support and encouragement for prisoners who are transitioning to a conventional lifestyle, help them adopt and maintain a conventional identity, especially when other sources of support are weak or non-existent (Collica, 2016b).

Gender: Different Needs and Opportunities

When implementing programs for women, corrections administrators should be careful about programs marketed as "gender-neutral", which do not target gender specific issues, such as trauma, often responsible for paving a woman's path toward incarceration (Clark, 2009). The majority of female prisoners come to jail disadvantaged and have lifelong experiences with trauma (Belknap, Lynch, & DeHart, 2016; Scott, Lurigio, Dennis & Funk, 2015). Most incarcerated women are non-white, unmarried, and have children; they present with a history of unemployment, abuse, mental health disorders (73% of female prisoners compared to 55% of male prisoners), and they are more likely than men to be arrested for non-violent crimes (Haywood, Goldman, Kravitz, & Freeman, 2000; James & Glaze, 2006).

Just as women's pathways to incarceration differ from men (Simpson, Yahner & Dugan, 2008), factors related to recidivism also differ. The literature often links lack of housing, unemployment, drug use and few accessible community services to prisoner recidivism; for women, unlike men, having children can serve as a "protective" factor (Scott, Grella, Dennis, & Funk, 2014). In a recent study of jail prisoners, women without custody of their children had a 50% greater chance of recidivism, with the highest rate of return occurring within the first three months after release (Scott et. al., 2014). Thus, mother-child attachments are important

in the reintegration process. Incarcerated women need to be able to continue their role as mothers and therefore need "family-oriented policies and programs" (Hairston, 1991, pg. 24).

In jail, the amount of time a person is incarcerated may be uncertain, affecting the program's stability and program completion rate. Jails house both unsentenced (i.e., detainees) and sentenced (i.e., to one year or less) prisoners. In contrast, prisons house those who are convicted of a felony and serving more than a year of incarceration. Both populations can benefit from similar interventions. The major difference is that a program in the jail setting has to be shorter than one offered in the prison setting. Prisoners can also be housed in either a federal or county jail. A federal jail houses those who are arrested for a federal crime, typically in the same region as the jail, although federal prisoners can be transferred to any facility within the United States. A county jail houses those arrested for crime in that specific county; these prisoners are charged with violations of state law. However, a county jail can also house federal prisoners if contracted to do so.

Regardless of location, women prisoners report wanting programming; even though the majority are mothers, few are able to participate in a parenting program while incarcerated (Gray, Mays, & Stohr, 1995). Without programs, female prisoners will face the same individualized issues (i.e., unaffordable housing, limited access to mental health treatment, substance abuse, unemployment, trauma, etc.) when released making it difficult to overcome structural issues (i.e., poverty, racism, classism, sexism, etc) over which they have little control (Belknap et al., 2016).

Given that women's needs tend to be more diverse and more substantial than the needs of their male counterparts, and considering that female prisoners often receive fewer program opportunities than male prisoners, increasing and expanding corrections-based programming for women is crucial (Clark, 2009; Lahm, 2000). It is clear that gender-responsive programming is needed (Spjeidnes, Hyunzee, & Yamatani, 2014) and jails provide the first stop for treatment for those who are newly arrested and unlikely to have been receiving care prior to their arrest (Scott et al., 2015). Given their smaller numbers (women only comprise 15% of all jail prisoners) (Minton & Zeng, 2016), corrections officials have often been able to rationalize circumventing the programmatic needs of females (Clark, 2009; Pang, & Wallace-Capretta, 1995). Even the federal courts have supported these inequalities through decisions which require *equivalent*, but not *identical programming*, for male and female prisoners (see *Glover v. Johnson*, 1979 & *Batton v. State Government of NC*, 1980). Nonetheless, while male incarceration rates remain stable, the female population has increased (Minton & Zeng, 2016), demonstrating why their gender-specific needs cannot be ignored. Trends indicate that in some states women's incarceration rates grew while men's rates declined, whereas in other states, women's rates grew at a higher percentage than men's (Sawyer 2018). When a state experienced an overall decrease in its incarcerated population, men's rates appeared to decrease at a higher rate when compared to women's rates; there are only a handful of states where women "decarcerated" at a faster rate when compared to their male counterparts (Sawyer, 2018).

Program Challenges & Issues for Jails

Despite a call for more evidence-based programming in order to substantiate continued funding, research on corrections programs often suffer from methodological flaws such as selection bias, small sample sizes, lack of control groups, etc. (Lawrence, Meors, Dubin & Travis, 2002; NIJ, 2012). Also, gaining approval to conduct research with corrections populations is highly challenging (NIJ, 2012; Wakai, Shelton, Trestman, & Kesten, 2009). Methodological issues are not the only concern. Programs can face many challenges, such as high staff turnover, limited funding and limited space, which can impact effectiveness (Lawrence et al., 2002).

Although prison time is more harmful to the bond between women and their children because of the longer period of separation (at least a year), implementing programs is easier than in jail. Jails have 12 million admissions yearly, consisting of society's most disadvantaged, who are often plagued with serious problems like mental health issues, drug use, and homelessness (Lurigio, 2016). Jails may often be the first provider of health care services for prisoners who have not seen a doctor in years. Jails are dealing with newly arrested prisoners who may have untreated mental illnesses, untreated physical illnesses or are in the process of detoxing from drugs and/or alcohol. In addition, jails are "consistently underfunded" because they are often the lowest level of priority for local government (Martin, 2007).

Parenting, Prison & Pups

To address the issue of limited programming for females in the jail setting, a gender responsive program was created by the PI and staff from The Good Dog Foundation (a leading community organization in AAT) for women housed in one federal jail and one local/county jail; this program was built upon an already established parenting curriculum (see PIO, 2018). This program is ongoing and after one year of operating without therapy dogs, we plan to integrate them into the parenting program within the next year. Starting the program without the therapy dogs helped us establish a better understanding of the parenting curriculum, as well as establish trust with corrections administrators. Starting slowly seemed to be the best way to progress toward full implementation.

Unlike some parenting programs, this parenting program is based on a program called Parenting Inside-Out (PIO), which incorporates cognitive behavior skills, is outcome based, and is learner-centered (Eddy & Clark, 2010). Since relationships with children can serve as a vehicle toward criminal desistance for female prisoners, it is important to maintain those relationships during a woman's incarceration (Christain, 2009). Corrections-based parenting programs can help women develop healthy bonds with their children by empowering mothers to feel more confident about their parenting skills, by increasing their knowledge of effective parenting techniques and by promoting a healthy parent-child relationship (Gonzalez, Romero, & Cerbana, 2007; Loper & Tuerk, 2011; Sandifer, 2008). These programs offer support and attempt to lessen the emotional effects surrounding separation from their children. A parenting program in a corrections setting, as part of a larger reunification focus, can enable mothers to maintain a bond with their children, benefiting mother and child alike. We hypothesize that the effectiveness of this parenting program will be enhanced by incorporating AAT, which allows learning and sharing to occur for participants with reduced levels of stress, in an extremely stressful environment. The only change to the current program will be the addition of AAT; all other factors, such as the curriculum and the instructor, remain exactly the same. This is the first program of its kind to incorporate AAT within an evidence-based parenting program to improve the lives of incarcerated women and their children. Utilizing AAT in a corrections setting is not new (Furst, 2006) but we know of no other program which incorporates AAT into a structured parenting curriculum.

Why AAT?

As evidenced by attachment theory, the presence of an animal companion triggers feelings of safety in humans, which can encourage class participants to explore their feelings in a protected environment. Animals can fulfill attachment functions. A "therapy pet can potentially become one of the figures in a client's attachment hierarchy …[which can] provide some sort of safe haven and secure base to the client during therapy sessions" (Zilcha-mano, Mikulincer & Shaver, 2011, 545). The expectation of complete confidentiality in a group setting is difficult and unlikely (McClanahan, 2014), and is exacerbated in the corrections setting. Consequently, participants may resist sharing personal information, which limits the effectiveness of the group. Dogs can help mediate the relationship between adults and enable more open and useful communication. AAT has numerous benefits such as reducing stress, lessening anxiety, improving behavior, decreasing depression, and enhancing communication and reading skills (Dunlap, 2010; Geist, 2011). AAT benefits are witnessed with prisoners who have psychiatric or developmental disorders (Koda, Miyaji, Kuniyoshi, Adachi, Watababe, Miyaji, & Yamada, 2015). Even in a highly stressful situation, such as conducting a forensic interview with a child victim, AAT lowers the heart rate (Krause-Parello & Gulick, 2015). Human-animal interactions (HAI) can improve physical health and emotional wellbeing by lowering blood pressure, heart rate, depression, anxieties, perceived feelings of loneliness, and by raising the perceived quality of health (Esposito, McCune, Griffin & Maholmes, 2011; Morrison, 2007). In studies of at-risk youth, AAT helped with overcoming trauma and substance abuse (Kelly & Cozolino, 2015). Dogs increased engagement in counseling sessions with normally withdrawn and non-communicative participants (Chandler, 2001). It helps prisoners develop a deeper sense of responsibility and trust with others (Mercer, Gibson, & Clayton, 2015).

Corrections departments have been using some form of animal-based programming with varying degrees of success for years (Furst, 2006). In a national survey of prison animal programs (PAPS), Furst (2006) found that most states have some form of a PAP but are most commonly used with males and do not have a psychological counseling component. Preliminary results on PAPs are encouraging; they are correlated with increased self-worth and confidence (Enders & Slegers, 2000), increased social skills, decreased infractions

(Fournier, Geller & Firthey, 2007), and increased engagement. The programs can help female prisoners become more open to therapeutic participation (Jasperson, 2010). Dogs can facilitate a connection of trust and acceptance (Brazier, 2014) and have the ability to produce rehabilitative outcomes as they provide a sense of security (Silcox, Castillo & Reed, 2014), which is difficult to achieve in jail. Dogs also provide affection (Silcox et al., 2014), which is particularly salient for women separated from their children. Dogs are non-judgmental and loving (Cusack, 1988); you can tell them anything without fear of rejection. Dogs are favored in the corrections setting as they are disciplined, respond well to commands, and are familiar.

Parenting Programs

Many of the emotional and behavioral problems exhibited by children of incarcerated parents began before their mother's arrest, as a result of poor parenting choices (Christain, 2009); such behaviors are exacerbated by their mother's incarceration. Research finds that children who are prevented from having visits with their mothers in jail often experience more anxiety, depression and withdrawal symptoms compared to children without restricted contact. Even when visits could not be facilitated, more letter writing and phone calls were associated with fewer behavioral problems (Poehlmann, Dallaire, Loper, & Shear, 2010). Children can benefit from their mother completing a parenting course, particularly when they learn skills to facilitate healthy contact which can strengthen family bonds. Prison-based parenting programs for women have demonstrated increased confidence in parenting skills and increased self-self-esteem (Gonzalez, Romero, & Cerbana, 2007; Perry, Fowler, Heggie, & Barbara, 2011). Although the connection with reduced recidivism is not well established (Purvis, 2013), there are strong implications. Parenting programs can increase positive parenting behavior, attitudes and knowledge.; however, these programs do not appear to effect levels of parental stress immediately following the intervention (Tremblay & Sutherland, 2017). Classes may be more effective if women feel more comfortable about disclosing personal information and AAT services should help to achieve this outcome more easily (Chandler, 2001).

Method

Steps Toward Implementation

Gaining sponsorship. *Parenting, Prison & Pups* (PPP) has a four-year implementation process. Approvals and program planning comprised two years; during the third year, the program was offered in both facilities without AAT, and in the fourth year, it will be administered with AAT. Researchers and educators interested in program implementation, especially if it contains a research component, need to have a lot of patience. Not only is the approval process long, arduous and sometimes confusing, but after this lengthy period of time, the proposal could be denied.

The process of laying the foundation for this program began long before its proposal, by establishing good working relationships with staff at both facilities. The PI in this project worked for years developing relationships with both facilities. Although not mandatory, it is much easier if the lead person has experience working within corrections, particularly at the jail level (our lead person worked at both the jail and prison levels and had ample experience). The PI needs to understand the culture, system, policies, procedures, what is possible, and what will never be allowed to happen (Apa et al., 2012). This is vital during negotiations, particularly when counteracting arguments or in deciding whether a disagreement is even appropriate. All suggestions must take security concerns into consideration; without a corrections background it is unlikely the average researcher/educator would know where to begin. Corrections employees are often distrustful due to the nature of the closed system (Brower, 2013). While previous experience and knowledge is often an asset, it can also be a liability if it prevents one from recognizing more innovative ways of achieving beneficial outcomes (i.e., we always do it this way). With this in mind, it was important to brainstorm with those who had little to no jail experience (staff from our community-based partner, The Good Dog Foundation, served in this capacity).

Levels of approval. Obtaining permission to begin a new program was difficult but it became clear that to obtain funding, we would need permission to conduct a program evaluation. If we were implementing the program without a research component, approvals could have been obtained more easily at the facility level. Adding the research component added considerable time to the planning and implementation of this jail-based project. Obtaining IRB (Institutional Review Board) approval was required before submitting a

proposal to each of the facilities. Since prisoners are a protected population, and very few faculty conduct corrections research, the IRB process can be slowed by multiple concerns and questions. Once IRB approval was in place, formal applications could be submitted to both facilities. Achieving approval at the county level was much easier than the federal level. The county facility has an approval committee, albeit not a formal IRB, comprised of staff from education, mental health, and medical, in addition to top level administrators. The federal system required many more levels of approval at the local, regional and national levels. Our proposal was approved at all stages but the last. Researchers should persist at this point as the proposal has been reviewed and approved by many, demonstrating its safety and merit. The final denial may be a misunderstanding of the project.

Presenting a program with empirical evidence was helpful for obtaining facility support. Previous research found dramatically decreased depression, lowered substance abuse, increased parental participation (i.e., more family contact), decreased depression and parental stress, and reduced substance use (i.e., 1.6 times less likely to use drugs upon release), and recidivism (27% compared to 48%) among study participants throughout the Oregon State Prison System (Eddy, Martinez, Burraston, 2013; Parenting Inside-Out, 2015). Parent management training, a cognitive-behavioral intervention, is the foundation of this program. "Cognitive behavioral techniques (i.e., self-control and self-motivation, use of role play, modeling, rehearsal of skills) are employed to address parents' errors in thinking, teach parenting skills, and help parents begin to form a foundation for appropriate parenting and prosocial citizen behaviors after release" (PIO, 2015). The authors found that the program impacted parent-adjustment (i.e., psychological stressors such as depression), the parent-caregiver relationships (i.e., improving the relationship between the parent and the child's caregiver provides the parent more access to the child) and overall parenting (i.e., enhanced parenting skills) (Eddy et al., 2013).

Asking administrators about their needs and trying to fulfill those needs was another way to obtain facility support (White, Dunag, Cruz, Rodas, McCall, Menendez, Carmody, & Tulsky, 2003). Researchers/educators should develop programs in concert with the facility to support their mission and promote their goals (Wakai et al., 2009), as long as their goals are in line with pedagogical values. Depending on the facility, there may be contradictory goals, but in this case, both facilities were focused on rehabilitative initiatives. Corrections staff can be helpful in identifying deficits in programming. After numerous meetings with staff and community-based partners, we were able to meet the facility's and women's needs by developing a program that combined a parenting curriculum with the use of dog-assisted therapy. Our University partnered with The Good Dog Foundation, a nationally recognized nonprofit leader in therapy dog team training, to develop, implement and evaluate an AAT-integrated parenting program for female prisoners. The program will integrate AAT, delivered by specially trained therapy dogs and their handlers, into an evidence-based prisoner-parenting curriculum. Eight professional-handler/dog teams were trained and certified by Good Dog, undergoing an intensive 6-week training program; they received additional training from the PI in the parenting curriculum and in working effectively in the corrections setting. Four teams were chosen for each jail location. The PI worked diligently with the Good Dog Foundation to determine the best way to integrate the AAT component and enhance the selected parenting program, "PIO". In order to do this, we decided to first offer the parenting program at both jails without AAT and conduct pre and posttest assessments to demonstrate the benefits of the parenting curriculum independent from the future integration of the dogs, creating a comparison group.

Months were spent developing the idea and the curriculum. We wanted to enhance the original curriculum with additional curriculum components (i.e. CPR, First Aid and AED, AAT, a reunification day for mothers and their children, as well as a stress management and meditation component). The PI had to take a training course to become certified to teach the parenting curriculum, in addition to working through legal requirements which gave the University license to certify her to teach prisoner participants. Certificates of completion could be used by prisoners to demonstrate to a judge or child welfare agency that a parenting course was completed. This is a parenting course but one which also provides soft skills, such as effective speaking, listening and problem solving. This was an important aspect of the program because both facilities wanted resume building skills for their prisoners. Successful programs are not only evidence-based but provide skills that are highly marketable in today's job market (Collica, 2006). Skills learned in the parenting classes are transferable to the job market and such skills are desirable by employers. To provide additional skills, the

women are certified for two years in CPR, AED and First AID (for adult, children and infants); these skills are helpful for parenting but they are also valuable skills to add to one's resume.

Additionally, university students enrolled in the PI's civic engagement/service learning corrections course serve as teaching assistants during the jail classes to help coordinate and instruct group activities. Service learning courses prepare students to become socially responsible and encourage political and social participation within the community (Ferraiolo, 2004; Markus, Howard, & King, 1993). It is highly important to expose students to experiences in the corrections setting as corrections is a neglected field in criminal justice and one of the least preferred career choices of criminal justice students (Courtright & Mackey, 2004; Kelly, 2015).

In working with both jails, it appeared programs should not exceed two months if one of the program goals was to have the majority of prisoners complete the program. Time limitations severely impacted the types of programs that could be offered. Unlike those serving time in a state or federal prison, many jail prisoners will be returning to their communities after a shorter period of incarceration where they will be able to implement the skills they recently learned in a real world setting. It is important to note that jail is not the best avenue for building those skills; community-based corrections, which allow for more intimate mother-child contact and more quality visitation can be more effective in skills building, without further damaging the relationship between a mother and her children (Booth, 2018).

Starting the program. We wanted to first implement the parenting program in both jails and become familiar with the curriculum, as well as solve any operational issues, prior to utilizing the therapy dogs. Having a point person in the Education Department proved to be invaluable at both levels; they processed our clearances, met us at the gate, and helped to clear us and our supplies for each visit.1 Organization was key, particularly in regard to organizing the students and other outside volunteers. Our program is based on volunteers. The PI volunteered to teach all of the classes; her students volunteered to assist with course delivery and were trained to co-facilitate group activities under her supervision.

Other professionals in the field volunteered to teach the stress management/meditation component (an instructor from the Prison Yoga Project) and the CPR component (two volunteer firefighters who also worked as jail custodial staff in the county facility– one officer and one sergeant). In addition, The Good Dog volunteered their staff to attend jail classes and train the students on AAT. Although beginning a program with volunteers is not ideal (i.e., volunteers often have other commitments and without pay, have no formal obligation), it was necessary until funding could be obtained.

Staff can be one of the most important factors in a program's ability to positively impact prisoner behavior (Collica, 2014; Koons et. al., 1997; Palmer, 1995). To be most effective, program staff must be properly trained, have prior experience working with similar populations, and understand, but more importantly, follow corrections' policies/rules (Tewksbury, 1994; White et. al., 2003). Those without experience should receive formalized supervision and additional training from someone with experience. The PI provided this additional training for Good Dog staff. It may be difficult recruiting staff, especially volunteers, because of preconceived notions about what to expect while working in a jail with prisoners. Those with serious concerns and fears will probably prove to be inappropriate for this type of work. We faced these issues when recruiting appropriate staff for our program. Potential staff must be able to relate to the population (White et al., 2003).

Methodology

Utilizing a pre and posttest quasi-experimental design, we first evaluated the effects of the parenting program without AAT. When the dogs are integrated into the program we will evaluate how a structured set of AAT activities affects the efficacy of the parenting curriculum. It was important to understand if the program itself was effective, independent of the dogs, to determine whether AAT offered enhanced effects. We felt sharing this process, particularly the protocol, was important for other researchers/practitioners who might be interested in implementing corrections programming. When the dogs are fully incorporated in the next classes, the AAT activities will be structured to support lesson plans that comprise the parenting curriculum for females housed in both jails - the WCDOC (Westchester County Department of Corrections), the county jail, and MCC (Metropolitan Correctional Center), the federal jail. We will determine if there are measurable

differences following the AAT intervention (within subjects) and compare these results to the earlier group from both jails, who completed the same parenting course without AAT (between subjects).

Challenges exist in terms of reviewing and assessing the program. Rigorous controls, which are preferable, are often not possible in the jail setting, and preventing prisoners designated to a comparison/control group from participating in an available program raises ethical concerns. There were a limited number of eligible women incarcerated (a maximum of 25 in each facility) and participation was voluntary, making randomization and a control group impracticable. During our first year, the women completed the parenting program without AAT and we decided to use this group as our comparison group. Having this comparison group also helped us to understand how to best incorporate the therapy dogs and where in the curriculum they would be most effective. These women were interviewed within a few days of beginning PPP and they were interviewed again a few days after completing PPP. Pre and posttest data, inclusive of scales (DASS21) measuring levels of stress, anxiety, depression (Lovibond& Lovibond,1995) and self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), were collected via 1:1 interviews. Open-ended questions measure the level of contact/involvement with children, confidence in parenting (Berry & Jones, 1995; Korjenevitch, Dunifon, & Kopko, 2010; Kramer & McDonnell, 2016; Parenting Inside-Out, 2015), and once the dogs are integrated into the program, overall feelings regarding the implementation of AAT within the course. Interview questions examined disciplinary rates. The HAIS (Human-Animal Interaction Scale) will be used to measure the level of human-animal interaction following each AAT session (Fournier, Letson & Berry, 2016). A comparison of both groups will determine the effect of AAT on promoting engagement and retention, key elements of the learning process.

Women were recruited by education staff in each facility. Requirements for participation included having at least two months of time remaining on one's sentence (which is difficult to guarantee in a jail setting) and a child or grandchild 24 years of age and under where the prisoner served as one of the child's primary caregivers. Other familial relationships were considered (i.e. aunts) if women served as the primary caregiver/custodial guardian of a minor child.

There were 14 class sessions that took place twice a week over a two-month period; each class was two hours. These classes included Orientation and Parenting Styles; Effective Speaking; Effective Listening; Effective Problem Solving; Bonding Through Play and Reading; The Parent's Job and The Child's Job; Directions and Encouragement; Rules, Rewards and Consequences; Time Out with Back-Up Privilege Removal (non violent discipline); Going Home To Your Children; Stress Management and Meditation; Healthy Adult Relationships; and CPR, First Aid and AED certification for adults, children and infants. Last was the Reunification Day, where prisoners' primary family and children/grandchildren were invited to the facility to spend time with our prisoner mothers. Each facility agreed to sponsor this two hour session, including refreshments, activities and the graduation ceremony. The facility agreed to suspend traditional visiting rules that limit physical contact, and children were permitted to interact normally with their mothers. AAT will be incorporated into the next set of classes, integrated within each lesson (with the exception of meditation and CPR). The women will have unstructured time with the dogs at the beginning and at the end of class. The dogs will serve as emotional support during the class when difficult topics are discussed and the dogs will be incorporated into each lesson and serve as avatars/surrogates as women practice some of their skills (i.e., dogs, like small children, cannot verbally communicate. How do we know what they need, what they are feeling, etc.?). The therapy dogs will be available for the children and family members during the reunification/graduation day. PPP is a pioneer program in the way it integrates an evidence-based inmate parenting curriculum in conjunction with AAT, which has not been done previously (see Collica-Cox & Fagin, 2018).

Program Challenges

Flexibility

During the course of this project we learned that many challenges must be overcome before full implementation of a new program. Beyond the lengthy approval process, there were differences in facility culture – what worked at one facility was not necessarily allowed at another (Apa et. al., 2012). It was important that program staff be flexible during this process. Constraints of the jail setting, particularly space, are always a major challenge (Stevens, 1993). Schedules were revised several times based on available space to conduct the classes, which, along with the pre and posttest interviewing, required a confidential setting.

Patience

Remaining flexible was important as program staff should be prepared to do a lot of waiting. Arriving early was important to account for factors beyond one's control. If there was a security code, all activities were closed, including programs. Staff may not learn about this until after their arrival. Rescheduling of classes, although uncommon, did occur. Waiting for everyone to be processed at the gate can take some time, especially if clearances were missing or if there was a long line of others who also needed to be processed. In other cases, the "count" (i.e., all prisoners are accounted for several times a day) may not be cleared and no one can enter the facility during this time. There were several times we waited an hour before gaining entry, even though we always arrived a minimum of 45 minutes ahead of schedule. When class is over, you may not be able to leave, especially if you needed an escort. Prepare for an additional 30 to 60 minutes. Volunteer staff need to understand how much of their time will be required. For paid staff, this is a budgetary consideration.

Working With Corrections Staff

Maintaining a good working relationship with all jail staff was critical to operational success. Civilian staff should never interfere with custodial duties. If there is a problem, never discuss it in front of the prisoners. CBO representatives/volunteers must respect corrections officers at all times and not interfere in prisoner/officer conflicts. Always be polite and respectful, even when you may not be treated the same in return. Having an argument with someone who works in the facility will only lead to problems for your program; work out difficulties at a later time. Volunteers or contract employees must always remember that they are visitors in a corrections institution and may be removed from their duties at any time and for any reason. These staff do not have the same employment protections as staff who work directly for the jail. Security is often the foremost concern and all other matters, particularly educational programming, will take a backseat (Hogben & Lawrence, 2000). When unsure about a situation, always ask questions. Do not give the prisoners anything (even pens or paperclips) unless it is approved; items outsiders consider harmless can be manufactured into something that could pose a threat to the safety, security and well-being of the institution (i.e., tattooing pens, handcuff picks, makeshift syringe, shiv, etc.). An error on the part of program staff can jeopardize the entire program/project. It will take awhile for prisoners and staff to trust individuals from an outside agency, but consistency and an ability to follow and understand the rules and regulations, seems to be the road to the successful maintenance of programs (AIDS Alliance, 2003).

Prisoner Participation

To obtain participants, corrections staff was needed to recruit prisoners. Jail staff had access to the prisoners and to the prisoners' records to determine program eligibility (White et. al., 2003). Without this assistance, the process of assessing eligibility could be a lengthy endeavor. The primary goal was to have prisoners complete the program. Although not always accurate, staff was more likely to know if a prisoner would be incarcerated for the duration of the program; prisoners were often unclear about their release dates or may not have been honest about release dates.

Other barriers to obtaining full prisoner participation revolved around prisoner and facility schedules. Prepare for the expected and the unexpected. Programs had to be arranged around prisoner movement, chow (meal time), the count, medical visits, drafts (prisoners leaving one facility and transferring to another), commissary, the package room, prisoner misbehavior (i.e., a prisoner, not in our class, flooded part of the tier and we had to relocate), medication, etc, (Hammett & Daughery, 1991). We changed and revised the schedule of classes several times to account for these issues. Attendance was challenging; during classes, we had issues when medication was called or when someone had an attorney's visit or needed to appear in court for a hearing. Participation for all classes was mandatory. In special circumstance, such as these, the PI or other class participants provided 1:1 tutoring with the prisoner to cover missed material. If any prisoners are remaining when we conduct the next set of classes, we plan to add a peer mentoring component to help the PI with tutoring. Again, the importance of flexibility, creativity in handling such issues, and time management cannot be understated.

Results

Initial Results

In order to obtain preliminary data, as part of a feasibility study to assess the future integration of AAT, we conducted parenting classes at both jails last year without the use of AAT, with encouraging results. As stated earlier, AAT will be incorporated into the next set of classes. Even though our program was only eight weeks, attrition was an issue in the jail setting. Out of 14 women who started the program at the federal facility, 11 completed, but only ten could be interviewed. Two women were transferred the day the program began, one woman was transferred toward the end of the program, and one woman, who finished, was released the morning of the reunification day. Initial results from our first control group (the federal jail without AAT) (n=10) – the pilot – indicated decreases in stress, depression, and parental stress, in addition to increases in self-esteem. Although anxiety decreased, it was not a significant decrease. We hope to improve these changes with the integration of AAT. All prisoner mothers said the class exceeded their expectations and that the most important skill they learned was how to become a better communicator:

> Yes, [this class was] beyond my expectations. I realize what type of things to expect as my daughter gets older. The class helped me to cope with being away from her.

> It exceeded my expectations with all of the materials provided [to] us and with what I gained from the class. I didn't expect to gain as much as I did.

All participants felt the class helped them in their relationships with their families by helping them to communicate more effectively:

> [I worked most on] effective listening skills. I am more aware when people are talking to me. My focus is not that great and since this class I am really focusing on what people are really saying. I am really listening and not just agreeing and shaking my head.

> I haven't lost my temper on the phone with anyone. I hope it keeps staying that way. [I worked most on] my communication skills and not giving up. I cannot wait to get out and speak to my son. I am not [usually] a communicator – I'm a screamer.

> I have learned to be more considerate of others' feelings. Now, I put myself in their shoes.

> I can take a little piece of everything we learned and use it with my kids and husband.

Seven women said the class changed the way they thought about themselves as a mom:

> The way I was raised was abusive. There were fights and alcohol and drugs. This class made me realize that it doesn't have to be that way. There's a better way.

> I will be a better mom. I thought I knew it all but I learned more skills. I can redefine the definition of what I thought a mom was.

All ten women said the parenting class changed the way they thought about parenting and that the course made them feel more confident in their parenting skills:

> There is more to just parenting than being a parent. There are different ways to parent. I idenified parenting things I could better. I am convinced that I need to do the things I haven't done.

> [I feel more confident because] I learned different ways to cope with situations.

> [I feel more confident because] it helped to improve my skills and validated what I was doing.

Further Results

Our second class was held at the county jail in fall of 2017. Most measures did not prove to be statistically significant, however, these women, when compared to the federal women, presented with many more issues and problems, such as lengthier criminal and drug histories. Thirteen women began the parenting class; 10 completed/interviewed. Overall, data indicated a significant decrease in depression. Decreases in pre and posttest measures for stress and anxiety were noted, but neither was significant. Self-esteem scores increased minimally but scores generally remained unchanged. Parental stress scores showed a minor increase from the pretest (M=40.0) to the posttest (M=40.8) but generally remained unchanged. For this second class, we decided to add a knowledge test to the research protocol, consisting of 25 multiple choice and true/false questions. These questions were developed directly from information in the parenting curriculum to see how much the women knew about parenting prior to the course and to determine how much information the women retained after the conclusion of the classes. The knowledge test scores increased considerably from the pretest to the posttest and proved to be significant, increasing an average of 16.1 points. Many of these women were not in contact with their children, with some prevented from having contact via child protective orders. As a point of comparison, only one woman at the federal facility was prevented from having contact with her son through a child protective order. In general, 64% of the women from the local jail felt the class provided them with enhanced parenting skills. Many of these women commented that since they were not responsible for raising their own children, they found this information very useful, particularly since they all planned to reconnect with one or more of their children upon release. Six women reported communication was the most effective skill they learned, with eight women who reported that these skills helped to improve their relationship with family members and nine women said it helped to improve their relationship with other prisoners. All the women said it made them feel more confident in their parenting skills, with the class exceeding or meeting their expectations.

The work of each woman in the class was individualized. As women brought issues to the group, the group would brainstorm possible solutions based on skills learned during the course. For example, one woman used her communication skills to deal with the hostility of her son. When our class began, he would not speak to her, but she persisted with the communication skills learned in the parenting class, and by the end of our class, he spoke with her and said he would see her. Another woman, who lied to her grandson about her whereabouts, disclosed her incarceration to him, which was a direct result of the parenting class. A third woman used the communication skills and problem solving skills to enhance her relationship with her daughter's caregiver. By the end of our class, she received a visit. Overall, the women in the class, including four who did not want to be there at the beginning (two at the federal jail and two at the county jail), really worked very diligently to enhance their parenting skills and to begin to deal with guilt that they felt as a result of choices which led to their separation from their children. As each woman faced challenges, she brought these challenges to the group. The group worked actively to help problem solve and the women would report on their progress. Many of the women waited to disclose toward the latter half of the class. Our hope is that AAT will help them to disclose sooner.

The university students also proved to be an asset to the course. The 15 university students who participated in the first jail classes at the federal facility and the 13 University students who participated in the second set of jail classes at the county facility developed a realistic view of corrections and, as expected, these views were completely different from what they previously imagined. All students said this was their best educational experience and the majority was now considering careers in the corrections field. Exposing students to corrections helped them to realize that transformation was possible, even with the smallest effort. The inmates reported that they felt the students were valuable in assisting with group activities and they enjoyed having outsiders join their group.

Discussion

It is clear that jails need programming, especially for female prisoners (Clark, 2009), where gender responsive programming is critical for rehabilitative success (Belknap et al., 2016). *Parenting, Prison & Pups* was developed to help respond to this need, particularly because children can serve as a protective factor for women, decreasing rates of recidivism (Scott et al., 2014). Although overall incarceration rates are their lowest since 2004 (Kaeble & Glaze, 2016), unlike males, female incarceration has increased at a higher rate

(Minton & Zeng, 2016). Female jail prisoners already suffer from a paucity of programming, typically justified by their smaller numbers. In light of these recent statistics, now is the time to introduce more innovative programs which will help them to successfully transition to the community and maintain law abiding behavior (Clark, 2009; Collica, 2016a).

Researchers will face many challenges when attempting to establish a new program, including gaining sponsorship, successfully navigating large *bureaucracies*, obtaining all of the necessary levels of approval from multiple agencies, and negotiating facility schedules. Issues regarding recruitment and retention can also affect program stability, but well-developed strategies and continued communication and support from corrections officials will help mitigate, if not eliminate, these problems. Flexibility, patience, time management, adherence to facility rules/policies and dedication are all essential components to implementing, and more importantly, maintaining, a successful jail-based program.

First, starting the program slowly and in steps (first without the therapy dogs) appeared to be a great way to establish the legitimacy of the program, gain trust from both corrections administrators and prisoners, and manage operational issues/problems as they arose. It allowed us to address a multitude of challenges (i.e., long approval processes, operational issues, obtaining quality program staff, learning and understanding jail culture, policy and procedure, etc.) before implementing the full program. It enabled us to test the overall effectiveness of the parenting component independently from the dogs and we even used it as an opportunity to refine our methodology. Based on the information presented above, the program itself is effective independent of the dogs. Other researchers or practitioners could implement this program without AAT, as we did initially, and still have very beneficial outcomes. Since few parenting programs have been evaluated, we have initial data which demonstrates that this program is valuable. We will learn whether AAT enhances these outcomes. Lessons learned during this implementation process can be helpful to those who want to provide programming or assess program effectiveness in the corrections setting. From what we learned, we believe that we will be able to transition to full integration of the therapy dogs more easily. In order to demonstrate good faith (we felt badly that this first group of women would not have the benefit of AAT), after the conclusion of the first classes without AAT (including post testing), we surprised the women with a visit from a therapy dog. The women really enjoyed this visit. One woman at the federal facility sat on the floor with the therapy dog and wept openly. It was a very powerful experience and it gave us a sense of what was to come.

Second, when developing programs, it is important to work alongside corrections administrators to achieve a balance between the types of programs needed and the ones wanted. Programs that can satisfy both will likely be most welcomed and any program that can impart marketable skills will often achieve the support of administration. Skills learned during this parenting class were soft skills which are applicable to the job market (i.e., communication and problem solving skills). Employers seek potential job candidates who possess effective communication skills and over half (59%) express difficulties in finding candidates with suitable interpersonal skills (Brooks, 2016). The CPR certification, which was helpful training for parents, was also a resume builder. The OSHA First Aid standard (29 CFR 1910.151) "requires trained first-aid providers at all workplaces of any size if there is no infirmary, clinic, or hospital in near proximity to the workplace which is used for the treatment of all injured employees" (Osha, 2006, p8). Certification in CPR, First Aid and AED helps to satisfy this requirement. Women will not only be lifesavers for others in need, especially their children, but they learned skills, which can be added to their resume, to increase their marketability upon release. Any additional skill will help in mitigating the stigma of one's incarceration when seeking employment. Female prisoners who have job skills, coupled with family support, can increase their chances for success (Collica-Cox, 2016).

Third, assessment and evaluation is an important part of program implementation. Any program worth maintaining needs to be evaluated for effectiveness, especially in lieu of often limited resources. Rigorous controls are difficult to achieve in the corrections setting but that does not prevent evaluations from being conducted. Quasi-experimental designs can work well in this setting. Data collection for our program is ongoing, yet, our first classes without AAT demonstrated promising results, especially for helping prisoners to communicate more effectively, which not only aided mothers in enhancing their relationships with their children and their children's caregivers, but it is also provided the soft skills discussed above, which are desired by many employers. These initial results also helped to establish a baseline for our program and to demonstrate to

corrections administrators that this program, even absent the dogs, could provide beneficial results. The county women did not achieve as many program outcomes as the federal women, but, they presented with many more issues at program onset and were subsequently at a greater disadvantage. We believe this group may benefit more from AAT. Initial results demonstrated that the parenting program by itself decreased stress, parental stress and depression for the federal prisoners, while decreasing depression for the county prisoners, who presented with much longer criminal histories. A research component added to a program will ultimately increase approval time but all programs must be assessed for effectiveness to insure that limited resources are not being misused.

Fourth, a parent's incarceration, particularly a mother's incarceration, has a negative effect on a child's sense of security and trust (Hanlon, Carswell, & Rose, 2007). Increased contact between a child and his/her incarcerated parent can lead to renewed trust and greater communication but such relationships are most beneficial for children when there is a clear connection to behavior change on the part of the parent (Hedge, 2016). The process of behavior change can begin when prisoners are regularly engaged in programming intended to encourage and support conventional behavior; the goals are often to achieve fewer institutional misconducts, greater involvement in prosocial activities (such as parenting) and decreased recidivism, which are also intrinsic to a conventional lifestyle (Gaes Flanagan, Motiuk & Stewart, 1999). Connecting women with their children in a prosocial way appears to provide a multitude of benefits for both mother and child.

Fifth, innovative methods can help to garner support from administration and prisoners. AAT is not new to the corrections setting (Furst, 2006) but it can be utilized in unique ways. Since the corrections setting restricts time with one's child, thereby hindering a prisoner's ability to practice her parenting skills, the therapy dogs, employed as a high impact learning practice, will serve as avatars (surrogates) for female inmates as they learn and practice parenting skills in preparation for reuniting with their children. AAT components were designed to enhance, illustrate, and augment class topics, as well as to assist inmates in reflecting on and articulating their feelings. We believe the use of structured AAT activities to support this parenting program will aid in reducing negative feelings for prisoner mothers, help to foster more open communication, and allow these classes to reach their maximum potential for the women, and most importantly, their children. We look forward to implementing and evaluating our next set of parenting classes, fully integrated with the therapy dogs. Although we have not yet implemented AAT, we felt it was important to outline the steps when implementing a new program in the corrections setting and to determine if the underlying program was effective in meetings its outcomes. We hope that this will aid others if they have interest in implementing similar projects.

Sixth, educators and researchers should not shy away from program implementation and from jail-based research, which may be difficult, but not impossible. Although women comprise a small percentage of the jail population and the population is transient, creating challenges for program stability and completion, it should not serve as an excuse to justify jail-based women's continued neglect for meaningful intervention. Jail populations are often incarcerated for shorter periods of time, hence, will be returning to our communities more quickly. They can benefit the most from these types of interventions. Well-developed strategies, such as some of the ones discussed in this paper, can advance programmatic goals. It is important work and work that needs to be completed by dedicated professionals.

Seventh, because of limited funding, many volunteers were needed to support the program. Although small grants were obtained, it will not be enough to sustain the program long term. Ample time must be taken to identify and apply for funding opportunities. This can be challenging while simultaneously trying to develop and implement the program, in addition to data collection. We have been lucky, thus far, with the generosity of a private donor. We are still in the process of submitting funding applications. If successful, we would like to recruit additional instructors to implement this program at other facilities and determine whether the benefits are generalizable to other areas.

Conclusion

It is apparent that jail-based women, who are the most underserved of all corrections populations, are in need of innovative programming. Yet, the implementation and maintenance of such programming presents with many challenges. Despite these challenges, it is clear that well-developed strategies can advance program goals and outcomes. Researchers should not be intimidated by these challenges; evaluating the effectiveness

of corrections-based programming is essential in order to insure that we are utilizing the availability of limited resources most efficaciously. Results from our initial study imply that parenting programs developed for women are important jail-based interventions to improve parenting skills and relationships with their children and/or children's caregivers. When resources are limited, programming is often provided to male prisoners because the program has the opportunity to impact more prisoners, thus improving upon its cost-effectiveness. Yet, overlooking the programmatic needs of jail-based women, because of their small numbers, ignores the opportunity to provide an intervention which can aid in rehabilitative and reintegrative outcomes, especially for those who will return to our communities after brief periods of incarceration. Such interventions not only aid women being released from jail, but have the potential to impact her children. Where children are often the innocent victims in this process, and can potentially benefit from healthy contact with their mothers, we can think of no better reason as to why this type of programming is needed.

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Footnote

[1.] We have concerns about losing this point person (i.e., to transfers and/or promotions). Hence, we have tried to establish relationships with other staff in case this comes to fruition. It is clear that the success of a jail program is based on connections with dedicated jail staff.

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RESEARCH PAPER

What is the Role of the Prison Library? The Development of a Theoretical Foundation

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Abstract: *There has been little examination of how criminological theory may help to inform library practice in correctional settings. This article takes steps to address this deficit by presenting a new and timely approach to prison library research. It suggests that situating prison library research within the disciplines of librarianship, education and criminology can lead to a deeper understanding of the contribution made by libraries to the lives of those in prison. The authors propose a theoretical model which draws on theories of desistance, informal learning theories and critical librarianship. This model can be used by both library and education researchers and practitioners to build a body of evidence on the value of the prison library and may act as a roadmap to good practice. It is an initial framework, intended to be adapted and refined as more empirical evidence is collected in this area.*

> Much recreational reading is indirectly educational, but the library has possibilities for direct education that have not been realised in any penal institution in the country. If one could choose only one of the agencies necessary for a well-rounded program of education in a penal institution, he could do well to choose an adequate library. (MacCormick, 1931, p. 150)

Writing in the United States in 1931, MacCormick's seminal work on prison education recognised the integral role that libraries could play in the education of prisoners. Positive developments have been made in the global provision of prison library services since then, but the standard of this provision remains inconsistent across countries and across individual institutions. While much has been written in this field – both by practitioners and library researchers – there remains a paucity of empirical evidence of prisoners' experiences of using library services. There also remains a lack of cohesion between prison library research, prison education research and broader criminological studies. Without a strong evidence base of prisoners' experiences of the library, and a deeper consideration of relevant theoretical constructs across these disciplines, the full possibilities of the prison library has yet to be uncovered. This article goes some way in addressing this gap in prison library research. It draws together theories of desistance, informal learning and critical librarianship to build a theoretical lens and framework through which the role and outcomes of the library can be better understood (see Figure 1).

Early prison education literature and prison education policies acknowledge the centrality of the library in the educational experiences of prisoners (MacCormick, 1931; Forster, 1981; Council of Europe, 1990). Existing empirical research of prisoners' actual experiences of library services remain, however, within the niche field of prison librarianship. We argue for wider inclusion of the library in contemporary research on prisoners' experiences of learning. The current climate of prison education research – which is strongly influenced by desistance narratives and emphasises the importance of informal learning opportunities – offers a window of opportunity for the fuller realisation of the possibilities of the prison library. Drawing on existing prison library and education literature and insights from ongoing doctoral work being carried out by Finlay, this article presents a new and timely approach to framing prison library research. The framework presented in this article may serve as a foundation for future prison library research and will ideally encourage both li-

brary and education practitioners and researchers to build a much-needed body of evidence in this area. The authors recognise that the framework presented in this article may be challenging to realise in practice, particularly where libraries are not presently equipped to provide the range of services outlined in the framework. Nonetheless, it has the potential to inform praxis and may be useful in helping to persuade stakeholders of the benefits of investing in a well-resourced library service.
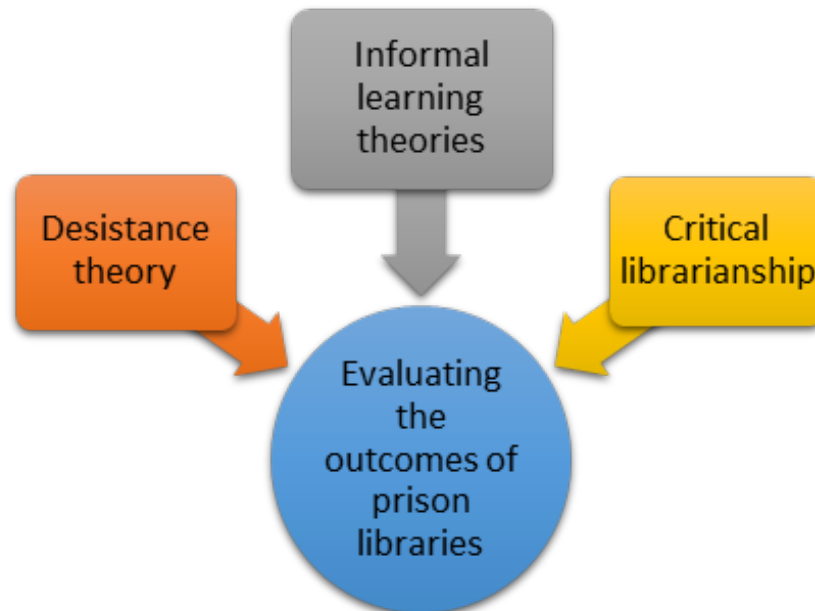

Figure 1. Theoretical contexts for evaluating prison library outcomes

Literature Review

Current knowledge of prison library services exists mostly in the form of policy documents and international guidelines (see, for example, the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) *Guidelines for library services to prisoners*, 2005), or publications written by those with experience of working in the profession (Vogel, 1995, 2009; Lehmann, 2003, 2011; Clark & MacCreaigh, 2006). These publications explore the purpose of correctional libraries and provide practical advice on how best to manage and deliver library services. A 2011 issue of the *Library Trends* journal put a spotlight on prison libraries, outlining developments in services across Europe, North America and Japan. These articles provide helpful insights into policies and practices across the world but are mostly descriptive in nature and offer little in the way of theory development or empirical evidence of how individuals in prison benefit from these services. Through an exploration of the history of prison libraries, Rubin's work (1973, 1974; Rubin & Souza, 1989) contends more seriously with the theoretical grounding of prison library services. Her research offers a strong contribution to prison library literature, particularly in unpacking its role and purpose within the prison. It is again lacking in empirical evidence to show prisoners' actual experience of engaging with library services and the impact of these services. Stearns (2004, p. 62) is critical of prison library literature for describing only "how a library functions rather than provide measurable evidence of how well it serves its mission." He called for more comprehensive research with "a coherent philosophical foundation" that would offer more compelling evidence of the value of library services (p. 62).

Evaluations of specific literacy and reader development programmes, along with empirical studies of reading practices in prison (Trounstine & Waxler, 2006; Sweeney, 2010, 2012) arguably offer the most convincing evidence of the positive outcomes of using library services. They look beyond staff expertise and give a voice to library patrons, something which is largely absent from prison library research. Garner's recent study of prison library users in Australia takes important steps in addressing this void. Recognising the necessity of learning from prisoners, her research adopts a phenomenological approach to uncovering the

experiences of those who engage with the library (Garner, 2017). Doctoral research is currently being carried out by the author (Finlay) which seeks to build upon these findings by exploring prisoners' engagement with library services across the UK and Ireland. It situates this empirical evidence within the theoretical framework outlined in this article, in order to better understand the meaning behind these experiences and resulting implications for policy and practice. The findings from this work will be reported in a separate article.

As with many prison-based programmes and services, the provision of library services has changed over time in line with the shifting goals of the criminal justice system. Throughout the 19th century, reading was considered to be part of the cure for a prisoner's sinful nature, and literature was provided to encourage moral reform (Sullivan, 2000). As the penal climate became less punitive, the library was given more of a central role in supporting the rehabilitation of prisoners. Vogel (2009, p. 10) identifies the 1970s in particular as being the "golden years" of prison librarianship in the United States, when an increasingly positive attitude toward prisoners' human rights enabled librarians to separate their goals from those of the prison. European literature also reflects this shift, with prison libraries in Spain, France and Italy all proposing reform to library services in line with a new political direction in the late 1970s and 80s (Costanzo, Montecchi & Derhemi, 2011; Cramard & McLoughlin, 2011; Perez Pulido & DeAngelo, 2011). New prison policy was also developed in the United Kingdom at this time which aligned prison libraries with the public library model (Home Office, 1978). These changes were welcomed by library staff, most of whom favoured Rubin's view that library services should be seen as a "library project and not an arm of corrections" (1974, p. 442). It is now widely accepted that prison libraries should be based on a public library model, and as much as possible should adhere to the professional standards and ethics of the wider library profession. This is perhaps the greatest challenge facing prison librarians, who strive to provide services in an institution whose agenda is almost antithetical to that of a library. Incarceration inherently limits the freedom, privacy and autonomy of individuals – three ingredients that are key to the provision of effective library services. This article considers the possibility that the recent influence of desistance research on criminal justice strategies in the United Kingdom has the potential to help mitigate this conflict between the library and the prison.

Accepting that prison libraries should be based on a public library model, what then is their role within the prison? The IFLA/UNESCO Public Library Manifesto (1994) asserts that all libraries should provide "free and unlimited access to knowledge, thought, culture and information" (para.1) to all members of society, regardless of "age, race, sex, religion, nationality, language or social status" (para. 6). These services must extend to those cut off from society, for whom access to information and knowledge may be even more crucial. As noted in IFLA's Prison Library Guidelines (Lehmann & Locke, 2005, p. 4), "An incarcerated person has not relinquished the right to learn and access information." Access to the library and library resources is a statutory requirement in all prisons in the United Kingdom, underlining the fact that freedom to access information is a universal human right which should not be left behind at the prison door. The information resources available in the library should meet the legal, recreational and educational needs of prisoners (Wilhelmus, 1999).

Freedom to access information may be considered the ultimate aim of a library, but it is not its only purpose. The prison library should also provide individuals with "the opportunity to develop literacy skills, pursue personal and cultural interests, as well as life-long learning" (Lehmann & Locke, 2005, p. 4). These opportunities are facilitated through a range of literacy and reader development programmes, as well as peer-learning and family literacy schemes. Further to the resources and programmes on offer, the very space of the library is deemed important within the prison. The words "normalcy" and "normalisation" appear repeatedly throughout prison library literature (Vogel, 2009; Lehmann, 2011; Dilek-Kayaoglu & Demir, 2014), as the library is often the only place within the prison that offers a public service and resembles the outside world. Vogel (2009, p. 20) describes the library as an "oasis of equality and respect" in an otherwise hostile environment which often demeans and dehumanises individuals. A participant in Finlay's earlier study on prison-based family literacy programmes noted the contrast between the two environments: "It's peaceful in here. We need that. It's peaceful compared to the craziness of the wings" (Finlay, 2014, p. 38).

This brief overview of literature and policy has outlined the history and purpose of prison library services, and the range of services it offers to incarcerated individuals. At the same time, it has revealed what Stearns (2004, p. 62) calls a "lacuna" of evidence showing the actual benefits of these services. Garner's re-

cent research into prisoner experiences makes positive steps in this direction, but it is clear that a larger body of empirical evidence, grounded in relevant theoretical constructs, is needed to truly understand the role of the library in the lives of prisoners. This article goes some way in addressing this need, by linking central themes found in desistance literature, informal learning theories and critical librarianship to the potential benefits of using library services. The following paragraphs provide an overview of desistance research and how it has already been used by those working in prison education and prison-based arts programmes to better understand the value of their services. This sets the context for how the findings of desistance research may likewise contribute to a deeper understanding of the value of the prison library.

Desistance Research and the Desistance Paradigm

Criminological research has traditionally been concerned with understanding the onset of offending behaviour, rather than how and why individuals turn away from a life of crime. Desistance research focuses instead on the cessation of criminal behaviour, and in particular the cognitive changes that takes place in the lives of individuals in reaching that point. Although there is no one clear theory of desistance, Maruna (2016, p. 289) states that all desistance research involves "the study of how and why individuals we label as 'offenders' break free from this lifestyle." What sets this field of research apart from traditional discussions of reform and rehabilitation is that it turns away from the "what works?" mentality and considers instead *how* change works. In doing so, it shifts the focus from programmes or interventions to individual lives, and to understanding the processes which take place during the journey of desistance. This has significant implications for the criminal justice system and how it might effectively support the natural processes of change taking place in the lives of people in prison.

Most desistance research focuses on the lives of individuals before and after incarceration. Prisons are considered to be detrimental to the desistance process as they are likely to "derail" rather than facilitate "the normative processes of maturation associated with desistance from crime" (Maruna & LeBel, 2010, p. 69). Incarceration removes positive social ties and often generates new negative associations; it removes an individual's autonomy, and can cement criminal identities (McNeill & Weaver, 2010; Liebling, 2012). These are all consequences which directly oppose factors thought to support desistance. For this reason, McNeill (2011) considered the concept of a "desistance-supporting prison" to be a possible oxymoron. He still, however, stresses the necessity of working toward this challenging goal, and there has been a resulting strand of research which seeks to apply the findings of desistance theory to practice, both within prisons and during post-release support. Farrall (2002, 2004), Maruna and LeBel (2010) and McNeill (2006, 2016) have led the way in theorising about what desistance-focused criminal justice practice look like. This turn in desistance research, coined the "desistance paradigm" (Maruna & LeBel, 2010), has influenced recent policy changes and helped to re-imagine the purpose and potential of prison-based programmes and services. This is perhaps seen most poignantly in its influence on strategic planning documents in both the Northern Ireland Prison Service and Scottish Prison Service (Prison Review Team, 2011; Department of Justice, 2015; Scottish Prison Service, 2017).

Maruna (2015) uses the questions below (Figure 2) as a checklist with which to challenge the modern prison, and in doing so paints a picture of what a desistance-supporting prison might look like. These questions are helpful in considering how library services can (and in many cases already do) support the desistance process of those in prison.

Do our prisons:	Provide opportunities for prisoners to find meaning and purpose in their punishment?
	Take fundamental self-transformation seriously?
	Faciliate and celebrate such change?
	Allow room for hope?
	Provide opportunities for prisoners to 'give back' and make a contribution, not as unpaid punishment but as good citizenship?
	Allow individuals to be leaders, to take initiative and assist in the overall mission of the prison/programme?

Figure 2. Elements of a desistance-supporting prison (Adapted from a lecture given by Maruna at Cambridge University, 2015)

These questions reflect the "strengths-based approach" to the desistance paradigm proposed by Burnett and Maruna (2006). They suggest that interventions in prisons should not be based on risk assessments, since these can reinforce negative criminal identities. They should instead be based around supporting an individual's potential for positive change and the ability to take control of their lives. This has significant implications for the provision of both prison education and library services, requiring that services be developed from an understanding of an individual's strengths, and that they provide resources and design programmes which cultivate and develop these strengths.

This focus on processes of change and individual transformation is not a new concept to the world of correctional education. Many of the findings of desistance research are in line with existing pedagogical principles, and this strand of criminological research has been readily welcomed by those working in correctional education. Education has historically played a fundamental, if somewhat overlooked, role in prison reform – what Gehring (2017, p. 1) refers to as the "hidden heritage" of prison reform. Duguid's work in particular shows how participation in education programmes enables a natural process of self-transformation. Education offers learners the opportunity to exercise choice and views the prisoner as an individual "subject" rather than an "object" of a treatment or rehabilitation programme (Duguid, 2000). Desistance research and its resulting impact on prison policy is making visible to policymakers what has already been identified in much prison education research and practice.

Informal Learning Theories

The framework proposed in this article has also been informed by informal learning theories, and the move toward providing increased informal, non-compulsory learning opportunities in prisons. The importance of informal learning has long been recognised in pedagogical practice. Researchers and practitioners acknowledge that the goal of education extends beyond simply gaining academic qualifications that enhance future employment prospects. Education facilitates the "development of competent and humane citizens who are proactive participants in social life" (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 18). Many of the skills and characteristics needed to be social agents, such as "critical reasoning skills, self-confidence, self-esteem, empowerment, changed perspectives" (Warr, 2016, p. 18) can often be developed through more informal, self-directed learning opportunities. While there are a range of definitions of informal learning, in this context we draw on influential studies by both Livingstone (1999) and McGivney (1999). Their work considers informal learning to be something "which we undertake individually or collectively on our own without externally im-

posed criteria or the presence of an institutionally organised instructor" (Livingstone, 1999, p. 493) and stems from "expressed interest and needs" of individuals (McGivney, 1999, p. v). McGivney (ibid.) adds that it may also include structured short courses, but ones which are delivered in "flexible and informal ways."

What is clear is that informal learning stems from the learning needs and desires of the individual, rather than something which fulfils the purpose of the government or education system. Viewed in this way, it becomes clear why opportunities for informal learning may be so important in a prison. The criminal justice system has long viewed education as merely a rehabilitative tool, or as a "mechanism to reduce reoffending" (McNeill, 2014, para. 4). The thought of education as yet another method of reform imposed upon them can add to the already negative perception of education held by many of those in prison. Literature shows that prisoners are often reluctant to take part in formal education programmes, as they may have had difficult schooling experiences prior to incarceration (Irwin, 2003, 2008; Farley & Pike, 2016; Warr, 2016). Irwin (2008, p. 23) criticises the often "inflexible learning modes" offered in prison as they replicate "the negative learning episodes so deeply embedded in the prisoner's identity." Opportunities for more informal, flexible learning have the potential to mitigate these prior negative experiences. In his research on prisoners' motivations to take part in education courses, Behan (2014, p. 20) concludes that the prison must offer spaces which allow individuals "to voluntarily engage in different types of learning, at their own pace, at a time of their choosing." It is this observation which leads us to draw significant links between the benefits of informal learning and engagement with prison library services.

The prison library offers a space where visitors can pursue their own recreational or educational reading interests. Prisoners are not obligated to visit the library, and so it is unlikely to be viewed as yet another method of government-imposed reform. Informal learning programmes such as book-discussion groups, creative writing classes or family literacy schemes are often offered but rarely compulsory. An evaluation of Turning Pages (a peer literacy programme based in the United Kingdom) revealed the value that participants place on the "informal, non-institutional nature" of the programme (Hopkins & Kendall, 2017, p. 4). A deeper consideration of informal learning activities and engagement with an informal learning environment such as the prison library should help contribute to our understanding of the potential impact of library services. Woven together with recent theories of desistance and critical librarianship, it can help to construct a foundation from which to examine prison library experiences and outcomes.

Critical Librarianship

It is not only the field of prison librarianship which has failed to establish a strong theoretical body of work. The wider library profession is one which has historically valued practice over theory, and as a result has faced criticism for the lack of empirically grounded theories on which these services should be based (Connoway & Powell, 2010, p. 6). Stressing the need for a strong philosophical foundation, Litwin (2009, p. x) states, "Sound ideas about what librarianship is and what its goals are permit us to claim a degree of autonomy in institutions where we might otherwise serve as mere functionaries rather than as the professionals we are." This seems particularly poignant for the prison library, which is often viewed as subsidiary within the wider prison service. One important response to this critique has been the movement of critical librarianship, whose principles we draw upon in this article. Samek (2007, p. xxiii) describes critical librarianship as a movement where "considerations for the human condition and for human rights take precedence over other professional concerns." It is a practical movement which has been informed by critical theories and seeks to bring social justice principles into library practice. While many of its principles have always been present in library work, it is really only in the past decade that researchers and practitioners have grappled theoretically with its concepts and what they mean for "LIS curricula, research and practice" (Schroeder & Hollister, 2014, p. 3). Prison librarianship is arguably the most challenging sector in the profession for librarians to put their patrons' rights above professional concerns. The context in which these services are provided results in restricted access to information, high levels of censorship and little to no access to information technology and online resources. It is surprising then that there has been little discussion about what critical librarianship may mean for providers of prison library services. Taking a critical approach to evaluating prison library services should help to draw the often-neglected field of prison librarianship into modern theoretical advances of the wider profession.

Critical theories tend to focus on marginalised sections of society, with the aim of empowering disenfranchised or oppressed communities. Critical librarianship therefore challenges the library worker to recognise existing structures of power in their place of work or surrounding community, to question who is being excluded or silenced, and to consider the ways in which they might act to redress structural inequalities. Critical theories, when applied to education and librarianship alike, acknowledge and validate the existing knowledge and experiences of the learner and encourages them to pursue knowledge which stems from their own needs and interests. In the prison context, this in line with what has already been noted in relation to desistance and informal learning theories. The prison library offers a rare space for individuals to take part in self-directed learning and can help to mitigate the idea that only those in power know what is best for them. Reflecting on their critical approach to library services in a Canadian prison, Lang and Sacuta (2014, p. 99) note that the best part of their service is that library initiatives "are no longer just presented to the women; they are created by the women." This shows how the library and library staff are in a unique position to disrupt, even on a small scale, the structural inequalities present in the prison service.

Evaluating Prison Library Services

Caution must be taken when thinking about the impact of any service which concerns human experience and development. This is especially true in prison, where complex backgrounds and widely varied demographics make it difficult to find "an appropriate means of measuring outcomes and evaluating change" (Behan, 2014, p. 26). The government has repeatedly sought concrete quantitative evidence of how prison-based programmes work in terms of rehabilitating prisoners and, ultimately, reducing re-offending rates. This is difficult for providers of art-based activities, who are essentially being asked for "objective evidence to demonstrate subjective changes" (Albertson, 2015, p. 280). Albertson raises a further flaw in this method, suggesting that "such interventions will be less effective if their purpose is primarily to gather questionable evidence, rather than support the offender" (p.280). Prison researchers argue that it is more appropriate to conduct qualitative research in order to better understand the prisoner experience and process of change which is taking place during that experience (Digard & Liebling, 2012). In an evaluation of their prison-based arts programme, Cox and Gelsthorpe (2012, p. 265) agree that there is a "fundamental risk of underestimating the importance of *experience*" in such evaluations.

The emphasis on individual narratives, identity development and change processes in desistance research make a strong case for the validity of qualitative prison research. In light of this, various prison-based programmes have begun to re-imagine their role in supporting prisoners and how their services can and should be evaluated. A growing number of creative-arts based activities in prison have begun to use desistance theories as a framework to better understand their value and contribution to prisoners' lives (McNeill, Anderson, Colvin, Overy, Sparks & Tett, 2011; Davey, Day & Balfour, 2015; Albertson, 2015). The impact of the desistance paradigm on prison research is perhaps seen most clearly in the growing number of studies on education in prison. Recognising that many of the concepts key to desistance, such as identity transformation, motivation and self-empowerment, have always been present in pedagogical philosophies, both academics and practitioners have sought to show how learning in prison can contribute to an individual's journey of desistance. A resulting *Theory of Change* was put forward by the Prisoner Learning Alliance (2016, p.1) to "stimulate conversation about the purpose and value of prison education" and to improve the academic rigour of studies which evaluate its outcomes. This theory was informed by key literature in both prison education and desistance research and has been instrumental in informing the direction of both education policy and practice within prisons, particularly within the United Kingdom.

Reconstructing Prison Library Research

This turn toward desistance-focused criminal justice practice has not yet reached the realm of prison library research. This article takes seriously the call of Stearns for the development of a "coherent philosophical foundation" (ibid.) in prison library research and attempts to show how embedding prison library literature within a criminological framework, and more specifically that of desistance theory, does not do a dis-service to the library profession, but instead offers a positive language and framework within which to discuss the existing benefits of library services. Like other arts-based activities, it is difficult and perhaps inappropriate to measure or evaluate the outcomes of a good library service. The framework outlined below is therefore not a list of pre-defined outcomes to measure, but instead offers a way of discussing the potential outcomes of

prisoner engagement with the library and the role of the library in a correctional setting.

This framework is underpinned by findings from existing prison library and education studies, and contemporary theories of desistance, informal learning and critical librarianship. Its layout and approach are largely informed by two already established frameworks in the fields of librarianship and prison education. The first is the Arts Council England's *Generic Learning Outcomes* model, which was developed in 2003 to demonstrate the impact and outcomes of cultural learning in museums, archives and libraries. This model was built on a "broad and inclusive definition of learning" (Arts Council England, 2003), which again draws on the importance of informal learning within a wide range of policy domains (Fodale & Bates, 2011). It acknowledges that the sole aim of learning is not simply to gain academic qualifications or ensure employability, but also to broaden one's knowledge and skills, deepen understanding of ourselves and others, and improve overall wellbeing. The latter framework is the aforementioned *Theory of Change* model posited by the Prisoner Learning Alliance (2016), which explores the value of learning in prison.

Each individual's experience of engaging with library services is unique, as is true of any learning experience. The framework outlined below is not intended to limit these experiences but is instead broad enough to incorporate distinct individual experiences and serves as a guide to examining and understanding the potential outcomes of library engagement. This is similar to the Prisoner Learning Alliance's *Theory of Change* which acknowledges the complexity of learning in prison, and argues that "the only way to summarise it faithfully is at a general level, in which the arguments are set out broadly and which gives scope for application in a range of different circumstances and services" (2016, p. 4). Not all libraries are equipped to offer every resource or programme mentioned, but the figure below reflects the range of services generally available in United Kingdom prison libraries. It is intended to aid qualitative research in this area, offering what we hope is a helpful and appropriate language by which to consider how libraries can facilitate change and contribute to personal development. It will ideally encourage practitioners and researchers to build a stronger body of evidence in this field and is therefore open to adaptation and development as empirical data continues to be collected. As noted by Harries, Hodgson and Noble (2014, p. 2), such models should not be static, "for they improve as our understanding and knowledge is advanced by evidence and observation." The framework is outlined briefly in Figure 3, then unpacked in more detail in Figure 4 and the paragraphs that follow. This discussion will hopefully show that a desistance-based outlook may provide a more appropriate platform for the "evaluation" of prison library services and help to provide a deeper understanding of the experience of those who engage with these services.
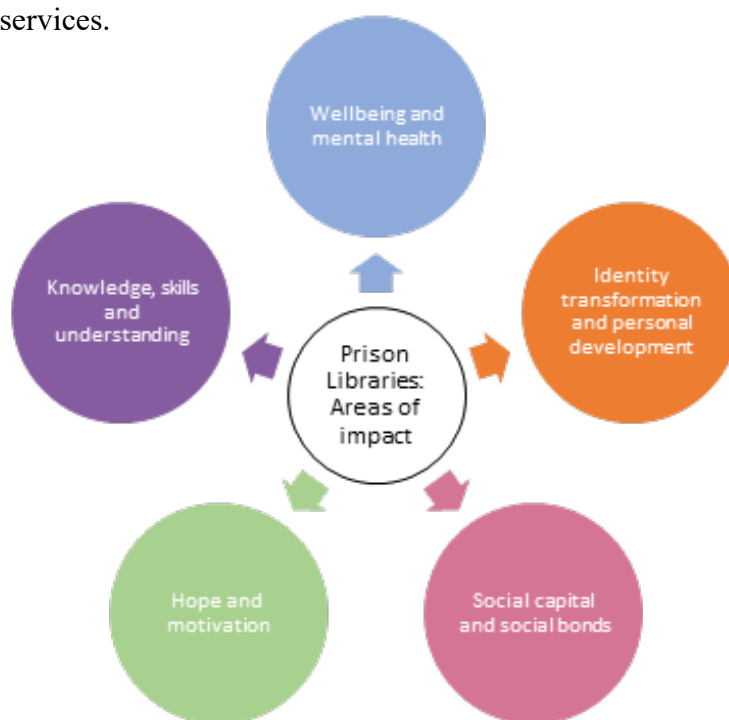

Figure 3. Areas of Impact of Prison Libraries (Prison Library Impact Framework, Finlay, 2018)

Wellbeing and mental health		
Context	**The library offers:**	**Possible outcomes:**
Incarceration can be an isolating experience, and many prisoners suffer from poor mental health, depression and substance abuse. Levels of self-harm and suicide are higher than the general population. Prison can be a volatile and stressful environment in which to live.	• A safe, neutral space in the midst of an unsettling prison environment. • A range of recreational and educational resources that encourage reading for pleasure and informal learning. • A positive means of both mental and physical escape. • Written resources about wellbeing and mental health. • Information about health-related programmes and activities in other prison departments.	• Reduced stress and improved wellbeing. • Better ability to cope with stressful situations. • A constructive use of time whilst incarcerated. • Creativity and enjoyment. • Increased understanding of individual health and mental health needs. • Increased engagement in other prison programmes or activities.

Identity transformation and personal development		
Context	**The library offers:**	**Possible outcomes:**
Prisoners may feel negatively about themselves, their achievements and their ability to change. They often associate with a negative, 'criminal' identity. Incarceration inherently limits an individual's control over their own life, leading to a loss of both agency and autonomy.	• A range of literature, which reflects the background and experiences of the prison population. • Freedom to choose how individuals spend their time, what information they access and what recreational or educational interests they pursue. • Intellectual freedom. • Informal, non-compulsory learning programmes and other recreational activities. • Family literacy programmes. • Peer-led literacy schemes. • Work experience as a library orderly.	• Development of an alternative, positive identity for example, parent, mentor, learner, reader, employee. • New perspectives of themselves, their past actions and their current situation. • The ability to express new ideas and engage with those holding different views. • Increased autonomy and agency in an environment of control and discipline. • Greater self-awareness, and a better understanding of own strengths.

Social capital and social bonds		
Context	**The library offers:**	**Possible outcomes:**
Many prisoners have had negative experiences of education and other social institutions prior to incarceration. They may have poor social skills and the inability to relate well to those around them. Incarceration cuts individuals off from families, friends and communities. Opportunities to build social capital whilst incarcerated are limited, and this hinders successful resettlement into society.	• A positive and neutral informal learning and social space. • Peer-mentoring programmes, where prisoners can help to develop the literacy skills of their peers. • Informal reading and literacy programmes, which encourage participation and engagement with others. • Family literacy programmes. • Opportunities for lifelong learning. • Pre-release support on finding employment and housing. • Training on a range of skills useful for future employment.	• Greater sense of belonging to community. • Stronger social bonds with partners/children, and increased knowledge of *how* to parent effectively and contribute to family life. • Development of pro-social behavior. • A desire to contribute/give something back to the community. • Continued use of public libraries once released.

Hope and motivation		
Context	**The library offers:**	**Possible outcomes:**
The experience of incarceration often limits opportunities for hope and the motivation to change. It is hard for prisoners to imagine a changed future in a punitive environment. Prisoners have little contact with family and friends, who often play a key role in fostering self-belief and motivation.	• Support from professional library staff to develop skills, explore personal interests and encourage learning and creativity. • Celebration of personal achievements, e.g. through participation in reading or literacy schemes, and creative writing competitions. • A range of potentially inspiring literary resources which describe the success and achievements of others. • As a public service, often run by a civilian member of staff, the library provides a window to the outside world.	• Increased confidence and self-esteem. • Increased levels of self-efficacy. • A sense of achievement and empowerment. • Higher aspirations and hope for the future. • An understanding of what skills are needed to achieve desired changes and goals. • A positive and sustained change in both attitude and behaviour.
Knowledge, skills and understanding		
Context	**The library offers:**	**Possible outcomes:**
Many prisoners have had a negative experience of education, and are reluctant to participate in formal education classes. Others may be well-educated, but feel cut off from information and learning opportunities which allow them to explore and develop their interests. Prisoners may also be lacking in essential life skills, social skills and a range of employability skills, all of which are necessary both to navigate daily prison life and life on release.	• Access to educational, legal and recreational sources of information (reflecting the needs and languages of the prison population). • Exposure to new ideas and different worldviews. • Informal, non-compulsory literacy and reader development programmes. • Reading groups (at various levels). • Creative writing opportunities. • Peer-led literacy schemes. • IT and digital literacy training. • Pre-release support in searching and applying for jobs and housing.	• Improved levels of literacy. • Development of new interests and increased love for learning. • Development of critical thinking skills. • Increased tolerance and empathy for others. • Participation in other education or vocational classes and workshops. • Increased levels of digital literacy. • Better equipped, both practically and emotionally, to handle the challenges of incarceration and release from prison.

Figure 4. The Prison Library Impact Framework (Finlay, 2018)

The Prison Library Impact Framework

Wellbeing and Mental Health

While the model shown above has been influenced strongly by the findings of desistance research, it does not propose that prison libraries should only be concerned with contributing to the desistance of prisoners. One of the strengths of desistance research, and perhaps why it has such strong potential to influence

prison library research, is its emphasis on viewing prisoners as individuals, and not simply as offenders in need of rehabilitation. If libraries – and other prison services – also recognise this, they must be concerned with the wellbeing of prisoners during incarceration, and not only with preparing individuals for release and resettlement. The psychological wellbeing of people in prison is repeatedly highlighted as a serious concern. Many individuals enter prison with mental health problems, which are then often exacerbated by "separation from family and friends, boredom and loss of autonomy" (National Audit Office, 2017, p. 14). The issues faced by those in prison are both diverse and complex, and it is not suggested that libraries alone can provide answers to these issues. It is clear, however, that all departments in the prison have their part to play and must work together to create an environment which diminishes the damaging effects of incarceration. A separate article could be written on the impact of the library on prisoner wellbeing, but the following paragraphs will outline briefly the ways in which the resources, space and learning programmes offered by the library has the potential to contribute positively to the lives of its visitors.

Reading and mental health. Librarians from all sectors are often required to fight to show that their service extends beyond that of a simple book-lending service. While this is certainly true – and hopefully reinforced by discussions in this article – the benefits of having access to a wide range of literary resources also necessitate examination. This is particularly true of prison libraries, where the act of recreational reading is considered a positive form of escapism and a constructive way of alleviating the boredom that so often epitomises the prison experience. It is widely accepted that "purposeful activity is vital for wellbeing in custody" (Clark, 2016, p. 8), and reading for pleasure is one form of so-called purposeful activity. A number of studies have been carried out on the experience of reading in prison, both as an individual endeavour and as part of shared reading groups (Trounstine & Waxler, 2006; Sweeney, 2010, 2012; Billington, 2011). Qualitative feedback collected for evaluation reports highlight the relaxing and calming nature of reading, showing it to be an activity which has the ability to relieve stress and take one's mind off current circumstances (National Literacy Trust, 2016; Reading Agency, 2017). In Rubin's theorising on the purpose of prison libraries (1973), she concludes that bibliotherapy is perhaps the greatest contribution the library makes to the rehabilitation of prisoners.

As well as providing books for recreational reading, a well-stocked prison library will also offer resources which focus specifically on issues related to health, mental health and general wellbeing. One particularly successful initiative which began in public libraries in the United Kingdom is *Reading Well: Books on Prescription*, which has now also been implemented in prison libraries across the United Kingdom. This is a scheme endorsed by health professionals, with the aim of helping individuals to "manage their mental health and wellbeing by providing access to accredited self-help reading" (Society of Chief Librarians, 2015, p. 3). Books can either be recommended to individuals by health professionals or are simply available on the shelves for anyone to borrow. An evaluation carried out in 2015 (which included responses from both public and prison libraries) noted that readers found the books helpful both for understanding their condition and for raising their confidence about managing symptoms. Fifty-five percent reported that their symptoms had reduced as a result of reading these books (Society of Chief Librarians, 2015, p. 14). The report also noted improvements to the knowledge and skills of library staff and strengthened partnerships with health organisations (p. 4). This is particularly important in prison libraries, as all departments in the prison should be well-informed and working together to support the needs of this particularly vulnerable population.

The space of the library. It has already been noted that one of the most crucial aspects of the prison library is the "normal" space it provides in the midst of a disruptive and unsettling environment. Beyond simply offering a haven or place of escape, the library can foster an environment based on trust and mutual respect for each other. A participant in Stevens' doctoral research noted that "you're given a little bit more respect" in the library (1995, p. 160). Such a space may be hugely significant for the wellbeing of prisoners. Studies carried out by leading criminologists on the pains of imprisonment stress the need for both trust and respect between prisoners, and in prisoner/staff relationships (Hulley at al., 2012). In her research on the moral quality of prison life, Liebling (2011, p. 532) concluded that "the 'differences that matter' are in the domain of interpersonal relationships and treatments, and the use of authority." She points to the impact that differing "levels of respect, fairness and humanity" can have on the prisoner experience (p. 533). Respect was found to be more than civility or fairness, but rather treating prisoners as autonomous individuals. Her research found

that prisoners considered respect to be "recognition of the inherent dignity and worth of the person, and of differences between individuals" (Liebling, assisted by Arnold, 2004, p.212). An effective library space – one where mutual respect is encouraged, individuality is recognised and differences celebrated – can serve as a good example of what is possible within a prison and perhaps have a positive impact on the wider prison culture.

Identity Transformation and Personal Development

Underlying many of the discussions around desistance and processes of change is the concept of identity transformation. Maruna's (2001) seminal study on desistance sought to understand the meaning that individuals gave to their own life narratives during their journey of desistance from crime. He found that sustained desistance required a fundamental shift in a person's sense of self. He was concerned specifically with the theory that an individual's identity and self-perception is heavily influenced by the labels applied to them by the rest of society (labelling theory). For an individual to sustain desistance, it is important that they are able to successfully shed the negative label of "offender" and develop a new, pro-social identity (Maruna & LeBel, 2010, p. 78). What role might the prison library play in helping to facilitate this shift in identity? When a prisoner enters the library, he or she is given the opportunity to escape – albeit temporarily – from their identity as prisoner. They become a reader. A writer. A learner. Peer-mentoring programmes offer the role of teacher and mentor. Family literacy programmes remind them of their role as a parent or grandparent. The following discussion will explore these ideas in more detail, and show how the library space, resources and programmes offer incarcerated individuals the means to imagining a new self and new possibilities.

Agency. The concept of agency – the belief that an individual is free to make their own choices and have control over their future – is central to Maruna's findings on identity transformation. In fact, Laub and Sampson (2003, p. 280) argue that "personal agency looms large" in most theories of desistance. The prison environment, with its emphasis on control, security and surveillance, grossly inhibits opportunities for individual agency and autonomy during incarceration. Rehabilitation programmes designed to correct offending behaviour are often imposed upon individuals without their say, leaving little room for choice or self-determination. Prison researchers note the aversion that incarcerated individuals often have toward such programmes and interventions. Harris's research found that prisoners were reluctant to take part in such programmes, which they considered to be designed to fix individuals who are seemingly "deficient, ineffectual, misguided, untrustworthy, possibly dangerous, and almost certain to get in trouble again" (2005, p. 318). Harris's research revealed that, in contrast to these attitudes about rehabilitative programmes, persons in prison embraced the desistance perspective which focused instead on their strengths rather than trying to address their deficiencies.

These negative perspectives are not limited to offender behaving programmes. Even education in prison is sometimes viewed as "an intervention concerned with correcting a prisoner's offending behaviour" (Warr, 2016, p. 21). As noted earlier, one way of overturning this view of education is to increase opportunities for informal, non-compulsory learning in prison. The informal learning opportunities and informal learning space offered by the library could be a vital source of agency for people in prison. Garner's recent research on the experiences of Australian prisoners spoke of a "responsibility for self" that was enabled by the library, where individuals can make choices about how to spend their time in an institution which generally removes this choice (Garner, 2017, p. 113). Referring to prison library visits, one participant in her study noted, "[the library is] something I can do when I want. Not something I'm getting told I have to do if I want to move through the system" (p. 161). As a public institution, whose staff are often employed by a local public library service, the library reflects experiences outside of prison and may enable a heightened sense of autonomy which is not experienced in other areas of the prison. Singer (2000) goes as far as to say that the library is one of the few places that can be approached with the same freedom as one has on the streets.

The experience of recreational reading can also play a role in the agency and identity transformation of incarceration individuals, particularly if they are able to identify with the experiences and characters portrayed in the literature. In Sweeney's comprehensive study of female prisoners' experiences of reading, she found that books could be used as a "tool for framing and making sense of their experiences", and that "readers often become 'agents in and of' their own stories and learn to exercise some control over the meaning of their lives" (Sweeney, 2010, p. 7). Similar attitudes are evident in reflections on a prison-based literature programme – *Changing Lives Through Literature* – which stresses the importance of providing resources where readers will

be able to relate to the characters and their stories. Trounstine (2008), a co-founder of this programme, designed it in such a way that literature could be used as a path to think more deeply about character and identity. If literature can indeed help some individuals to make sense of their own experiences and envision a different future, it has significant implications for collection development in prison libraries. These goals can only be realised if the available literature reflects the diverse experiences and backgrounds of the prison population.

Social Capital and Social Bonds

While developing the human capital of those in prison is important, McNeill (2009, p. 28) makes it clear that "interventions based only on human capital...will not be enough." Desistance research is critical of rehabilitation narratives for focusing too much on the development of knowledge and skills, to the detriment of overlooking the vital need to develop the social capital of individuals. In defining social capital, McNeill (2009, p. 24) speaks of "the resources that inhere in social relationships and networks characterised by shared norms and reciprocal bonds." The findings of desistance research in this aspect are similar to what has already been identified in social learning and social bonding theories. The forming of significant life partnerships, family relationships or even disassociation with negative peer groups can help to increase social capital and support the process of desistance (Warr, 1998). This would suggest that prison policies and strategies should focus more on restoring the relationships that are inevitably damaged by incarceration and that, as much as possible, prison-based programmes should facilitate opportunities for the development of social capital. Beyond developing the knowledge and skills of individuals, libraries must therefore consider how their services contribute to an individual's relationship with his or her family, friends and wider community.

The public library is considered to be an important social institution, where people of all ages, races and backgrounds come together and are exposed to different people, cultures and ideas. The same is true of a library behind bars. Many prisoners, who may not otherwise cross paths, meet in a space which encourages social learning and the development of cultural knowledge. Studies focusing on libraries and social capital view *trust* as being a significant aspect of the library experience. Vårheim's research found that libraries have potential for accommodating diversity in patrons, promoting trusting relationships between diverse people and, as a result of this process, create trust toward people in general (Vårheim, 2009, p. 373). This is also reflected in the *Generic Learning Outcomes* framework for libraries and museums, which highlights opportunities to develop opinions on ourselves and others, and to create empathy and an increased tolerance for others (Arts Council England, 2003). As well as these positive interactions with other library users, researchers have identified the relationship between patrons and library staff as having significant bearings on the social capital produced by libraries. The interactions that occur between staff and patrons have the capacity to build trust, connect people to resources, reduce social isolation and help patrons gain skills in an increasingly online world (Johnson, 2012). Again, these relationships are arguably more crucial in a prison environment where patrons have lower social capital than the general public and greater literacy and information needs. Looking beyond incarceration, it is possible that positive engagement with prison library services could encourage continued use of public libraries when released. This has implications for the role of the public library not only in working alongside prison libraries, but in providing support and resources for those experiencing resettlement into communities.

Family literacy initiatives. The interactions between prisoners and staff members may be said to improve *bridging social capital,* which refers to a wider network of colleagues and acquaintances (McNeill & Weaver, 2010). While this is important, desistance research also looks closely at *bonding social capital*, which refers to close ties with family and friends. Maintaining and building upon family relationships during incarceration is a key focus in recent criminal justice strategies and policies, with prison services working alongside external organisations to help develop these relationships. The Northern Ireland Prison Service Family Strategy document, for example, affirms that "families have a vital role in helping prisoners achieve successful rehabilitation" (2012, p. 4). Family literacy programmes, facilitated by the prison library, help to maintain this family contact with the added benefits of increasing literacy levels, self-confidence and enjoyment of reading. Depending on budget and staff availability, these programmes range from simple book recordings, to parenting workshops or reading groups when the child is present during visiting times (Finlay, 2014). Social cognitive theory suggests that parental involvement early in a child's educational life can lead to long-term academic success, suggesting that these programmes can have a positive impact on both parent

and child. Family literacy programmes can also help to shift an individual's identity from 'prisoner' to 'parent' and provide an element of hope and motivation for participants who are able to play a part in the literacy development of their child.

Hope and Motivation

Alongside discussions of identity and agency, criminologists speak about the place of hope and motivation in a prisoner's desistance narrative. This is linked to the ability of imagining a different future reality, and the belief in the ability to change. Maruna's work in particular deems *hope* as a crucial factor in sustained desistance, and points to the role of others both in sparking and helping to maintain this hope (Maruna, 2001; Burnett & Maruna, 2006). Prison significantly limits opportunities for interaction with those who are best placed to nurture such hope and motivation – the prisoners' friends and families. A desistance-supporting prison must both increase opportunities for these interactions, and provide services that are geared toward fostering hope, self-belief and motivation to change. Figure 4 notes a number of ways in which a well-run library service provides such opportunities, and the potential outcomes of engagement with these services. Prisoners can take part in family literacy programmes, as well as a number of other literacy schemes and events that both develop skills and nurture creativity. Positive interaction and encouragement from library staff can increase self-belief, and celebration of achievements can help to reinforce the belief in the ability to overcome obstacles and be successful in what they are trying to achieve.

One particularly successful example of a programme which helps to encourage prisoners and positively affect levels of self-efficacy is that of Turning Pages, a peer-mentoring programme which takes place in the prison library. Implemented by the Shannon Trust, this scheme enables prisoners who can read well to teach those with lower literacy levels. This kind of programme has a significant impact on both learner and mentor. An evaluation of the programme found that it gave both learner and mentor hope for future attainments, and that learners observed "an increased in confidence in reading, their self-rated reading attainment, enjoyment and reading comprehension" (Hopkins & Kendall, 2017, p. 5). Similar results were found in a separate study of prison-based peer education schemes, where prisoners were described as "untapped resources" who are "capable of having a powerful and positive influence on fellow offenders" (Devilly, Sorbello, Eccleston & Ward, 2003, p. 220). As well as positively affecting their sense of self-efficacy, this pro-social role can assist in providing a new identity as mentor or teacher rather than criminal or offender. Peer-learning opportunities are increasingly being recognised as a positive step in prisoner learning. Roth, Asbjørnsen and Manger (2016, p. 52) note that "the more closely the prisoner identifies with the model, the greater impact on efficacy beliefs."

Knowledge, Skills and Understanding

In unpacking the Museum, Libraries and Archives' *Generic Learning Outcomes*, Hooper-Greenhill (2004) details the myriad of ways in which museums, archives and libraries can impact upon the knowledge, skills and understanding of individuals. She looks beyond simply learning new facts and information, suggesting that such cultural learning experiences can contribute to "the development of a more complex view of self, family, neighbourhood or personal world" (p. 164). Not only can individuals develop what Warr (2016, p. 18) terms the "obvious and evident" benefits of learning (for example, literacy, numeracy and IT skills), but cultural learning experiences can help to develop social skills, emotional skills, communication skills and information management skills (Hooper-Greenhill, 2004, p. 165). The importance of such skills is often overlooked by policymakers, whose main concern is that prisoners are practically equipped with the skills that lead to successful resettlement or qualifications required to improve employment prospects on release. These skills are, however, crucial for individuals who must first learn to navigate daily life in a challenging environment.

The social learning which takes place in a library setting, both through reading groups and literacy programmes, and through interaction with staff and other prisoners, has the potential to change perspectives, and promote understanding of and tolerance toward others. Reading groups in particular are designed to encourage deeper engagement with literature and the development of critical thinking skills, in a setting where these emerging perspectives are shared alongside others. A report of Books Unlocked (National Literacy Trust, 2016, p.6) found that reading groups provided "discussion, tolerance and empathy." This was reflected in the feedback provided from participants. One reader stated, *"It's cool to share opinions and points of view. Helps me to understand other people's mentalities and understanding of life"* (p. 7). Another noted, "I like that

it brought people of different areas of prison, some I've never seen…They have the most interesting things to say" (p.6). This again highlights the importance of the library environment, and how it can be a safe space for individuals to discuss issues without fear of judgment or criticism.

A well-equipped library is able to support a wide range of educational needs. The literacy level of individuals in prison is generally lower than that of the general population. Within the United Kingdom, it is estimated that 46% of prisoners have the literacy level of, or below, that expected of an 11-year old child (Hopkins & Kendall, 2017, p. 3). The library is therefore mostly concerned with encouraging basic literacy development, in ways already outlined in this article. The library is also tasked with supporting the advanced educational needs of prisoners. Writing in 1973 about prisoners undertaking the GED and college courses, Gulker (p. 55) was convinced that a good library could "humanize the environment" and "transform the un-believably sterile atmosphere into a productive area for learning." As the provision of both secondary and post-secondary education grows behind bars, so too does the need for prisoners to access scholarly informa-tion and for an environment conducive to this kind of learning. We are in a "time of revitalization in prison higher education" (DeLano Davis, 2017, p. 690), but students in prison do not have the luxury of using an academic library. DeLano Davis goes on to note that prison libraries focus mostly on general reading and legal resources, rather than specialised academic texts (p. 689). A discussion of the library's ability to support to these academic information needs is outside the scope of this article, but we recommend reading Sorgert (2014) and DeVanos (2017) for contemporary insights on specialised libraries within prisons and partnerships with university libraries.

Conclusion

It is clear from this article's overview of desistance research that, despite the inherent barriers imposed by incarceration, desistance is an ongoing process which can take place during custody and so we must try to facilitate this process in any way possible. It is therefore appropriate to consider the role played by the prison library in this narrative of change, and how library services may enable individuals to "imagine and to embark on that journey" (McNeill et al., 2011, p. 99). Many organisations and professionals working with prisoners have recognised the value of desistance research and the implications it has for the way they approach their services, and it is important for library services to do the same. Prison library literature has long argued that the library should not be dictated by prison goals and policies, which are often directly opposed to the princi-ples and goals of the library. This way of thinking may be challenged if prison policymakers continue to take desistance research seriously. Regimes based upon opportunities for identity transformation and the develop-ments of social bonds, and services built around the strengths of prisoners rather than their deficiencies, have much more in common with library philosophies than traditional prison concepts of control and punishment.

This article has discussed a number of ways in which the prison library benefits its users, based on an exploration of existing literature and policy documents. It has explored many of the services offered by the library and theorised how they may contribute, even in part, to an individual's journey of desistance. The library offers a "positive socialisation experience" (Conrad, 2016, p. 45), where bonds are created with other prisoners, staff members and family members. One of library's greatest strengths is that it is able to facilitate these relationships in a safe, neutral space which offers autonomy and responsibility for self, and opportuni-ties for non-compulsory, informal learning. Similar to what Szifris, Fox and Bradbury (2018) propose in their recent article on a general theory of prison education, the framework presented here acts as a starting point for both practitioners and researchers to consider more seriously the role and outcomes of the prison library. Grounded in library, educational and criminological concepts, it aims to strengthen the depth of theory in pris-on library research.

We recognise the challenging reality of the prison environment and the numerous restrictions faced by library workers in their day-to-day role of providing library services to prisoners. This original framework is not intended to be an idealistic model but is instead part of a theoretically and conceptually grounded road-map to good practice. The value of discussing these theories is not only to increase knowledge, but to then "mobilize and transform theory from its abstract and institutional life into concrete ways of everyday practice and being" (Gage, 2004, p. 73). It is hoped that the framework will be a helpful tool for practitioners and re-searchers both to showcase existing benefits of the library and to develop future services. The next step is for researchers, working alongside prison library practitioners and other relevant service providers, to carry

out empirical research that will refine and strengthen this model. Prison library research cannot continue to be siloed, especially when it has potential significance for the broader areas of learning, wellbeing and desistance of those in prison.

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PRACTITIONER PAPER

"I Never Thought I Could Accomplish Something Like This": The Success and Struggle of Teaching College Courses in Jail

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Abstract: *In this article, we discuss the challenges and potential benefits of teaching in the "revolving-door" of the criminal justice system: county jails. Massachusetts jails hold pre-trial offenders as well as those serving sentences of up to 2.5 years. Over four semesters, we have learned that flexibility and creativity are necessary to navigate the challenges this heterogeneous population presents, not the least of which is a class in constant flux. In spite of many challenges of teaching in a jail, the classes we teach give students a recovered or newfound belief in their own self-worth and ability, opportunities for intellectual engagement, and encouragement to pursue a positive future. In addition, many of the incarcerated students are local and, when released, are likely to return to these same communities; the potential for successful partnership with nearby colleges to assist with reentry should not be overlooked.*

The Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 effectively ended higher education programs in U.S. penal facilities when it declared incarcerated people ineligible for federal funding for education. This is unfortunate for many reasons, not the least of which is that educational programming is highly correlated with reduced recidivism (Davis et al., 2013; Delaney et al., 2016). To serve our community, engage with incarcerated people, and provide our traditional students with a hands-on experiential learning opportunity, Merrimack College has been providing for-credit college courses at a nearby county jail since the spring of 2017. Our faculty conduct classes one-to-two times per week, while traditional Merrimack undergraduates and graduate students work as Teacher's Assistants, helping incarcerated students in the jail's computer lab. Our program and courses have been well-received by all stakeholders. Jail administrators welcome efforts to enrich educational programming. Our students, both incarcerated and not, enjoy and value the work they do together. As faculty, teaching in jail is some of the most fulfilling, fun, and worthwhile teaching that we do. Nonetheless, there are specific challenges to teaching in a jail context. Here, we discuss the challenges and benefits of teaching college courses in jail.

The Jail Context

Several colleges and universities have attempted to fill the void left by the 1994 Act by offering private higher education programs in penal facilities. Many of these programs are run in state prisons rather than county jails. There are good reasons for this. The challenges to providing college coursework in jail are many. With rapid turnover and relatively short sentences, it can be difficult to establish and maintain class membership over the course of several months. The conflict that results from a constantly changing population presents additional challenges related to jail culture and punishment. The constant flux of the population has also meant that jails are often overlooked as research sites (Richie, 2003). As a result, both research and higher education prorams are less likely to happen in jails than prisons.

Yet, it is important that researchers and educators pay attention to jails. Jails are the gateway to the criminal justice system because they house pre-trial detainees as well as those serving short sentences. Nineteen times as many people rotate through jails as prisons, and there are roughly 12 million jail admissions per year in the United States (Rabuy and Wagner, 2015; Subramanian et al., 2015). Consistent with the increase in incarceration over the past 30 plus years, jail use has also increased dramatically since the 1980s (Minton and Golinelli, 2014). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to fully explore society's relationship to jails, it is important to note that there is a high prevalence of mental illness among those incarcerated in jails (Bronson and Berzofsky, 2017). Furthermore, while prison populations have decreased slightly in recent years, women in *jail* are currently the fastest growing segment of the incarcerated population (Glaze and Kaeble, 2014; Kaeble et al., 2016). If we intend to serve the incarcerated population, we simply cannot neglect jails.

Our Program

The Merrimack College Jail Education Program grew out of a focus on experiential learning and a commitment to social justice at the college. We began a pilot program in the fall of 2016 by offering a non-credit course, funded by Merrimack through a Faculty Development Grant. The following semester, we began offering for-credit courses, fully funded by the college. With the assistance of jail staff and administrators, we conduct an application process for students who have a high school diploma or equivalency. Potential students fill out an application in which they describe their educational and work history, motivations for applying for the course, and expectations for college coursework. From these, we screen for writing ability and potential commitment to the course. At the conclusion of each course, we conduct a course evaluation in which we seek to understand if and how the course changed their outlook on higher education and their plans for the future.

We recruit traditional Merrimack College students to work as Teacher's Assistants for each course, earning course credit. We hand pick these students based on their maturity, open-mindedness, writing ability, and experience with the material in

the given course. To some extent, this is a self-selected population of students who are interested in the criminal justice system, have a working knowledge of the social justice issues related to incarceration, and are willing and eager to spend time in a penal facility.

Challenges

Massachusetts jails hold pre-trial offenders as well as those serving sentences of up to 2.5 years. Over four semesters, we have learned that flexibility and creativity are necessary to navigate the uncertainties this heterogeneous population presents. We want to provide an equal opportunity for all interested and qualified prospective students (see Blount, Butler, and Gay, 2017), and thus a candidate's status—pre-trial or sentenced—has no bearing on a candidate's eligibility for college coursework. Students must simply have a high school diploma or equivalency and a reasonable expectation that they will remain in the facility for the duration of the course. But while jail administrators use their years of experience to screen for viable candidates, even their "best guess" can't guarantee that candidates will be able to finish out the class. There are many variables at play, particularly for pre-trial students, for whom bail adjustments, cases dismissed or won, or transfers to other facilities make it difficult to predict their stays.

This is far from an ideal system, and the constant flux of the class makes for a challenging teaching environment. Over the course of a semester, a class that started out with 15 students can dwindle, slowly, to four or five. This is frustrating, not only because the class dynamic inevitably shifts with each emptied seat, but also because one must often watch intelligent, promising students—students who often loved the class—withdraw due to circumstances beyond their control. Even when students are released, our happiness for them must coexist with the understanding that their futures are often uncertain, and might very well mark the end of an academic journey that had barely begun at all.

It makes sense, then, that prisons are often more desirable sites for higher education programs, because students with long sentences can complete

several courses, a certificate, or even a degree. At the jail, on the other hand, we might have our students for one, two, or at most three semesters. We have collaborated with two area community colleges to assist students with continuing their education upon release. We invite admissions representatives to discuss the application process, financial aid, areas of study, and other potential resources (see Blount, Butler, and Gay, 2017). Students are often surprised to hear that they are still eligible for aid even if they have a felony record, or that colleges will assist them with the financial aid process directly. We have also revitalized two scholarship programs for post-incarceration students. While we have yet to be successful in transitioning students to college after release, previously incarcerated students who were already enrolled were made aware of the scholarship fund and accessed it as a result.

In addition to managing class enrollments and attrition, we have learned to manage the conflicting priorities of our respective institutions. Teaching and learning are our priorities, but security, dictated by policies and procedures, is the first priority of the jail. While administrators are excited about the program, this is not the case with everyone we encounter. As teachers we may feel very differently about our students than jail staff feel about those they term "inmates." In turn, we may bear witness to behaviors or expressions that make us uncomfortable. On the outside, we might object or engage people in debate around issues of power and justice, but preservation of the program in the space of the jail changes that dynamic (see Becker and Aiello, 2013).

We have also learned that *when* we teach has a great bearing on our potential success. During the day, class time must compete with other needs like medical appointments, attorney visits, mandatory programs, and court dates, so we teach at night. Finding allies among the staff is equally important. The correctional officer on staff in the evening goes above and beyond to support the program, our work, and students' successful completion of the coursework.

Benefits

As a relatively new program, we have enrolled 37 incarcerated students in college courses. Of these, 20 have completed the course and earned college credits; nine are enrolled in the current semester. Our numbers are too small at this point to determine whether this program reduces recidivism

in any appreciable way. However, reducing recidivism is only one benefit of correctional education. We have reason to be optimistic that doing college coursework during their incarceration has given our students a new perspective on education and their own abilities. Some students said that achieving success in a college course taught them that they were capable of much more than they thought. One man, who had earned his high school equivalency, said, "It definitely motivated me and took away some anxiety toward college work." Another, who earned his high school equivalency *just before* he took a course said, "It encouraged me because I never thought I could accomplish something like this." Others felt they had reconnected with the student in themselves. One high school graduate said, "It has encouraged me and reminded me that I can always learn anything with practice and an opportunity, like this Merrimack College course." Another, who had completed some college, said of the course, "It has given me the opportunity to reintegrate back into a mind-set of college school work." Courses also help to pass the time, stay intellectually stimulated in jail, and interact with other incarcerated men in a context they might not have otherwise found. Another student would recommend Merrimack courses to other incarcerated men because, "I found the course a great way to open my mind and get out of here."

Another benefit of teaching in a jail is that many students hail from nearby communities. This can be of benefit in the classroom, in which common geography often grounds discussion, but also potentially for reentry as well. A key factor in reentry outcomes—whether, specifically, incarcerated students continue their education outside—is the community to which students are released. Often, students go home to a town where there is family or other personal support, and in prison it is often the case that these communities are far from the partnering academic institutions or related programs that they made connections with while in prison (see Blount, Butler, and Gay, 2017). In jail, however, this proximity is, for the most part, built into the system, and so there is great potential for building partnerships with local colleges to help students continue their education while living in supportive home communities.

Conclusion

It is crucial that colleges and universities continue to provide educational opportunities for incarcerated populations, and that jails are not overlooked as potentially viable and meaningful parts of this eff-

ort. While teaching in a jail shares most of the challenges fundamental to teaching in any penal institution, there are unique drawbacks of its own. With rapid turnover and relatively short sentences, it is difficult to maintain class membership over the course of several months, and in a larger sense, to help students invest in any academic trajectory before they are transferred or released to uncertain futures. While the challenges are many, so are the benefits, and the potential to partner with local colleges, whose communities many of our students return to upon release, presents an exciting opportunity.

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PRACTITIONER PAPER (EXTENDED)

Reading "Women Don't Riot" After the Riot: Creating a University-Prison Collaboration

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A day-long hostage standoff inside Delaware's largest state prison for men ended early Thursday after state police stormed the building, finding a veteran corrections officer dead and rescuing another official who was being held hostage. (Berman and Mettler, 2017)

"Women Don't Riot"
Women don't riot, not in maquilas in Malaysia, Mexico, or Korea,
not in sweatshops in New York or El Paso.
They don't revolt
in kitchens, laundries, or nurseries.
Not by the hundreds or thousands, changing
sheets in hotels or in laundries
when scalded by hot water,
not in restaurants where they clean and clean
and clean their hands raw.

Women don't riot, not sober and earnest,
or high and strung out, not of any color,
any race, not the rich, poor,
or those in between. And mothers of all kinds
especially don't run rampant through the streets.

In college those who've thought it out
join hands in crucial times, carry signs,
are dragged away in protest.
We pass out petitions, organize a civilized vigil,
return to work the next day. (Castillo, "Women Don't Riat", 2001)

We had been on edge during the entire previous semester—our first time teaching an Inside-Out course in the Women's prison. We knew something could jeopardize our delicate new partnership at any time. The first combined session of our class, bringing together ten incarcerated men and women (*Inside*)and ten traditional college students (*Outside*), titled Women in Literature and Society, was set to take place in the Baylor Women's Correctional Institution (BWCI) on February 15. When a prison takeover within our region made national news, we doubted the class would continue.

In this article, we reflect on the challenges and delights of creating and maintaining a partnership between a university and a prison. We describe these efforts, including our blind spots and missteps, as we taught a remarkable group of people at a remarkable time: a period characterized by heightened scrutiny of corrections in the region.

The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program

For over twenty years, the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program has provided a promising model for higher education in prison.[1] Inside-Out courses provide an opportunity for Inside and Outside students to learn together as classmates.[2] With an emphasis placed on discussion and collaboration, "experts" on both sides of the law learn from and with each other about criminal justice issues in their community, and thereby set in motion transformation of social impact and professional growth (Link, 2017). Inside-Out also provides a unique opportunity for interaction between future legal and criminal justice professionals and current correctional staff and incarcerated people. Through this interaction, students obtain a deeper understanding of the contexts of criminal justice, including the application of the criminal law through incarceration.

With a unique focus on dialogue and interactive course sessions, students are provided with the opportunity to disrupt and question traditional beliefs about their peers. This non-traditional classroom setting has been adopted in over 45 states and in 120 colleges and universities since its introduction. Inside-Out creates collaborations between correctional and higher education institutions. Their mission as a "community-based learning" program is to create a dynamic relationship between higher education and corrections to extend conversations about crime, race, inequality and social concern beyond the classroom and into the community (The Inside-Out Center, Temple University, 2017). Institutional partnerships can also bridge divides, which is particularly important for a public university like ours that celebrates community engagement. The program's appeal is derived from the interactions that Inside and Outside students experience while working collaboratively to address important issues affecting their community. Inside-Out is an opportunity for students to acquire skills and knowledge that enhance academic learning objectives and civic engagement (Allred, 2009).

The Context of the Class: Corrections in Flux

> Although the official start of the semester was a week away, most faculty were on campus.
> When I went to the office for a cup of tea, the Academic Support Coordinator called me over to
> her desk to watch footage of a riot unfolding in a local correctional facility. We both immediate-
> ly thought of our friends and former students who work in Corrections, hoping no one we knew
> was involved or hurt. (Leon, C., 2017, February 2)[3]

The week before the semester began, people in a nearby prison seized control of the building and took hostages. Many of us throughout the Mid Atlantic worried about our friends and loved ones, and news sources reported the incident worldwide ("Killed Hostage," 2017). By early morning the next day, law enforcement had regained control and Sergeant Steven L. Floyd was found dead. In the days that followed, several people housed at the prison as well as their relatives contacted local news with demands and calls for action. Delaware's governor appointed special investigators who interviewed officers, reviewed documents and electronic communications and conducted site visits. The report included forty-one recommendations including improvements that recognize the strains placed on both officers and incarcerated people and which call for increased allocation of resources to programs and services that address both groups, including prison education (DeMatteis, 2018).

This context for the formation of our course in BWCI combined forces with a larger reform culture in the region focused on the needs of incarcerated people with mental illness, victims of sexual assault and other traumas, and the rights and needs of people in gender transition or who identify as transgender. Overall, our class benefited from a larger context of reform-minded attention, some of it originating within correctional bureaucracy and some pushed by outside intervention like lawsuits and federal oversight.

In the following, we describe the creation and sustainability of the course, with an emphasis on themes that have emerged from our reflection on lessons learned. Reviews and reflective pieces have been found to be especially helpful for instructors and mentors seeking effective ways to develop their own program or courses (Link, 2017; Maclaren 2015; Pompa, 2002) and so we contribute to this conversation. Developing and maintaining our relationship with BWCI after the prison riot was a challenge, but also a lesson in fostering a productive environment for students. In addition to offering an insider view of the details of this kind of enterprise, we highlight the significance of developing relationships, communication, self-care, collaboration, transparency, and frequent reflection and debriefing. We provide even more detailed information about the process, as well as our sample lesson plans and activities, on the website (Leon, C., 2019)

Developing Relationships, Curriculum and Class Activities

I wish I had thought about the implications of handing out a poem titled "Women Don't Riot"— it led to a powerful discussion of expectations around gender roles, but it could have sent a very unintended message. (Leon C., 2017, March 1,)

In comparison to last semester, this course seems to not gel as well. What I mean by this, is there is not a very good flow to the class. From the beginning, the class was pushed back two weeks for the uprising in Smyrna. As a result, we had to have interviews (with Inside students) the second week and the third we had class together. So already we delayed our class and had to reschedule and rearrange course material. In addition, we had to adopt a "go with the flow" mentality because we were advised that our class may be canceled (on week 10). I think these events made it difficult to adjust the class to include everything. (Perez, G., 2017, April 17)

Self-care and the Benefits of Non-expertise and Transparency

Throughout our relationship with BWCI, we kept in frequent communication and provided detailed explanations of our plans to staff. As we discuss below, maintaining transparency about our materials, intentions and activities also helped assuage the concerns of students, and we believe it assisted our ability to continue teaching the class despite our mistakes during a challenging time for corrections. In this section we describe the impetus behind the course as well as some lessons learned.

Getting started. Much of our research and teaching had focused on trauma, injustice and other emotionally labor-intensive subjects. In contrast, this course was intended to bring a community of non-experts together to think through the position of women in society through various forms of literature and various styles of writing. Having successfully incorporated fiction and memoir into traditional criminal justice courses, we proposed a course which centered literature and provided numerous opportunities for creative and expository writing.

Students read six core books that grapple with gender along a number of dimensions and at many intersections of race, class and ability: *Bastard out of Carolina, The Bluest Eye, The House on Mango Street, Last Night I Dreamed of Peace, The Handmaid's Tale,* and *The Woman Who Watches over the World.* The summer before class began, we provided copies of the books and proposed syllabus to BWCI for approval; no concerns were raised despite the intense, sometimes graphic depictions of abuse and discrimination that many of the books engage.[4] During this same time, the course received approval from UD, including permission to satisfy the University's requirements for a discovery learning experience and for an intensive writing course, aspects which make the course highly-desirable to students needing to meet those requirements, and contributing to the department's willingness to allocate part of Leon's teaching load towards a relatively small seminar.[5]

Selection and preparation of students also began long before the first class. During the semester prior to enrollment, outside students attended an interest meeting and individual interview, filled out a security clearance application, signed the Inside-Out Program rules and a carpool waiver, and attended a security briefing at BWCI. Altogether, this screened out students who lacked the organizational skills and responsibility to participate in this kind of class and allowed instructors to get to know students and ensure that they came to the class with as much openness and awareness as possible; note that it did NOT screen out students with criminal records but it did require disclosure.

Care is also necessary in preparing students for the course material. Given the intensity of course themes and the emphasis Inside-Out pedagogy places on building connections, the second class session includes readings and discussion to help each student prepare a self-care technique to use when needed. Students brainstorm and share their techniques, and those available to all students[6] include meditation, journaling, listening to music, exercise, cleaning, and debriefing with a close friend. We also use the second class session to devise our shared guidelines for discussion, and to introduce the short yoga sequence which we often use to open class sessions. Each of these techniques, combined with frequent opportunities to process the readings through low-stakes writing, small and large group discussion and to give the instructors feedback on how students were experiencing the course, helped direct the thematic intensity into productive outlets.

Oversights, successes and making lemonade.

One of the most exciting aspects of Inside-Out for me has been the emphasis on transforming my pedagogy and working with a team to develop pedagogical skills. As is typical for most professors, I took just one pedagogy course in graduate school and in the first ten years of my professorship have developed my own style. It was a blessing to enroll in Inside-Out training soon after being awarded tenure. Tenure freed me to turn my attention towards improving my teaching. My approach has always been discussion-based rather than lecture oriented, but the Inside-Out training, particularly the sessions within Graterford prison with the Inside-Out Think Tank really challenged me to further relinquish dominance of the classroom.

I clearly remember the final project during IO training: Think tank members demonstrated activities they had designed that emphasize the importance of setting the tone for the class, creating opportunities for communication and being extremely mindful of how much time each component would take, what materials might be required and, in general, thinking through each pedagogical decision to ensure that it reflects the overall goals of Inside-Out and does not emphasize inequality or differences between people.

Our group had created a syllabus for a new course and designed a classroom activity which we delivered to the larger group for feedback. As our "students" worked on the small group activity we had designed, my typical practice would have been to circulate around the room and check in with each group. But think tank members argued persuasively against interfering with the dynamics of small groups. When instructors insert themselves into the small group it removes the control from the students and reinforces the idea that the instructor is the leader. Not only does this undermine agency but it commonly interrupts the flow as well as rapport of the small group. I really struggled with this but respected the wisdom of think tank members who had developed Inside-Out over the last 20 years. It worked in that demonstration and continues to work in my Inside-Out classrooms. (Leon, C.,2017, May 5)[7]

Inside-Out training emphasizes a number of lessons learned by the Inside-Out Prison Exchange program as they have developed relationships with correctional institutions and universities and continue to expand programming to institutions around the world. Part of what makes their approach so appealing to instructors is the opportunity to craft carefully thought out syllabi and lesson plans that never fall back on the instructor as lecturer. Instead, Inside-Out emphasizes that we are all learners engaged in a collaborative process together. As instructors we share responsibility with each other; in our case, we have a graduate student Outside TA and an Inside TA and each of us rotate responsibility for activities and sections of the lesson plan. We also share grading and decisions about how to respond issues as they arise, including adapting lesson plans.

While in theory, professors and graduate student teaching assistants will discuss what works in the classroom, this is often difficult to squeeze into a typical workday. In contrast, Inside-Out depends upon frequent communication between instructors and provides the opportunity for deep reflection on pedagogy. We scheduled at least one meeting per week prior to the class to ensure we addressed issues that arose in the last class session, including noting dynamics that might need adjusting, as well as responding to changes in expectations from the prison. While we could not communicate as frequently with our Inside TA, we did communicate through our prison contact and always consulted during class time while students were engaged in small group activities. The Inside student TA could help interpret body language that to the other instructors looked resistant or bored, but in fact reflected that student's personal adaptation to their environment. This helped us give students the benefit of the doubt even when they did not appear as actively engaged as their peers. In every such instance, those students demonstrated in their written assignments and in their increasing participation in class discussions over the semester that they were deeply engaged with the course materials and with the other students.

We also consulted with each other when we noticed side conversations or other disruptive interactions. For example, while most of our discussions are enthusiastic, they rarely grow heated or adversarial. But in at least one instance students strongly disagreed over an interpretation. One student left the room and an instructor followed up with her. The team approach to pedagogy made it possible for us to continue the class while also responding to the student's distress. The instructors then worked together before the next class to decide how we would use class time to revisit the disagreement and reaffirm our shared expectations for how we would treat each

other in the classroom.

One of the most important ways we demonstrated our shared status as collaborative learners was through soliciting and carefully responding to mid-semester feedback.[8] Our typical practice was to solicit constructive criticism using a form adapted from Inside-Out curriculum materials. We reviewed the comments as a team to respond to each. In some cases, student feedback was split. For example, some students asked for more time in small groups while others preferred more time in large group discussion. As a result, we emphasized time for both in each class plan and reported back to the group that we took this seriously, but since there was no consensus would not be making a dramatic change in favor of one approach over the other.

Feedback from students also helped us understand how the coursework fit into their busy lives. Both Inside and Outside students have multiple obligations including work assignments and other commitments beyond their control. Thus, we made a point of making all essay topics available to students from the beginning of the semester so that they could plan their assignments while doing the relevant readings. In order to maintain flexibility, we added options to the assignments to reflect the content of class discussions. For example, in one semester, students became entranced with "ressentiment" (Rollins, 1997) so we added an essay option that would explore the concept as it relates to other course materials. We learned about the impact of Inside students' limited access to computers and determined how best to explain the essay expectations without assuming they would be typewritten.

At the level of syllabus construction, we took seriously student comments on the utility of the assigned readings and adapted how and when we taught the materials in future semesters. In one case we provided more information and instructions, in students' own words, for how to get the most out of the reading. In another case, we moved up a reading they really enjoyed so that students in the next semester read it earlier and had tools from that reading to apply to later readings.

The Inside-Out Prison Exchange pedagogy combines many puzzle pieces that do not always take shape as a traditional university classroom would. While the traditional classroom setting is often in the control of the instructor, an Inside-Out class involves multiple authorities. Prison administrators and correctional officers must know our plans in advance, but on occasion information was not relayed to all stakeholders, which resulted in a delayed start time. However, we quickly learned to meticulously plan and introduce any unusual activity early on and send reminders before class. For example, during one of the first classes together, inside students were provided with all the books required for the course at the end of class to prepare for the upcoming readings. Although we had received permission to hand them out, the officers escorting us had not received that memo, so they took the books away and stored them until further notice, which was an unpleasant experience for all involved. We check and double-check in order to pre-empt a repeat of this experience and set aside time to foster communication.

Our working relationship with correctional officers is built during the weekly security clearance and escort to our classroom, which typically spans 45 minutes to an hour between our arrival at BWCI and when class begins, giving ample time for conversation. Once in the classroom, students help rearrange the computer lab in the education wing to accommodate our session. In line with the Inside-Out model, we always started class in a large circle, with Inside and Outside students alternating seats when possible (Wertz, 2013). In the circle, everyone remains equal-equal voice and an equal opportunity in the learning process. We incorporate a breathing exercise or a brief yoga sequence to start the class with an open and fresh mind, absent of all distractions from the day.

Inside-Out suggests participants wear the official Inside-Out T-shirt as way to spread awareness; we invited Outside students to create a T-shirt that all Outside students would be required to wear to each class. This had multiple unexpected benefits: to ensure conformity with correctional and Inside-Out rules surrounding dress code, to make Outside students easily identifiable for correctional officers, and to create a sense of belonging. Although Inside students could not wear the same T-shirt, overall the shirt seemed to promote community rather than division. Given the authors' commitment to feminism, there was some wariness around the instructors' role in telling students (mostly young women) what they could wear. The T-shirt thus helped avoid conversations about "appropriate" clothing, although we often reiterated the rules specifying non-revealing pants. We used these opportunities to reflect on the scrutiny incarcerated students and correctional officers experience daily.

We also learned of our own blind spots when participating in the selection of the Inside students. As with

Outside students, we hoped to conduct one-on-one interviews with Inside students well in advance of the course in order to provide time to decide if they wanted to participate, to explain aspects of the course and address anxieties. However, this did not line up well with the correctional institution's timeline. Daytime can be chaotic and unpredictable in any correctional setting, especially in one which experiences chronic long-term staff shortages.[9] Simply bringing potential Inside students to be interviewed requires staff time. Similar realizations led to scrapping Inside office hours. More often than not, we would receive a call the morning before or would learn on arrival that they could not take place. By the third semester, we prepared Inside students by meeting with those selected by the education department of BWCI a few days prior to the first class. One-on-one interviews are still conducted when possible. We also learned that the best possible ambassadors for the course are former students. Word-of-mouth led to increased interest in the course and less anxiety from students about the unknown. Whenever possible, we now include in the interviews the Inside student who will serve as the teaching assistant for the next semester, a student who performed very well in the prior course and is paid to work with us.

Not all of our blind spots were as happily resolved. We realized that we had failed to predict the multiple ways some of our assigned material could be "read." In some ways, this worked well. We had selected Ana Castillo's poetry (excerpted at the beginning of this article) because of its accessibility and engagement with gender roles. Students who had little to no prior experience with poetry jumped enthusiastically into class discussions that invited multiple interpretations. This created a sense of equality among all of us, students as well as instructors, since none were poetry experts, so all of our interpretations were plausible.

However, during the first class session just after the riot, our Inside students let us know that simply possessing a poem with that title increased their sense of vulnerability. As are well-documented, normal operations are typically suspended after an incident like a prison riot or uprising (Useem, 1991). Even under regular circumstances, the timing of, or logic behind, correctional decisions is rarely communicated to incarcerated people, understood instead as information that is unneeded and could threaten security (Useem, 1991). As sociologists have also documented, when institutional decision-making is opaque, an unintended consequence is to deprive people of a sense of control over their own choices and actions, which in turn impacts their sense of self (Sykes, 2007). For our Inside students and for the officers and staff, life in BWCI after the prison riot was characterized by uncertainty. We unknowingly made this worse by putting something in our students' hands that could be misread as an incitement to riot. Fortunately, it did not come to this, and if it had, we would have explained that the poem references historical political demonstrations and does not call for uprisings. If anything, our class discussion interpreted the poem as a lamentation of women's non-recognition as agents of change or participants in collective action: women *don't* riot. A few of our Inside class members noted that while new procedures after the riot were explained as part of a regional response, as women, they were not expected to cause that kind of trouble.

Briefings and debriefing. As regular visitors, in addition to a criminal background check, each semester the class attends a security briefing designed for employees, volunteers, and temporary contractors. Leon has now attended nearly a dozen of these, providing the opportunity to more fully appreciate the complexities that correctional officers and the BWCI administration more generally had to navigate as a *women's* correctional facility, and during a time of policy change. Specifically, the experience of attending multiple briefings makes us better able to facilitate conversations with Outside students that could avoid the "us versus them" dynamic which Inside-Out is designed to break down (Maclaren, 2015), although in this case the emphasis was on understanding officers as well as incarcerated people.

The security briefings differed in length and emphasis depending on the officer in charge of delivering the content. However, all briefings relied upon the same basic information, and the same ceremonial signing of correctional rules and of the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) rules. Differences were apparent regarding officer comfort with how to respectfully address the transgender people incarcerated in the facility as well as the emphasis played on the potential for manipulation of outsiders by incarcerated people. For example, some officers used the correct terminology and encouraged using correct pronouns, (i.e., he and his), but their delivery of the content and body language indicated unease. Similarly, officers used different examples to explain why outsiders should be on their guard for potential manipulation by incarcerated people and subsequent violation of rules.

Outside students typically left briefings looking overwhelmed—often with glazed expressions. So, we provided the opportunity to process immediately after in person, as well as later through email or office hours. A few followed up by sharing essay-length reactions to how incarcerated people were characterized and noting

what they felt was a perfunctory delivery of PREA information. Given that a significant portion of Outside students had taken courses related to gender and sexual violence, they were primed to be hypercritical. Our reaction was more measured given our understanding of the broader field of correctional training and the typical inclusion of significant emphasis on avoiding the vulnerability that may be created by manipulation. Specifically, it is common practice to describe the slippery slope that may begin by exchanging pleasantries, then proceed to exchanging more personal information and then by doing what seem to be small favors but can implicate officers or other prison visitors in inappropriate relationships or rule violations, such as providing contraband that could include relatively benign items like chewing gum to the more obviously problematic money or drugs (Cheeseman, 2011; Carter, 2017).

Through repeated exposure, it became clear to Leon that this emphasis on manipulation is in keeping with a broader discourse about women offenders as well as common practice in correctional trainings (Kerrison, 2018; Cornelius, 2001) and that it would be unjust to automatically react to this as sexist, as did some students who attended the briefings. In fact, it was apparent that across each of the different briefings, there existed an overall foundation of respect; interactions with officers during the course itself confirmed this impression, although our interactions are certainly shaped by our status as Outside guests. Several of the briefings included comments by officers that focused on women's special needs women, often related to traumatic backgrounds. BWCI includes in its mission statement its commitment to trauma-informed practices. Had the instructors only attended one briefing, it is likely that they would have missed this opportunity to recognize the concern and recognition alongside the explicit language of manipulation and risk. Some Outside students responded to this emphasis, expressing particular distress as the portrayal of women as manipulative. The instructors could put this into the larger context of gendered assumptions about offenders (Shdaimah and Leon, 2015) and could draw attention back to the significance of the officers' implicit and explicit recognition of women's unique vulnerabilities and pathways to crime.

This is just one example of the use of debriefings for students to help them place their reactions and experiences in a broader context. The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program's template for courses provides for the first, third, and final class meetings to be held separately so that Inside and Outside students can reflect upon and discuss the class. We have found that following this model provides reflection crucial to our goal of mutual understanding and to making connections between our individual experiences and the broader social structures that shape crime and justice.

Adaptation, flexibility and transparency. Teaching requires flexibility and adaptation when working in a correctional setting, and especially one that has been recently influenced by an acute situation (e.g., prison riot) combined with chronic challenges (e.g., understaffing). For example, after some trial and error, we required Outside students to arrive forty-five minutes before the start time for our three-hour seminar. This provided enough time for students to drive to class[10] and complete security screening. But there were still many factors beyond our control; we rarely began class on time. In response, we adapted our lesson plans in several ways. First, because the uncertainties and delays would be stressful at times, we instituted a short yoga practice for the first few minutes. Led by Leon, students would engage in a few Sita Ram flows to remind students to breathe and stretch, which in turn, often relaxed students and helped center their focus on the classroom. Another way we tweaked our lesson plan to accommodate the unexpected was by curtailing our ambitions. Understanding that we would rarely have the complete three hours for our lesson plan, we reduced time on activities, pushed back material to the following week and deleted assignments altogether.

Although frustrating, we learned that it was best to not rush or cram material into a shortened session because it stressed students to complete the work in a short amount of time and it cut insightful discussions short. When we skipped activities or pushed them to the following week, we could concentrate and provide students with meaningful discussions on the current activity. During this process, we were transparent with students. When we explained our reasoning behind decisions, students seemed more receptive and open to collaborate with the changes made in the class plan. Research on learning and retention emphasizes that *less is often more* (Halpern & Hakel, 2003, p.41), so the external pressure to cut down quantity can be seen as a boon: it gave "permission" to emphasize quality.

Transformative Pedagogy: Emphasizing Agency and Equality in the Classroom

Research on the experiences of people who are incarcerated as well as people who have experienced trauma in their lives emphasizes that loss of control is a painful and common experience (Newcomb and Harlow, 1986; Wallace et al., 2011). As sociologist Gresham Sykes described, the pains of imprisonment include the deprivation of autonomy,

> (T)he frequent refusals to provide an explanation for the regulations and commands descending from the bureaucratic staff involve a profound threat to the prisoner's self-image because they reduce the prisoner to the weak, helpless, dependent status of childhood (Sykes, 2007, p.75).

Providing student with the rationale behind decisions we made as instructors and with a sense of choice and control over how they fulfilled assignments was one mechanism through which we could recognize our students as whole persons. It also contributed to our students' comfort in the classroom and willingness to stretch themselves beyond what they thought they were capable of, since they had reason to believe in us as instructors and the value of the course. While this attention to students as agentic is most obvious in the response to mid-semester feedback explained above, we also had this in mind in decisions like starting the class with a preview of what we would do, as well as including learning outcomes for activities as we introduced them. At the micro level, it also included statements during discussion like, "This seems like something you may want to use for your essay" or "I can see you're really interested in this theoretical tool, how can you apply it to other readings?" Attention to each student's intellectual curiosity not only helped them complete assignments but also recognized them as singular individuals.

Sister poems. As we mentioned above when discussing "Women Don't Riot" and other poetry read in class and the freedom that non-expertise provided, incorporating creative writing in a sociology class also allowed us to share our amateur efforts at making poetry. For example, the Sister Poem technique opened the floodgates of creativity and communication across differences. The exercise begins with the repeated reading aloud of a short poem, such as Nikki Giovanni's "Knoxville, TN".[11] Ideally two or three students, alternating Inside and Outside, will read the poem. Then students work independently to write their own poem, using the original as a model but with as much freedom as they would like to change the topic, form, and parts of speech. Some students like the strict adherence to the original—a few have even taken up the challenge of writing their own sestina, following its rigorous formal requirements, while others have created free-form poetry. Students are then invited to share their poems with the class, and some share them weeks later after continued writing and revision on their own. We usually include at least one student's original poem in the formal closing ceremony at the end of class. This kind of writing and sharing contributes to the classroom's special climate of support for each other as we try new and uncomfortable challenges as writers and learners.

Building skills and rapport in small groups. Each class session combines large and small group activities. The groups begin by choosing a moderator who keeps the conversation flowing and ensure each person is heard, and a recorder, who takes notes and reports back to the class when we reconvene as a larger group. Then the instructors may ask the small groups to answer discussion questions or engage in an interpretive activity like viewing and responding to photographs (another activity adapted from the IO Training). These small groups provide students the opportunity to take leadership roles and share ideas and to get to know each other without the pressure of the entire class listening.

Throughout the latter half of the semester students worked together on a project of their choosing, such as a poster, syllabus, or newsletter that illustrated a key idea from the course. In order to provide the most autonomy in this process, students brainstorm topics of interest related to the class. Once the class creates a list, students select their topic. For the most part, students organically grouped themselves with a balance of Inside and Outside students per group, but at times we intervened to ensure balance. Hereinafter, each week students used a significant chunk of the class session to work together on their group project. At first students appeared hesitant about workload distribution, since Inside students have restricted resources for printing, internet, and supplies. While it was complicated to organize and assign tasks that fit everyone's capability and access, in the end they learned to communicate, delegate and coordinate to achieve their goal. Students learned to work together without email, messages, or outside meetings but simply through in-person communication that fosters trust in one another to come to class the following week with their part of the project completed. The group projects also generated a special sense of camaraderie among the members, which was evident during their presentations.

Recognizing achievements, relationships and closure.

There was an aura of excitement and joy; unusual for Outside students waiting in the lobby for security clearance. I was concerned that the correctional officer on duty would make a request to simmer down or be silenced. As soon as we made our way into the education wing, I could smell something sweet cooking up in the kitchen. I did not know what was going to be served as our closing ceremony dinner, but my nostrils told me it would be something delicious. The hall was bustling with Inside students in their usual wear, but now some also wore white aprons and chef hats. As we organized the classroom to our ideal seating arrangement, in walks the warden with two other officers on opposite sides of her. She wears a professional, tailored suit with heels and walks with such grace that her presence initially goes unnoticed. Students and staff members gather on one side of the classroom seated in chairs that shape the classroom into a semicircle. One by one, each of our closing ceremony activities gets crossed off: from introduction, to the distribution and recognition of certificates, and student recitals of their work. None of these activities were as astonishing to me as the celebratory dinner. Within the three-hour seminar I had not really taken a look around the room because I was too focused on the next section of the closing ceremony. However, after I had served myself food and turned to see where I would sit, I was in awe and admiration of the students. Inside and Outside students were enjoying their food, but most importantly were enjoying each other's company! There were three groups, and, in each group, students had rearranged the chairs to make smaller circles and as they ate off the plate on their laps, I could see the happiness and bonds they had built. This was made even more evident when the night came to an end and students had to say their farewell knowing they would not be seeing each other again. Many students walked away with tears flowing down their cheeks, others with eyes full of water ready to burst, and I just felt a big knot in my throat hurting as I tried to swallow it. (Perez, G., 2017, December 16)

On the last day of class together students present their work to peers and administrators from both institutions in a meaningful ceremony described in the field note above. The second semester of teaching this course, students were asked whether they preferred to invite guests or restrict the closing ceremony to members of the class only. We were surprised that both Inside and Outside students preferred to invite outside guests. Students wanted to showcase their hard work to staff in the prison; without their presence they would feel that their work would go unnoticed. Others shared that they wanted to be "official" and wanted to share their newly acquired knowledge with others.

The entirety of the closing ceremony is handled by students. Leading up to this session, students nominate and vote for the students who will represent them, students create and distribute the program, students arrange the room and Inside students even cook the food for the closing celebration. The instructors are joined by the guests who represent the UD and BWCI leadership to hand out certificates of completion. As a representation of what they have accomplished, a selection of students read their poetry, essays or journal entries. Lastly, after the applause, the students close the evening by inviting participants to enjoy the food. With limited ingredients and time, inside students prepare a feast which participants share while chatting, laughing and sharing memories. Unavoidably however, the closing ceremony comes to an end and students say their farewell without physical contact. Many participants, including ourselves, shed a few tears at this time because we know that we will not see each other again.

The class meets one final time the following week in separate Inside and Outside groups that allow students to debrief about the closing ceremony and the class overall. This session provides the last opportunity to offer feedback on the class and to address any unresolved questions or concerns.

Conclusion

A report issued Thursday by that special assistant, Claire DeMatteis, shows the DOC on pace to implement all recommendations made by an independent review of state prisons following the deadly Vaughn uprising.... "It's the correctional officers who know that better than anybody. They want inmates to have skills training and education classes, religious service, library services. It keeps the inmates active, learning, growing, versus just sitting in their cells and being disgruntled," said DeMatteis. (Ciolino, 2018)

Looking back, it is remarkable that we were able to teach immediately following a riot in the region. Support for the program worked behind the scenes to make this possible. We also recognize that the long-standing relationships developed between our colleagues in the department who pioneered Inside-Out courses at other facilities within our small state paved the way for the trust needed in order to make this work. But it also is clear that the Department of Corrections chose to respond to the conditions that made the riot possible in ways that emphasized rehabilitative and educational programming. Due to the partnership with the University, college-level programming is available to incarcerated people who would otherwise have little access, and at minimal cost to the DOC who paid only for the overtime required to staff security and to move the Inside students to the classroom and back. That in itself is a significant cost, given that another condition determined to have led to the riot is the shortage of correctional officers at all facilities in the state.[12] Nonetheless, it does not include the instructors' salaries, which are covered by the University as part of our normal load.

In terms of pedagogy, we have learned to consult with our Inside students and Inside TA as much as possible to avoid potential problems like including the "Women Don't Riot" poem might have caused, but also in the many other ways we've described above. We learned to depend on communication with our contacts within the prison and to attend to their concerns and requests, including something as small as ending the course five minutes early so the officer who accompanies us (who is working overtime) can clock out within her assigned parameters. We think this communication and goodwill is part of what allows our continued success. But most of all we recognize what an incredible privilege it is to participate in Inside-Out, something which informs our teaching outside as well as our approach to our research.

One of the guiding principles underlying our decisions in the classroom is the need to provide transparency. This dovetails with one of the prison system's forty-one recommendations following the 2017 riot: "establish a culture of transparency and accountability in order to rebuild trust and legitimacy with inmates" (DeMatteis, 2018, p.35). While our work in the classroom accounts for only a few hours a week of our Inside students' experiences, we hope that it contributes to a humanistic correctional atmosphere.

Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

[1] This article is a reflection related to an evaluation study approved by the relevant Department of Corrections and the University of Delaware Institutional review boards, Study number 996345-2. No personally identifying information is included. This reflection demonstrates our enthusiasm, but we acknowledge that critics of programs like Inside-Out question who benefits most from such classes. While we share some of these questions and concerns, we are waiting to engage them until we have completed our ongoing outcome evaluation.

[2] Throughout this paper, we intentionally avoid terms such as prisoner, inmate, criminal, convict, and felon to refer to individuals in prisons. Instead, individuals currently incarcerated are referred to as incarcerated people or individuals (or just students) unless we are discussing aspects specifically related to incarcerated students (for more information about language refer to The Power of Language, n.d.). We similarly use the most respectful terminology for correctional employees, e.g., correctional officer rather than guard. We insist on this respectful approach in our classroom as well.

[3] These and all other field notes on file with the authors.

[4] We address self-care explicitly in the class during the first sessions and provide resources for students to reflect on what will work best for them. We also incorporate mindfulness and yoga practices into the opening and closing of each class. Handouts available at https://sites.udel.edu/leon-research/resources-and-expanded-material-reading-women-dont-riot-after-the-riot-creating-a-new-university-prison-collaboration-women-in-literature-and-society-inside-out/ (Hereinafter, all materials mentioned in the text and notes can be found via this site.)

[5] In terms of the course structure, course mechanics and pedagogical style, Leon drew on the Inside-Out Exchange Program's sample curriculum for a criminal justice course (Leon completed the week-long Intensive Inside-Out pedagogical training during the summer of 2015). For more on the collaborations crucial to the course design, see the site mentioned above.

[6] Inside students also shared techniques no longer available to them on the Inside, like going for a drive or knit-

ting. This discussion early in the semester provided an opportunity to address reluctance to talk about the privileges those of us on the outside have, something instructors and several Outside students were nervous about until we realized how matter-of-fact it would usually be. This helped us shape discussions that followed in order to continue emphasizing similarities, but without being afraid of frankly acknowledging differences.

[7] See http://www.insideoutcenter.org/think-tank-graterford.html, accessed 9/2/2018).

[8] This is a technique Leon has used in other traditional courses, but rarely with the same commitment to responding to student concerns and feedback. It is not only time-consuming to make changes in response to students' feedback, it also is a demonstration of relinquishing power. Especially for women and amplified by age and status as a woman of color, power is very contested in traditional classrooms. (Harlow, 2003; Pittman, 2010).

[9] As in many correctional facilities, officer shortages are rampant and mandatory overtime is financially and emotionally costly. (Griffin, Hogan & Lambert, 2014)

[10] We do not provide transportation but facilitate carpooling and require students to sign a waiver of liability.

[11] The original activity created by Annie Slease uses Knoxville TN; we also used the exercise with Elizabeth Bishop's "Sestina" (Bishop 1983) and "Just Another Rape Poem" by Hannah Reese Carpenter (2015, available online at https://hellopoetry.com/poem/1160306/another-rape-poem/ accessed 9/2/18).

[12] A year after the riot, local news confirmed the continuing shortage although new classes of correctional officers continue to be trained and the state legislature has made small increases to officer salaries (Parra and Horn, 2018)

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English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Captivity:
The case of Iranian prisoners of war in the Iraq-Iran war

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Abstract: *During the Persian Gulf War of Iraq-Iran (1980-1988), thousands of Iranians were taken captive by Iraqi troops. These prisoners of war (POWs) had to find ways to enrich and fill their time in prison camps. Learning English was one such activity. This study was carried out to appraise the motivations of the Iranian POWs for learning English, and to understand more about their textbooks, their classroom environment, the teaching methods and techniques employed, the skills emphasized, the teaching aids improvised, the types of exercises mobilized, as well as the test-taking techniques adopted. A relevant corpus of 21 memoirs and 7 interviews with Iranian ex-POWs were analyzed. The research draws upon Maslow's (1970) "self-actualization" and Frankl's (1984) "logotherapy" to shed light on the existential aspect of learning. Findings revealed that for these EFL learners learning English was an attempt to fulfill their potential and/or to make life more meaningful.*

Keywords: *Iraq-Iran War, POWs, POW Camps, English, EFL in Captivity, self-actualization, logotherapy.*

Language learning and, in particular, foreign language learning or acquisition, does not take place in a vacuum. In fact, a foreign language can be learned or acquired in a wide variety of contexts: social, cultural, political, institutional, and so forth. Foreign language learners' success or failure in mastering a foreign language depends on a number of variables: linguistic, cognitive, affective, as well as sociocultural, and each of these contextual factors contributes, it is argued, either positively or negatively to the process of foreign language learning (Brown, 2007a; Harmer, 2001; Horwitz, 2008; Nunan, 2003, among many others). Furthermore, learners of a foreign language have their own role to play in the vicissitudes of the same process. Of the learner-related variables, intelligence, age, aptitude, attitude, motivation, personality, learning styles/strategies and learner beliefs are, many argue, important factors. Indeed, the multitude of factors involved in learning a foreign language is so vast that no single theory in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) whether it be the behaviorist perspective or the innatist, the cognitive perspective or the sociocultural can fully explicate all aspects of this complex phenomenon (Brown, 2007b; Ellis, 1994; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Tomlinson, 2005).

Available SLA literature reflects considerable variation in terms of these theoretical perspectives in respect of learning/acquiring a foreign language in those learning settings that are apparently normal and ordinary, if not favorable or voluntary (Bailey, Curtis & Nunan, 2001; Ellis, 1994; Hakuta, Butler & Witt, 2000; Harklau, 2005; Norton, 1997; Roberts et al., 2001; Van Lier, 2005). However, there is a particular case of foreign language learning which has yet to be addressed in SLA literature: learning a foreign language as a prisoner of war (POW) in an emotionally stressful and coercive situation of a prisoner of war camp.

On September 22, 1980, a year and a half after the victory of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 which was led by Ayatollah Rohullah Khomeini (1902-1989), thousands of Iraqi troops of President Saddam Hussein (1937-2006), invaded Iranian territory. This marked the beginning of a full-scale war in the Persian Gulf sec

tor of the Middle East which lasted for eight years, resulting in millions of deaths in both Iran and Iraq, with many more injured or rendered homeless (Potter & Sick, 2006). Tens of thousands of both military and civilians were also taken captive by the two armies involved. The war, the third longest war in the 20th century after Vietnam War of 1959-1975 and Soviet-Afghan War of 1979-1989, led to thousands of Iranian civilians and military personnel being taken captive by the Iraqi troops; Iranian POWs were reportedly approximately 42,000 in number (Potter & Sick, 2006, p. 8). These prisoners had to spend their time in the unpleasant, and often unbearable, circumstances of POW camps, and to find ways to pass time. Learning English language, among several other hobbies, was an activity that engaged some Iranian POWs.

The experience of learning the English language and becoming proficient or fluent in it whilst in captivity is an untapped area of linguistic, educational research, that could serve as a topic of considerable interest to educators, SLA researchers, EFL teachers, prison authorities, human rights groups, UN subsidiary agencies, as well as the teachers and learners of the English language. To tell this story and to understand the motivation of the Iranian POWs for learning English, the textbooks they used, their classroom environment and procedures, the teaching methods and techniques employed, the skills they emphasized, the teaching aids used, the types of exercises and practices as well as the test-taking techniques, this study worked with and analysed a number of documents detailed in this article.

Given the present lacuna in the literature as to educational learning experiences of POWs in learning a foreign language, such as English, under adverse circumstances of POW camps, this essay is guided by the following research questions and seeks to offer some provisional understanding of the motivation and practices of Iranian prisoners of war in learning English:

1. Given the demotivating circumstances of POW camps, what factors motivated Iranian POWs to learn English while in captivity?

2. In what ways did Iranian POWs learn English while in captivity?

3. How proficient, or fluent, did Iranian POWs become in English while in captivity?

In this essay, the first section provides a review of the literature. Thereafter, both the methodological approach and the conceptual framing are delineated. The subsequent section of the study is allocated to the presentation of the data and analysis, with a separate section devoted to discussion of the results. The final section of the paper highlights a number of the limitations of this provisional study and offers some suggestions for further research.

Learning English under Duress: Contextualising the Study

To date, to the best knowledge of this author, no relevant research is available on the educational undertaking of learning a foreign language, such as English, in a POW camp; these camps are raucous, harsh settings that are arguably significantly different from ordinary prison environments in which noncombatant citizens are confined. Whilst there are several studies detailing teaching a foreign language to prisoners in correction centers or prisons, this is not equivalent to learning a foreign language as a prisoner of war, when one is considered a belligerent enemy force by one's captors.

Some examples of teaching foreign languages or English as a second language include Hutchinson's (2014) fascinating story of teaching English as a second language in a city jail, as well as Westrheim and Manger's (2014) report on the lives of Iraqi prisoners in a Norwegian jail that gave special emphasis to their educational background, participation, preferences, and barriers to education, and Hopkins and Farley's (2014) rich description of teaching Australian incarcerated students in the digital age. In another study, Egbert (1989) addressed the problems that ESL (English as a Second Language) instructors face in a European correctional institute. This article focused on the problematic aspects of curriculum development and implementation in the unconventional setting of prison in order to finally arrive at several suggestions regarding how to overcome those obstacles in order to create an effective learning environment.

A further study by Olinger et al. (2012) involved establishing a learning community among "language partners" in a US prison in Illinois in which a number of prisoners taught ESL classes, supported by volunteer teacher-trainers. They claimed that the creation of this learning community had immense and sometimes unforeseen value to the participants. Irwin (2003) described prison education in Northern Ireland,

arguing that prison authorities should extend some of the exemplary educational practices that were developed throughout turbulent times, exploring ways in which learning about the past might inform developments within the custodial establishments. Scott's (2000) article elaborated on IRA prisoners (who call themselves POWs) learning experiences in the Maze prison in the south of Ireland. Describing the site as a "bleak compound", the IRA reportedly rejected the prison education services and set up its own educational structure (a remarkable library of hundreds of books on different topics). A large collection of the books which have found their way into its cells are shown to have had a lasting effect on the ex-prisoners even years after their release. One more source of relevance to this theme is O'Donnell's (2014) detailed account on education in prison, including descriptions of peer learning, by Irish Republican prisoners between 1987-2010. This is a comprehensive, in-depth report on an art programme (NCAD's art programme in Portlaoise prison) where for a significant duration of time there was little to no access to prison education.

Another important study by Emam Roodband (2016) examined learning practices in prisons by studying the lives and careers of fourteen contemporary political prisoners in Iran who had served long prison terms in Iranian jails under harsh physical as well as psychological circumstances during Pahlavi Dynasty (1926-1979). A number of these self-taught prisoners became, perhaps surprisingly, some of the leading translators of European languages in the years and decades which ensued, rendering works of both fiction and nonfiction into Persian. Taking up another line of enquiry, Gould (2017) examined the prison memoirs of three dissident writers of modern Iran in order to arrive at a better understanding of prison consciousness in Iranian modernity across both the Pahlavi and post-revolutionary period. He was particularly interested in understanding the relationships between prose and literary representation in modern Middle Eastern literatures, as reflected in the literary products of Iranian incarcerated political activists. Investigating three key variables of experience, motivation and learning strategies, and their inter-relationships, in a study encompassing 534 inmates in Norwegian prisons was the subject of a study conducted by Diseth et al. (2008). This study revealed some of the ways in which learners engaging in education in prisons could experience problems related to the learning environment and to the difficulties that arised in relation to their own learning difficulties.

Arguably, however, the lives of civil inmates in correctional centers and/or prisons is not the same as that of POWs who are typically considered as enemies rather than ordinary wards of the State. Under internationally recognized laws, a POW is a person, whether combatant or non-combatant, who is held in custody by a belligerent power. POWs are often at risk of deprivation of even their minimum human rights, including the right to receive proper educational services. This paper seeks to understand how prisoners of war respond to their situation, and condition, educationally and through their studies and learning, specifically here in respect of learning English.

Framing the Study Methodologically and Conceptually

Given the limited research in this area, and the difficulty in ascertaining both motive for and practice of learning English, the most appropriate initial approach to understanding the nature of English language learning in prisoner of war camps needs to be attuned to both history and ethnography. The voice of the person in the camp seemed most instructive here which is why diaries, memoirs, interviews and (auto)-biographies of the Iranian ex-POWs—now more than 30 years after the end of that war in 1988—were studied as the primary data source. The researcher had to rely solely on Persian publications available in Iran and sought to ensure representative sampling from among a large number of sources written by Iranian ex-POWs in the Persian language and published in Iran from 1990s to 2000s. Twenty-one published memory accounts or memoirs were studied and seven previously undertaken semi-structured interviews (by a number of historians of Iraq–Iran war) with Iranian ex-POWs were selected, studied and analyzed by the researcher. All the relevant sources (listed in the references below) were selected because they contained information about aspects of learning English as a foreign language in those Iraqi POW camps that were scattered across that country during Iran–Iraq war of 1980-1988. It ought to be noted that throughout this article, all quotations from such references were originally in Persian and have been translated into English by the author. In addition, because the sources of the data were all published in Iran with the Iranian national date of publication based on the Islamic calendar, all such references throughout are followed by two dates of publications; the first, an Iranian national Islamic date, and the second, a Christian one.

All of the Iranian POWs were males in their 20s to their 50s when they were taken captive. Once the literature was identified, an analysis was undertaken to locate those key themes that might be of potential value in answering the research questions. These themes (e.g. motives of learner, teachers, resources, classroom environment, practices, error correction, testing, etc.) comprise variables of significant importance in any educational setting, including learning English in an EFL context. It was thus decided to assign each of these ten areas located in the preliminary analysis a separate coding subtitle to be sequentially dealt with in the data analysis. The data contained a range of relevant material from areas as wide as the motives of Iranian POWs in learning English, the English teachers of Iranian POWs, the teaching/learning resources, their classroom environment, to EFL skills concentrated on in their classes, the teaching aids improvised, and so forth.

It is generally acknowledged among educators as well as ESL/EFL experts, that the most important factor involved in learning a foreign language is the motivation of the learner (Brown, 2007; Dornyei, 2014; Horwitz, 2008; Richards, 2015; Thornbury, 2006). Venturing to learn a foreign language as a POW in a POW camp would appear to be an educational endeavor which requires significant motivation. However, the findings and implications of the motivational studies such as those reported above are not adequate to the task of accounting for the learning of English in prisoner of war camps. Most research, including those of Gardner (2000, 2001, 2010) and Dornyei & Ushioda (2009, 2011) is concerned with learning a foreign/second language under ordinary, if not favorable, circumstances that are far from the realities of the hostile context of a typical POW camp. In trying to understand the underlying motivating factors in such settings, the conceptual framing adopted to support the analysis of the relevant data gathered relies, in part, on two theorists, Maslow and Frankl, whose existential concerns seemed to help to shed light on important aspects of the lives of human beings in times of distress. This is supplemented by rich descriptions of the practical ways in which POWs learned English and what it meant to them at the time and on reflection.

Maslow's theory of "self-actualization" (Maslow, 1970; William and Burden, 1997) is a component of the overarching theory known as the "hierarchy of human needs". The theory states that there are two sets of human needs: deficiency needs (basic physiological needs, need for safety and security, need for personal closeness, need for self-esteem) and being needs (cognitive needs, aesthetic needs, and self-actualization). The theory assumes that if deficiency needs are not met, or their fulfillment is disrupted in some way, then it would be difficult, or even impossible for a person to fulfill those needs that are further up the hierarchy (William and Burden, 1997, p. 33). On the other hand, Frankl's "logotherapy" was originally offered to account for the behavior of human beings in times of severe physical pain and deprivation during the Holocaust and Frankl maintained that striving to find a meaning in one's life is the primary motivational force in man (1984, p. 121).

The Learning Stories of Iranian Prisoners of War

Motivation

The aim of this study is not to specify a single motive for those POWs who learned English amongst a population of over 42,000 POWs. POWs are human beings, each of whom has characteristic features which distinguishes them from their peers. Yet, one can identify several trends or tendencies when examining their stories, even if their motives and purposes were different.

To give an example, according to Karaki (1377/1998), an Iranian ex-POW in Iraqi POW camps:

> Among Iranian EFL learners, there were different groups. The first group consisted of those who sought to learn English due to personal, internal motives which drive people to communicate, out of curiosity, with unknown others and to enjoy what they say. (p. 164)

Goodarzi (1380/2001), another Iranian ex-POW who used to be a colonel in the Iranian army recalled his own agonies of being imprisoned and his response of learning the English language at Iraqi POW camps, describing it as an attempt to entertain himself with a pastime or hobby, perhaps to avoid, or to counter, psychological stress and/or depression:

> At Iraqi POW camps, days went by rather slowly, with no hopes for us of returning home. We had to improvise ways to minimize the agonies of time passing so stressfully round the clock. Thus, I started to devote my time to reading English simplified versions of novels

provided to us by International Committee of the Red Crescent Societies (ICRCS). I used the same method to learn some Russian and/or French as well. This way, I managed even to read Victor Hugo's Les Misérables. (p. 117)

Rahmaniaan (1376/1999) also spoke of how "too much free time made some Iranian POWs devote themselves to learning English or other European languages" (p. 63). Karaki (1377/1998) in a similar way, referred to learning English as 'a type of constructive entertainment' in a situation where for want of valuable novels, POWs had no choice but to turn to studying English (p. 164). For still another group of POWs for whom "time was gold" in order to avoid wasting precious time in captivity, and in fact to enrich it, it seemed imperative to spend some time at least on learning English (Karaki, 1377/1998, p. 164; Yektaaei, 1370/1991, p. 90). Among one further category of Iranian POWs "there were some who embarked on learning English for a potential future use after their likely freedom" (Karaki, 1377/1998, p. 165). Instrumental motivation was also an important motive for other POWs who sought to communicate either with International Red Crescent Societies (IRCS) personnel or the English-speaking Iraqi army personnel to let them know about their daily problems in the prison camps (Rahmaaniaan, 1376/1997. p. 63; Yektaaei, 1370/1991, p. 49; Sarafraaz, 1384/2005, p. 90).

The English Teachers of Iranian POWs

For a POW EFL learner with little to no competency or proficiency in English, those who can act as teachers of English may be of particular value and importance, in contexts that are as stressful as a POW camp. Yet, it does not seem altogether reasonable to expect such teachers to be in the same position as those with professional qualifications in teaching English, given their working conditions and lack of resources. In fact, teachers of English were often fellow POWs who, for one reason or other, were just a few steps ahead of their peers, insofar as their competence or proficiency in English was concerned.

Shams (1375/1996) remembered how "in almost every field, whether academic or otherwise, there were both teachers and students among us. Teachers were typically fellow POWs, former university students, students of religious schools, and at times engineering and medical professionals" (p. 107). In another narrative account, it was mentioned "there were a few former employees of NIOC (National Iranian Oil Company) who were fairly fluent in English and taught us the English language" (Zibaafar, 1385/2006, p. 32). In another source (Hasanshaahi, 1373/1994,) two teachers of English are named and appreciated:

Hossein Lashakri too taught us English. Before being captured, he had served in the Iranian Air Force in Tabriz as an F5 fighter jet pilot. Also, had it not been for the dedications of our fellow POW, Ali Zardbaani, we would not have had any chance to learn English. (pp. 47-48)

Reports of self-taught POW English learners, as well as reports of POWs who were assisted by IRCS personnel in learning English vocabulary and grammar points are also of importance in understanding English language learning in camps (Mashreqi, 1379/2000, pp. 46-52; Ahmadvand, 1381/2002, p. 131).

Teaching and Learning Resources

As military facilities, POW camps are by their nature hostile environments controlled by aggressive forces. POWs are often considered as enemy combatant forces who need to be punished without even the minimum of facilities available in ordinary life. Iranian POWs in Iraq were no exception to the rule. As far as the educational facilities and resources for learning and teaching of English were concerned, Iranian POWs were reportedly scarcely provided with essential tools and materials. According to Karaki (1377/1998):

In the first few months of our stay in the camp, books, pens or any other such pieces of stationery were strictly forbidden. Any written note found among one's possessions would bring dire consequences.…For a couple of months, a pen was the only suitable item of stationery available with which to write down new English vocabulary on dirty sheets of paper or cigarette packages. (p. 158)

Baraati's (1378/2008) narrative agreed with this description:

Months have passed when IRCS provided each POW with one pen, a small 40-page notebook and a few English simplified readers. However, as soon as the IRCS personnel left the camp, all the souvenir stationery was confiscated by the Iraqi guards. (p. 59)

Baarati (1378/2008) listed a number of English study resources as follows:

1. Oxford University Press (OUP) simplified readers at different levels.

2. Two monolingual English-English copies of *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, and one bilingual English-Persian Asia Dictionary for around 300 POWs.

3. Iranian high school English language textbooks published by the Iranian Ministry of Education, imported from Iran quite infrequently by IRCS. (p. 183)

Unsurprisingly it was found that through the IRCS services "an educational English language series entitled *English Simple* was handed to the POWs for self-study" (Nayyeri, 1386/2007, p. 85). At other times, POWs had to improvise their own teaching facilities to help improve their English. One such case, reported by Lieutenant Colonel Mojtabaa Jafari (1386/2007) is graphically depicted in the following description:

> To improvise the necessary equipment for teaching English, my fellow POWs once joined a metal panel onto two bars to manufacture a whiteboard. Besides, pieces of black smoke from the kitchen, mixed with leftover fats and meats, served as chalk to write with on the board! Still at other times, we had no choice but to scratch the crumbling black plaster of the walls to produce a couple of bars of chalk. (pp. 129-130)

The Classroom Environment

EFL learners, like learners in any other learning context, are profoundly affected by what they see, hear and feel in the classroom. If the classroom is clean, the equipment is good, and seats are arranged to facilitate learning, this would support both the learning as well as the teaching. By the same token, if the learning-teaching environment is as free from external noises as possible, and if the heating and cooling systems are properly operating, this also has positive effect on the atmosphere and environment. And if the opposite is the case, then the learning environment will not support learning in the same way.

It is therefore surprising that classic sources on learning English as a foreign language, for example, Brown (2007) described teaching under adverse circumstances only in terms of teaching large classes; teaching multiple proficiency levels in the same class using 'English Only' in the classroom; dealing with the institution, including disciplinary procedures; and dealing with cheating (pp. 245-250). There is an opportunity for the SLA literature to further explore some of the factors negatively affecting the learning-teaching situation. Learning English in captivity is a response to adverse circumstances both physically and emotionally, and is compounded by the lack of adequate facilities, resources, and equipment.

The learning experiences of the Iranian POWs in Iraqi POW camps revealed how even under terribly harsh circumstances they still managed to learn English, with different degrees of proficiency. Zaaghiyaan (1390 /2011), an Iranian ex-POW who was captured as a clergyman fighting alongside his fellow Iranian military forces described how "English classes were secretly held, because Iraqi camp officials would not tolerate watching enemy soldiers being educated" (p. 44).

Saaleminezhaad (1386/2007) agrees with this account of the practice of learning English:

> While English classes were in progress for about 20-30 minutes, a couple of our fellow-POWs were exclusively to look out for any Iraqi guards approaching. In case any Iraqi guard was seen approaching our way, they would signal the red light! Now, everybody in the classroom had to busy himself with something; one would hide under the blanket feigning asleep, another would show off being busy sewing a torn shirt, a third perhaps with making the bed, and still others with cleaning the floor. (pp. 158-159)

Given these extremely difficult learning circumstances, it is no surprise to learn that Iranian POWs' requests for permission to buy English textbooks from their own money were reportedly immediately turned down (Jafari, 1386/2007, p. 130).

The Limitations of Learning and Skills Developed

POW camps are typically environments populated by POWs predominantly speaking the same language. These are places only rarely frequented, or visited, by native speakers of a second language. As we have seen, Iranian POWs in Iraqi camps tended to have to rely on printed and written materials and resources

in learning or teaching English, if indeed they ever had any chance to do so. The English language skill focused on tended to be "reading" because of circumstance. At times, this meant being allowed to study a limited number of textbooks that were distributed by IRCS, or "by reading a state-run newspaper Baghdad Observer" (Baraati,1387/2008, p. 109). At other times, if available, POWs invested in improving their speaking skills through conversations and dialogues with other fellow-POWs, either through in-class role-play practices or out-of-class follow-up exercises. Occasional talks and interviews with IRCS officials are also reported (Baraati, 1387/2008, p. 195). In very rare cases when Iranian POWs were allowed to watch Iraqi English TV series (either in original English, or with Arabic subtitles) this could also contribute to improving their listening skills in English (Zaaghiyaan, 1390/2011, p. 53).

Improvisation of Resources

Authorities in POW will not generally care about the facilities necessary to be provided to enemy soldiers. The POWs themselves must do their best, where possible, to improvise what they need for both learning and teaching. As far as the Iranian POWs in Iraqi camps are concerned, they appear to be creative in improvising with scant resources in their English classes. Fathi (1388/2009), who spent seven years in Mosul POW camp, remembered that, "for around three years, in our English classes we had no boards to write on. All we had to do was to go outdoors, take a stick and write words or sentences on garden soil" (p. 46). Kalaantari (1382/2003) referred to "taking kitchen utensils and articles of clothing to the class to learn their English equivalents and practice using them" (p. 155). Sketch paintings, newspaper clippings, rough drawings of tools, and other self-made paper-based visual aids were also reportedly used by Iranian POWs in Iraqi camps (Haashemzaadegaan, 1382/2003, pp. 46-47; Miri, 1382/2003, p. 101; Mohammadzaadeh, 1382/2003, p. 78).

English Language Learning in Practice

The literature reviewed in this study reveals that the EFL exercises and/or practices used by Iranian POWs in Iraqi POW camps, whether in EFL classes or outside, were limited in terms of variety. In ordinary settings for the teaching of English as a foreign language, this will involve some pedagogical knowledge and a good grounding in TEFL, on the part of the teachers. Clearly enough, such knowledge and expertise are not readily accessible to POWs. As a result, each individual or group of Iranian POWs had to rely on their own improvisation, innovation, and initiative to contribute to their own English language learning. The exercises used were sometimes designed to reinforce the learning of vocabulary or grammar to which students had already been exposed English classes.

Jabbaari (1373/1994), a POW army officer, remembered every day copying down the spellings of a large number of new English words at intervals in a copybook (p. 71). Rabiee (1385/2006) too refers to his own innovation in compiling paper clippings in which each strip was divided into two parallel columns containing English words and their Persian equivalents (p. 200). The paper strips contained, at times, as many as 150 words. These strips were humorously referred to as EKGs (electrocardiograms) because of their apparent resemblance to EKG rhythm strips. POW EFL learners had to memorize the spelling and Persian equivalents of the English vocabulary in order to be able later to pass the relevant exams. "Sometimes, too much free time made us turn to translating English simplified readers into Persian to avoid forgetting their Persian equivalents. POWs with such translation collections were not few in number" (Nayyeri, 1386/2007, p.85). Role-play dialogues were also reported as being among the favorite practices for the POWs, during breaks, to fill up long days (Nayyeri, 1386/2007, p. 93; Zaaghiyaan, 1390/2011, pp.112-114).

EFL Testing for Proficiency

The Iranian POWs whose EFL learning experiences are surveyed herein reported being tested on their English proficiency in two ways: systematic and unsystematic. Systematic testing is meant by testing measures taken by IRCS personnel who are knowledgeable in designing and administrating English test items. According to Saaleminezhaad (1386/2007), IRCS English tests/quizzes included written multiple-choice tests of vocabulary or grammar based on an educational series entitled *Present Day English* (p. 57). Unsystematic testing measures refer to those cases in which POWs themselves improvised local tests (oral or written) to evaluate whether they had made any progress in learning English. These were developed through extracurricular practices and interpersonal relationships and aimed to both enrich their abundant free time and to reinforce learning the points to which they had been exposed in English classes. This included dialogue rehears-

ing or interviews (Abdullahi, 1384/2005, p. 89; Monsef, 1388/2009, p. 195; Moraadi, 1385/2006, p. 19).

Errors and Correction

In normal, if not favorable, learning-teaching situations, mistakes or errors of EFL learners were corrected either directly (explicitly) or indirectly (implicitly) by an experienced instructor. Errors in listening, speaking, reading or writing can be readily tracked, noted and corrected. In adverse learning-teaching situations, such as our case of Iranian POWs, however, things are different. There were very few, if any, well-qualified English language teachers who were able to provide appropriate feedback to the learners' performance as far as phonological, lexical, pragmatic, developmental, or global errors were concerned. The scarcity of skilled teachers in Iraqi POW camps meant that Iranian POWs had to find their own ways to help themselves in correcting faulty items.

Self-correction was among the first solutions. Pourzahmat (1386/2007) explained:

In my daily encounters with IRCS personnel, in case I felt any miscommunication and/or misinterpretation caused by my own broken English (signaled by a mischievous smile, or a grin of an addressee!), I turned to my Hayyem English-Persian dictionary to know about the correct pronunciation or meaning/equivalent of a vocabulary item. In such cases, to help myself avoid getting stuck in further problems, I would start writing the correct items as many times as possible, in an attempt not to forget its meaning anymore. (p. 115)

As for the other category of mistakes and errors by Iranian POWs in the English classes taught by either Iranian POWs or by IRCS personnel, teacher correction was a normal routine (Baraati, 1387/2008, p. 332; Nayyeri, 1386/2007, p. 18;). Peer-correction too was a practice not infrequent among Iranian POWs (Jabbaari, 1373/1994, p. 72; Rajaaei, 1385/2006, pp. 920–925). Nonetheless, an anecdotal narrative accounting for a peer-induced error may also deserve attention:

Whenever IRCS personnel visited our POW camps, there was always a Mrs. Nightingale with them. She was in charge of delivering letters to and from our families. Any time she met us, she would give two sheets of paper to each POW on which one could write a letter to his family. I remember once I decided to get more sheets of paper from Mrs. Nightingale, but didn't know how to express myself in English. A fellow POW instructed me as to what and how to say it in English. I memorized the sentence and on Mrs. Nightingale arrival, went to her and based on my friend's instruction asked her "please, give me a kiss?" "Oh, God, no, no, no!" she replied nervously with a pale face. This left me dumfounded! It took me only minutes to understand that I had made a grave error, intentionally induced by a mischievous fellow POW. (Baraati, 1387/2008, p. 340).

English Proficiency on Release

Not all Iranian POWs in Iraqi prison camps spent the same period in the camps. Some were there only for a period of months, however the majority others had to stay for as many as eight years. Given their differing prior English proficiency (if any) on captivity, it is interesting to learn of their English proficiency on release, in particular, since the learning environments in which they were exposed to English were typically non-professional and informal. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive evaluation study available to allow us to gauge proficiency, the literature suggests that Iranian POWs, by and large, improved in their English proficiency. As a result of their personal endeavors in learning English, some Iranian POWs attained sufficient proficiency to read English texts at their disposal fluently, some managed to improve in oral fluency (in particular in English for survival purposes in a prison camp), and still a third category is claimed to have accomplished capabilities multi-lingually therein (Miri, 1382/2002; Mohammadzaadeh, 1382/2002; Saalempour, 1385/2005). Among these, a few proved so fluent in English (as well as in French and/or Italian) that they were requested by IRCS authorities in camps to function as their intermediary interpreters. "There were a few guys among us who on their release from Iraqi camps spoke foreign (European?) languages as fluently as the native speakers" (Monsef, 1388/2009, p. 195). Rajaaei added (1385/2005) that "Some of our fellow-POWs were illiterate when taken captive but turned out to be so fluent in English later that they appeared on the stage performing English plays" (p. 926). Zibaafar (1385/2006) claimed:

During years of captivity, most of us learned English with no need to return to anybody for translating. Many could independently go to the IRCS personnel communicative in English, French or other languages. In fact, for some of our more fluent POWs, talking to Red Cross personnel was similar to taking part in a dialogue rehearsal practice. (p. 77)

Haashemzaadegaan (1382/2003) made a similar claim to the effect that "I myself learned English in Iraqi POW camps and had just started learning Italian when the tiring years of captivity came to an end" (p. 96).

Understanding the Stories: Reflecting on Key Themes

To find a convincing answer to our first research question in respect of the motives of the Iranian ex-POWs in learning English, it is clear from the analysis of the literature above that they learned English as a foreign language for a variety of purposes, including instrumental motives. One former POW referred to the "internal motives which drive people to communicate, out of curiosity, with unknown others" (Karaki, 1377/1998, p. 164). Another considered learning English as an attempt to entertain himself, perhaps to avoid, or counter psychological stress and/or depression (Goodarzi, 1380/2001, p. 117). For still another, Yektaaei, (1370/1991, p. 90), the motive to learn English was to enrich those long hours of time which might otherwise be spent in vain. Yet, another POW spoke of the importance of EFL due to its "potential future use after the likely freedom" (Rahmaaniaan, 1376/1990, p. 63).

As to our second research question which sought to understand the ways in which Iranians ex-POWs learned EFL, the literature revealed that their EFL teachers were non-professionals, none being identified as a former teacher before being taken captive. The teaching/learning resources for the Iranian POWs were minimally provided, and no specific administrative office, or military unit, is named as having been responsible for education. Their classroom environments were typically far from desirable. In addition, the EFL skill, that was primarily cultivated was, unsurprisingly, that of reading; very few, if any, wrote of the other EFL skills such as listening, speaking, and/or writing. Furthermore, the teaching aids with which they were provided were non-existent not even a blackboard to write on. The exercises and practices in which they therefore engaged were mostly the results of their own improvisation and/or innovations and the EFL testing techniques for Iranian POWs to which they were exposed were understandably a limited number of unsystematic ones. Finally, their errors in EFL classes did not typically receive professional feedback from qualified instructors to help improve learning English but were ad hoc, self-correction, from peers, and occasionally from professionals.

As far as the answer to the third research question is concerned, the literature indicates that Iranian POWs, by and large, improved in their English proficiency. Indeed, some of these POWs managed to improve their EFL skills sufficiently to be successfully used for social as well as higher education purposes after release from POW camps. Nevertheless, there is no comprehensive data or evaluation study available to justify further generalization about the English proficiency, or fluency, of all, or even the majority, of the Iranian POWs. This next section seeks to further understand the context of learning and what it means to learn in a prisoner of war camp in light of the writings of Maslow and Frankl.

Further Reflections and Speculations

"Becoming a bilingual is a way of life. Every bone and fiber of your being is affected in some way" (Brown, 1980, p. 4). This is particularly so when one is learning a second language as a POW, technically defined as "any person captured or interned by a belligerent power during war" (Joey, 2017), and still more so when one is captured by the military forces of a ruler as aggressive as Iraqi, Saddam Hussein (1937-2006). The learning environment for a POW as described throughout the analysis of the literature above is characterized by deprivation, suffering, hardships, as well as continuous threats and sadness. These are, by themselves, significant impediments to positive change in an individual, as well as stymying social growth and development. These negative, demotivating experiences might seem to render life, including any effort for survival let alone flourishing, meaningless, given the frustrations and misery faced by these prisoners of war. It is difficult to imagine how individuals living under such harsh conditions could act dynamically, optimistically, and even with sanguinity in matters as complex and time-consuming as foreign language learning. However, these particular Iranian POWs seem to have changed, in one way or another, threats into opportunities through both their own positive attitudes and/or motivations. They might be said to be what Maslow (1970) referred

to as "self-actualizers" (p. 150), because their most conspicuous characteristic was full use and exploitation of all their talents, capabilities, and potentials to accomplish a task as demanding as foreign language learning. But so too Frankl's (1984) quest to find meaning in suffering help us to understand how and why people turned to such pursuits:

> We must never forget that we may also find meaning in life even when confronted with a hopeless situation, when facing a fate that cannot be changed. For what then matters is to bear witness to the unique human potential at its best, which is to transform a personal tragedy into a triumph, to turn one's predicament into a human achievement. When we are no longer able to change a situation—just think of an incurable disease such as inoperable cancer—we are to change ourselves. (p. 135)

What was it that pushed Iranian POWs to turn the meagre resources at their disposal in Iraqi POW camps into fruitful learning contexts for their own benefits and personality growth? In some ways, their approach expresses Freire's desire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) in which he is said to have "wanted all students to become instruments of their own empowerment" (Brown, 2014, p. 90).

It is in fact in an environment as frustrating, stressful and disturbing as the POW camps of an authoritarian regime as that of Saddam Hussein where the performance of the Iranian POWs (or any other similar group across the world) in learning a second language gains particular significance. During those years in captivity characterized by widespread hostilities and atrocities, it was only the few who turned to EFL as a cross-cultural activity, perhaps as an attempt to survive and overcome their appalling conditions there. Such individuals might be seen as reminiscent of those referred to as "self-actualizers" by Maslow (1970), as mentioned above. Maslow had argued for two distinct categories of needs; *deficiency* needs and *being* needs. The first category of needs is directly related to an individual's psychological and/or biological needs, e.g. food, water, sleep, the absence of pain, the need for security, belonging, and self-esteem. However, by the *being* needs, Maslow meant cognitive needs, aesthetic needs, as well as self-actualization. For him, self-actualizing individuals are those who realize their full potentials, or to be exact "they are ruled by the laws of their own character rather than the rules by the society" (Maslow, 1970, p. 174). These POWs were of the few whose enthusiasm for achieving higher goals helped them achieve considerable educational ends, despite their routine everyday hardships, and their own deficiency needs.

A review of the literature intimated that these Iranian POWs did everything possible to learn English or improve their proficiency in it, i.e., attempts to realize or actualize their full potentials or capabilities in that regard, and were, in many ways, prime examples of autodidacts, self-tutors, and/or self-taught POW language learners. However, significant difference from Maslow's theory is that where he postulated that realization of higher level needs was contingent upon meeting the needs at the lower levels of hierarchy of needs, these EFLLs (English as a Foreign Language Learners) demonstrated that they could both learn and improve their English , despite being deprived of their basic deficiency needs due to living in the harsh conditions of living in POW camps. This follows Engler (2009) and Burger (1986) who have called for a modification, or reformulation in Maslow's theory, as far as human personality growth and development are concerned. This is where Maslow's framework might also be supplemented by Frankl's conception of logotherapy.

Iranian POWs as Self-Logotherapists

A survivor of Auschwitz, a concentration and extermination camp during World War II, internationally known psychiatrist Viktor Frankl (1905-1997) was most impressed with the meaningfulness that could be found in suffering itself (Engler, 2009, p. 399). Frankl developed a revolutionary approach to psychiatry called logotherapy. The central tenet in Frankl's logotherapy is the belief that man's primary motivational force is his search for meaning. As a theory, as well as a therapeutic technique, "logotherapy" regards its purpose as helping the patient to find meaning in his life (Frankl, 1984, p. 125).

Through this lens we can come to understand what life in a camp involves. This is important because logotherapy arose from Frankl's own experiences of being in a concentration camp. The detailed accounts in the data above testify to the hardships and agonies experienced by such POWs, concomitant with a strong desire to have a cause/causes to survive for. However, one difference, amongst many, is that nobody in the Iraqi POW camps was there to tell them what to do to make the most of time. It appears that as time passed,

these Iranian POWs gradually tried to find ways to help themselves feel less depressed and more dynamic in captivity. This we may refer to as attempts at self-logotherapy. In this, these POWs were similar to those translators in Iranian jails described by Emam Roodband (2016), as they were being self-taught. In another respect, their educational relationships in POW camps parallels those American prisoners in Illinois represented by Olinger, Bishop, and Cabrales et al. (2012) where they describe collaborations between the prisoner teachers and prisoner English language learners. Iranian POWs appear to have left no stones unturned in order to enrich their long hours of idleness, by learning a foreign language such as English. Why? A range of reasons are vividly mentioned in the literature from desiring to communicate with unknown others, to entertain oneself with a pastime or hobby, to avoid psychological stress and/or depression, to enrich time otherwise wasted, to read English newspapers, and also to foster any potential future use, and so forth. All of these ways of engaging with the language helped to create meaning for life and supported survival in agonizing circumstances. We might suggest that these POWs functionally turned out to be clients and logotherapists for themselves, even if they don't name this themselves.

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Living with HIV after Release from Prison: An Evaluation of the Long-term Health of Formerly Incarcerated Individuals who Used Michigan's Community Reentry Service

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Abstract: *In 2003, Michigan implemented a reentry service to assist HIV-infected people incarcerated in state prisons in linking to HIV medical care immediately upon their release. We examined whether formerly incarcerated people were linked to care successfully, remained in care, and were in good health 3 years after their date of release. In all, 190 people used the service over the 5 years following its inception. Only a minority of those who were alive and not reincarcerated at the time of the evaluation engaged consistently with medical care. Unsurprisingly given low rates of engagement in care, 3 years after their release only 27% had achieved viral suppression. Concerted efforts to support formerly incarcerated HIV-infected individuals' engagement in care over the long term are urgently needed.*

Keywords: *Community Reentry, HIV infection, Engagement in Care*

Mass incarceration in the United States remains a serious social and public health concern (Alexander, 2012). Hundreds of thousands of incarcerated people reintegrate back into the community each year, many of whom have an HIV-positive diagnosis (Maruschak & Beavers, 2009; Meyer, Cepeda, Wu, Trestman, Altice, & Springer, 2014; Springer, Friedland, Doros, Pesanti, & Altice, 2007; Springer, Pesanti, Hodges, Macura, Doros, & Altice, 2004). In 2013, it was estimated that approximately 150,000 Americans living with HIV were released from a correctional facility (National Minority AIDS Council and Housing Works, 2013). According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, approximately 1.2 million United States citizens were living with HIV that same year (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014). The rate of HIV infection in United States' prisons is approximately five times higher than the national average. Insuring formerly incarcerated people's uninterrupted medical care upon community reentry is critical to their well-being (Baillargeon, Giordano, Harzke, Spaulding, Wu, Grady, et al., 2010; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017; Dhami, Mandel, Loewenstein, & Ayton, 2006; Travis, 2005; Visher, La Vigne, & Travis, 2004).

Formerly incarcerated people living with HIV who do not have immediate access to medical care or prescriptions may experience treatment interruption (Baillargeon, Giordano, Rich, Wu, Wells, Pollock, & Paar, 2009). Treatment interruptions and disengagement from care poses significant health risks, including the possibility of transmitting the virus to others (Clements-Noelle, Mark, Pendo, Loughran, Estes, & Katz, 2008). Engagement in care refers to a spectrum of patient care and disease management, from initial diagnosis of HIV to full commitment to care and compliance with the medical regimens that suppress viral activity. Left untreated, HIV infection can progress to Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). AIDS, the final stage of HIV infection, occurs when oftentimes-fatal diseases and infections develop due to a damaged immune system. Not everyone who contracts HIV acquires AIDS. The degree to which an individual is fully

engaged in their HIV care and compliant with antiretroviral therapy (ART) regimens can affect the manageability of their HIV infection (Gardner, McLees, Steiner, Del Rio, & Burman, 2011). Consistent engagement in care can lead to improved ART adherence and achievement of viral suppression (Gardner et al., 2011; Giordano et al., 2007; Mugavero, 2008). Viral suppression signifies HIV is undetectable and not likely to be transmitted to others (Cheever, 2007; Gardner et al., 2011; Rodger, Cambiano, Bruun, Vernazzo, Collins, Lunzen et al., 2016; Rodger, Cambiano, Bruun, Vernazza, Collins, Corbelli et al., 2018). Inconsistent or lack of engagement in care can lead to further transmission of the virus or escalation of HIV infection to AIDS (Gardner et al., 2011; Giordano, Gifford, White, Suarez-Almazor, Rabeneck, Hartman, et al., 2007; Mugavero, 2008).

In the United States, only an estimated 40% of people living with HIV engage in uninterrupted care (Baillargeon, et al., 2009; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). After release from prison, rates of linkage to and retention in care, ART adherence, and viral suppression all significantly drop (Iroh, Mayo, & Nijhawan, 2015). One possible explanation for this disparity is that the prison system provides HIV care, easy access to medications, as well as essentials for survival (e.g. food, housing), resulting in better control of the virus (Meyer, et al., 2014; Springer et al., 2004; Springer, et al., 2007). The challenges in maintaining HIV medical care come upon release. Transitioning from prison to community can be difficult under ordinary circumstances but poses special challenges for HIV-infected formerly incarcerated people because of how quickly they must secure basic resources, such as housing, before (re)establishing benefits and entitlements, enrolling in HIV-medication access programs, and linking to an infectious disease specialist. Succeeding in these tasks may be complicated by lack of income to cover transportation and fees, incomplete medical and other required records for enrollments including proof of HIV status, lack of acceptable forms of identification, low literacy skills, poor mental health, and limited social support (Dennis, Barrington, Hino, Gould, Wohl, & Golin, 2015; Fontana & Beckerman, 2007; Glaze & James, 2006; Luther, Reichert, Holloway, Roth, & Aalsma, 2011; Visher, 2010; Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2008; Zaller, Holmes, Dyl, & Mitty, 2008).

At release, state polices typically provide that formerly incarcerated people receive up to 30 days of ART medication, leaving them under the best of circumstances with less than 1 month to identify resources to support their care and cover medical expenses (e.g., money for prescription and appointment co-payments, enrollment in insurance and benefit services), enroll into their state's AIDS Drug Assistant Program (ADAP), and find a physician to issue them an ART prescription. For instance, Texas' HIV-infected prisoners are released with a 10-day supply of ART (Baillargeon et al., 2009). Michigan, at the time of the current study, supplied 30 days of medication. Completing (re)enrollment applications for entitlements and securing medical records can be a laborious and complicated process. Some formerly incarcerated individuals may lack the skills needed to navigate these processes, particularly if the system of HIV care outside of prison is unfamiliar because they were diagnosed with HIV while incarcerated (Altice, et al., 2001).

To address these challenges, states have sponsored community-based reentry programs that help address some of the critical needs of the formerly incarcerated after release (Petersilla, 2003). However, the evidence for what these programs can achieve remains mixed. Modest intervention to assist in the transition to medical care improves rates of prescription access and medical visits in the short term. For example, in a study of Texas' formerly incarcerated persons, those who got no help with AIDS Drug Assistance Program (ADAP) applications were least likely to fill their prescriptions within 60 days (Baillargeon et al., 2009). Gardner and colleagues (Gardner, Metsch, Anderson-Mahoney, Loughlin, Del Rio, Strathdee, Samson, et al., 2005) conducted a randomized trial of a modest case management effort versus a passive referral program on short-term linkage to care. They found brief case management improved linkage to care over passive referrals. Avery, Ciomica, Gierlach, and Machekano (2018) observed jail-based case management led to improved retention in care 1 year post-release.

In experimental trials, however, evidence for the superiority of intensive case management over less intensive discharge planning efforts proves less compelling. Wohl and colleagues (Wohl, Scheyett, Golin, White, Matuszewski, Bowling, et al., 2011) compared intensive case management to a standard reentry program using a randomized design. The intensive case management model included pre-release meetings and intensive follow-up for 6 months after release. The standard reentry program relied on correctional nurses to create discharge plans that included linking clients to care, housing, and medication. Among the 93% of study participants who attended one or more post-release follow-up study visits, 54% and 65% of participants in the

standard and intensive arms respectively accessed medical care within 4 weeks; a sizeable minority in each study arm did not obtain care in time to refill ART prescriptions. Rates of access increased over the 6 months following release for both groups. However, Wohl observed no significant differences between the intensive case management and standard discharge release program on critical outcomes including immediate linkage to care. In an observational evaluation study, Arriola and colleagues (Arriola, Braithwaite, Holmes, & Fortenberry, 2007) found no differences in engagement in care when comparing different approaches designed to improve medical care access. Murphree, Batey, Kay, Westfall, and Mugavero (2018) observed poor rates of retention in care for persons transferring care from prison settings to urban clinics. Although the available evidence suggests some discharge planning assistance is probably helpful, if not necessary, too many formerly incarcerated persons do not link to care or do so quickly enough. Moreover, among those linked to care, we know little about the likelihood of their remaining in care and of their longer-term health outcomes.

Current Study

We report on the results of our mixed-method evaluation of Michigan's Community Reentry Program for HIV-positive formerly incarcerated people. We examined health status and quality of life for the initial 3 years after being released for the HIV-infected formerly incarcerated people who used the state's reentry service over its initial 5 years of operation. Established in 2003, the service relies on community-based medical case managers to facilitate access to care and treatment adherence. Tailored immediate post-discharge plans are developed and coordinated through a centralized statewide telephone intake system. Prison health personnel notify the central reentry medical case manager when an incarcerated person living with HIV is soon to be released. The reentry medical case manager completes a comprehensive intake interview with the incarcerated person by telephone. The reentry case manager identifies and makes an appointment for the incarcerated person with a medical case manager in the community to which s/he will be released and makes a medical care appointment with an infectious disease physician in the community, if possible. The reentry medical case manager shares intake interview results with the community medical case manager assigned to each client, permitting preparation of paperwork for enrollments to begin prior to a person's date of release.

Michigan Department of Community Health (MDCH) officials commissioned the evaluation because they wanted to learn if the program helped people obtain and remain in care. MDCH officials also wanted to know if people remained in good health for the 3-year period following their release and achieved viral suppression. MDCH officials assumed that because their own data suggested safety nets such as the Michigan AIDS Drug Assistance Program (MiDAP), which covers the costs of medication and affordable medical care supported under The Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act, functioned well in Michigan, once linked, formerly incarcerated people would fare as well as the typical middle-to-low-income person living with HIV in the state.

Method

We used an embedded mixed-method design (Green, 2007; Greene & Caracelli, 1997) and relied on multiple sources and types of data (see Table 1). The combination of data across sources and types permitted us to examine whether former clients had kept their initial appointments (program records); had received viral load and CD4 testing on a routine basis since release (CAREWare); were accessing state insurance or MiDAP (state records); and, through interviews, to compare these records with self-reports. This design also permitted us to address the state's questions as best we could within the limits of the brief 7-month timeframe and a $39,000 study budget. Our ability to access records was aided by the fact that all clients had signed a Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) waiver at intake, permitting access to their client and related medical records for the purposes of program evaluation. As an additional precaution, all evaluation personnel signed confidentiality agreements with the agency that ran the program prior to its granting us permission to access HIPAA-protected client records. All study procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board at Michigan State University and by the MDCH.

Table 1. Data Sources and Data

Data Sources	Data
Community Re-entry Program Records	Demographics, health status at release, health/other assistance needs, follow up with medical and case management referrals, addresses
Vital Records	Mortality
State Police Records	Re-incarceration status, criminal history, aliases, parole status
Health Department and CAREWare Records	Enrollment in state health insurance, MiDAP enrollment, CD4 counts, viral loads, STIs
Secretary of State Records	Addresses
Interviews with medical case managers and infectious disease physicians	Client needs, barriers to care, satisfaction with the re-entry program
Interviews with ex-offenders	Client satisfaction, health, health care use, mental health, social support, quality of life, housing, employment, unmet needs, adherence, sexual behavior

Archival Records

We identified all individuals who had used the reentry service ($N = 190$) from its inception in May 2003 through May of 2008 through de-duplicated program records, from which we abstracted information on health at release (e.g., CD4 count, viral load), date of release, history of mental health and substance use disorders, demographics, referrals, and release address. If available, we also obtained contact information on relatives and friends who would know of the person's whereabouts if they ever moved. Information on health service use, health status, parole status, incarceration status, entitlement and MiDAP enrollments, and mortality status came from federal and state databases including the Social Security Death Index, the Michigan State Police's Correctional database, and the Ryan White CAREWare database. We located all records using given names and known aliases. In some cases, records were hand searched by staff in the Department of Health. Secretary of State and public utility records were also used to find addresses when we could not locate someone or their designated contact person through any other means. We supplemented these data with key informant interviews with infectious disease physicians ($n=2$) and case managers ($n=12$) who had served the population.

In-person Interviews

We located former clients who had used the service, still resided in Michigan, and were not reincarcerated for face-to-face interviews. We identified the probable location of 83% ($n=157$) of the former clients, 111 of whom met our criteria of still residing in the state and who were presumed to be alive and not currently reincarcerated[1] (see Figure 1). We identified addresses for 98 (88%) of these 111 individuals through the program's records and through correctional and state data bases (e.g., Sex Offender Registry, MiDAP).

To recruit these former clients for interviews, we first sent a discretely worded letter to each person's last known address(es). The letter indicated that we were studying state-supported health care services on the MDCH's behalf and that the recipient might have used a program of potential interest. The letter instructed former clients who were interested in learning more about the interview to call a toll-free phone number. We investigated address alternatives for each returned letter using publicly available records and, when this proved unsuccessful, through other state entitlement and Secretary of State records or by contacting relatives who had been identified by the client as a person who could be contacted in order to locate them in the future.

[1] We began data collection with 43 (23%) reincarcerated persons, of whom 11 were ultimately released and five interviewed. For simplicity of presentation, we show the locating and participation data at our data collection endpoint.

We also made 31 home visits when the mail we had sent to an address had not been returned to us and no one in the household had contacted our toll-free phone number. We enlisted case managers and parole officers to distribute letters on our behalf when we could identify that a former client was still on parole or was currently using case management services at an agency.

When formers client elected to call our toll-free telephone number, they were screened by trained study personnel to confirm that we were speaking with the person we were seeking by asking for a combination of pieces of information that would most likely be known only to them and which would uniquely identify them. After verifying their identity, we sought their consent to schedule an interview. It was only at this point that we revealed that we were interested in learning about experiences using the HIV prison reentry service. Of the 98 individuals for whom could locate a reliable address, 64 (65%) ultimately called us. Of these, 60 (94%) consented to an interview. Four declined to be interviewed, citing no desire to talk about HIV. In all, locating and interviewing these individuals took approximately 5 months.

Interviews were scheduled at times and locations convenient to the respondent. Verbal informed consent was obtained at the interview. A waiver of documentation was granted to maximize confidentiality protections. Interviews were audio-recorded and lasted an average of 102 minutes (range = 50 to 210 minutes). During the interview, we provided interviewees with response-set cards and a calendar to aid their recall. Although the interview protocol was structured and relied on closed-ended questions, we posed open-ended questions on all topics discussed.
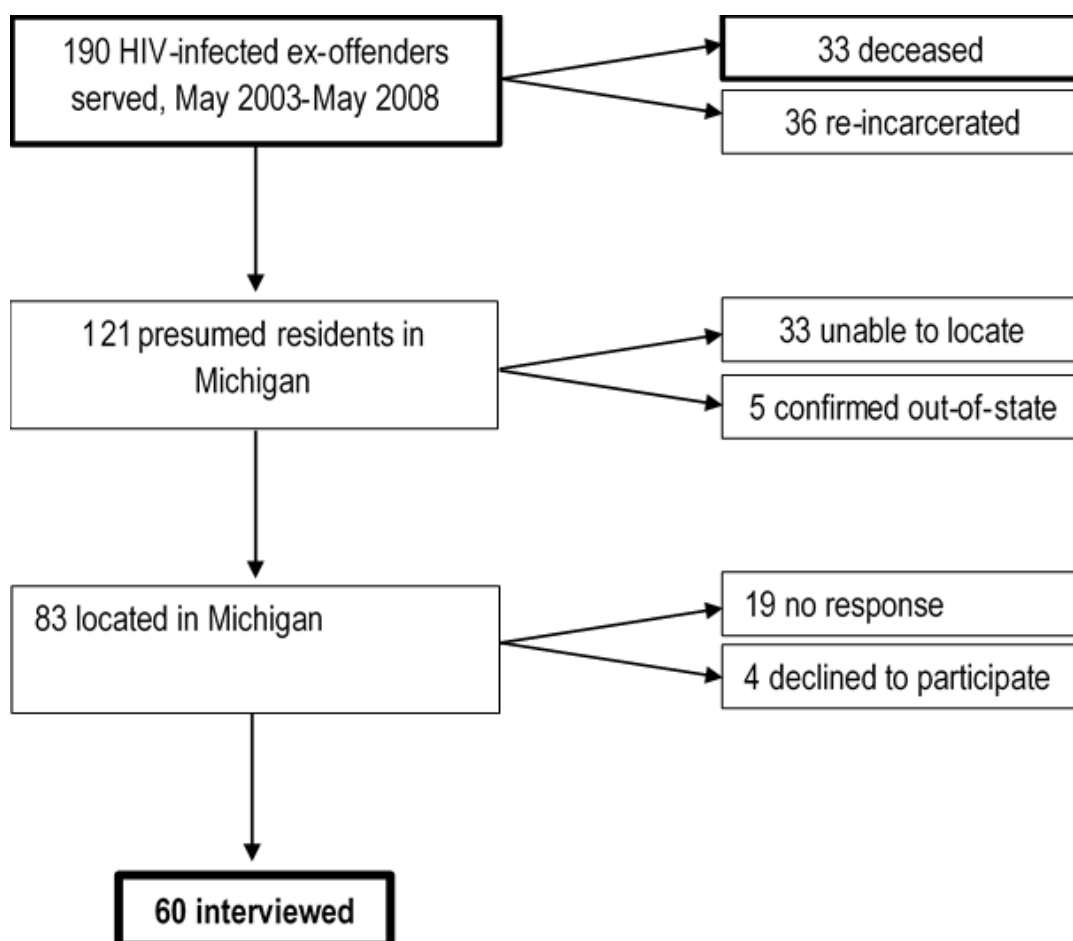

Figure 1. Flow chart of study participation.

Participants

Over the 5-year service window we investigated (May 2003 - May 2008), 190 people were referred to the reentry service. The overwhelming majority was male (96% male, 3% female, 1% transgender) and Black (82%; white 13%; other 5%). The mean age of formerly incarcerated people who used the service was 47.6 years (range = 25 to 67). About half (51%) had been reincarcerated at least once since the date of release associated with use their first use of the service. Like the full sample, the 60 interviewees were predominately male (96%) and Black (86%). About 65% identified as heterosexual. The highest level of educational attainment reported by the majority of those we interviewed was high-school (77% high school graduate, 22% less than high school, 1% some college education). The average length of their most recent incarceration was 6.1 years (range = 6 months to 30 years). About 82% of those we interviewed were unemployed. The median monthly household income from all sources reported by interviewees was $874. Roughly 65% had been homeless on at least one occasion since their release for an average duration of 375 days; 95% had moved at least once since their release. The average number of moves reported in the 3-years post-release was three.

Measures

As noted above, most measures we abstracted from program records or state-managed databases. The interview guide we developed in partnership with the state was primarily composed of fixed-response questions and validated measures. The interview covered diverse topics including: satisfaction with services; unmet needs; employment and housing history; use of HIV-related medical care; patient-provider relationship quality (Bakken, Holzemer, Brown, Powell-Cope, Turner, Inouye, et al., 2000); health-related quality of life (Wu, Revicki, Jacobson, & Malitz, 1997); medication adherence (Fisher, Fisher, Amico, & Harman, 2006; Simoni, Kurth, Pearson, Pantalone, Merrill, & Frick, 2006; Walsh, Mandalia, & Gazzard, 2002); social support (Barrera, 1981); disclosure of HIV status; depression (Radloff, 1977); alcohol and drug abuse (Winters, Zenilman, & Co-Chairs, 1994); AIDS-related stress (Pakenham & Rinaldis, 2002); recent sexual behavior (Fishbein & Cohino, 1997); and demographics. Using data from the interview and the other sources of information available to us, we created multiple dependent measures to address the primary evaluation questions.

Linkage to care. A primary program objective was to facilitate timely linkage to medical care upon release (e.g., within 30 days of release). Each formerly incarcerated person was referred by the program to a medical case manager to facilitate linkage. The program scheduled the initial appointment with the case manager on the clients' behalf. We used program records to assess whether the initial case management appointment was kept. We used two means to assess attendance at a medical appointment post-release. First, if a formerly incarcerated person was released to an area where a new patient appointment had been scheduled for them by the service, we used program records to ascertain if that appointment was kept. Second, we used Michigan Department of Health's CAREWare database, which contained a complete history of CD4 counts and viral loads for the 119 individuals (63%) with a CAREWare record. We examined these records to determine if new viral load or CD4 counts were recorded in the initial 6-month period after release. We treated the presence of tests recorded within 30 days of release as an indication of timely linkage to care.

Engagement in care. Clinical guidelines recommend routine monitoring of CD4 counts and viral loads for persons living with HIV. For CD4 counts, monitoring guidelines differ for people whose counts are below optimum levels compared with those who are at or above optimum (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2012). Viral load tests are recommended every 3 months and may be decreased to every 6 months for people who are considered to possess a stable, undetectable viral load. Michigan officials employ a definition of engagement in care based on visit constancy (Mugavero, Davila, Nevin, & Giordano, 2010): one CD4 or viral load test administered 6 months apart within each given 12-month period. For the purposes of our evaluation, we adopted this definition of engagement in care. Participants were classified as not engaged in care (no CD4 or Viral Loads recorded), inconsistently engaged in care (some CD4 or Viral Loads recorded), or consistently engaged in care (at least one CD4 or Viral Load recorded every 6 months and at least 2 months apart in every 12-month period) over the 3-year period post-release. If an individual was reincarcerated or died during the 3-year period, we classified their engagement status based on the pattern of test results up to the date of their death or reincarceration.

Health status. We used CD4 and viral load records from MDCH's CAREWare database to determine if formerly incarcerated individuals were in good health. We operationalized good health as having a CD4 count at or above 500 or a viral load at or below 75 cubic milliliters per copy. Mortality records were also used to assess health status. Former clients who were interviewed also reported on their perceived state of health.

Results

Initial Linkage to Care

Of the 190 formerly incarcerated individuals referred to the reentry service, 60% ($n = 114$) had met with their medical case manager within 30 days of release. Of the 126 clients (66%) who received a medical appointment referral, 86% of those 126 ($n = 109$) had attended an appointment with that provider within 30 days of release. Out of the total number of those who used the reentry service ($N = 190$), only 50 (26%) had evidence in CAREWare of viral load or CD4 testing within 1 month of release.

Routine Engagement in Care

About 63% ($n = 119$) of formerly incarcerated individuals had a post-release record of CD4 counts and viral loads in CAREWare, suggest that 37% had no post-release engagement in care. Within 6 months following release, 50% of those with records of tests ($n = 119$) had a CD4 lab test and 45% had a viral load test documented in their record. Beyond the initial 6 months post-release (and excluding those who died after release or were reincarcerated in any given time interval), the proportion with a record of tests in each succeeding 6-month period dropped to 27-33% for viral load testing and 29-37% for CD4 counts. We plotted individuals' CD4 and viral load testing over 3 years to determine their pattern of care engagement. Over the 3-year period post-release, inconsistent engagement in care was the most common pattern among the 119 people with CAREWare records (63%; $n = 74$). Approximately 25% ($n = 30$) had records suggesting that they were never engaged in care once released and had only done so prior to their incarceration. CAREWare records suggesting consistent engagement in care were least common (12%; $n = 14$). Regarding insurance, 67% ($n = 127$) had enrolled in MiDAP or another state-managed insurance assistance program at some point over the 3-year post-release period.

To confirm patterns in the CAREWare data, we asked the 60 interviewees about medical insurance coverage, stability of their primary infectious disease care, degree of engagement in care, and ART adherence. Regarding insurance, 73% reported that they were insured through a public source such as Medicaid; 10% reported no coverage and 4% reported private insurance coverage. The remaining 13% of interview respondents reported that they only had ADAP coverage. Although 85% said they had somewhere to obtain routine care, typically a public hospital or clinic (92%), slightly fewer than half of those we interviewed (48%) had seen the same infectious disease doctor over the 3 years since their release. Among those who had changed providers, 43% had seen between two and five different infectious disease physicians in 3 years. Among those who were in care at the time of the interview, 87% reported that they were currently prescribed ART. Of those on medication, 59% reported forgetting to take their medications. On average, the interviewees reported taking 82% of their medication. Most of those who lacked a prescription for ART also lacked insurance (67%). The remainder perceived they did not need medication or medical care.

Health Status

At release, 27% of the 163 individuals who had pre-release CD4 data from prison recorded in their client service record had normal CD4 counts (> 500); 43% of the 157 with viral load data had undetectable viral loads (< 75 copies per cubic milliliter). Figure 2a plots CD4 counts in CAREWare over 6-month post-release intervals. Figure 2b plots undetectable viral loads, again using CAREWare records. As we show, CD4 counts were low but relatively stable over time. The proportion of persons with an undetectable viral load dropped initially, hitting a low of 16% at 18 months post-release. These two indicators of health were unrelated to having used case management and medical referrals within 30 days of release. Mortality data also provide an indication of health status. Since their initial enrollment in reentry services, we identified 17% ($n = 33$) as deceased. Of these, 22% had died within 1 year of release. Average time to death was 33.2 months; average age at death was 46.4 years (roughly 3 years younger than the United States median among HIV-infected people (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d.)). Using state records, 13 deaths (39%) were reported as HIV-related. Only 9% ($n = 3$) of the deceased had CD4 and viral load assessments recorded in the months
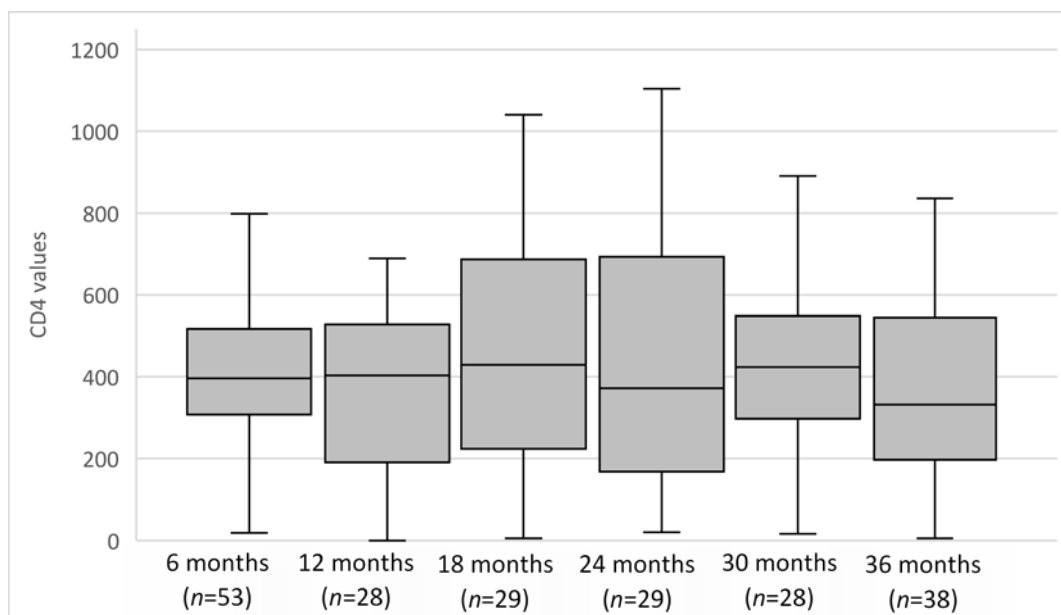
immediately preceding their deaths.

Figure 2a. Box and whisker plot of CD4 values recorded in CAREWare over time (*N* = 119). Note: Bolded black lines display the median CD4 count, boxes report the interquartile range, the bottom border of the whiskers display 1.5 times the 1st quartile, and the top border displays 1.5 times the 3rd quartile. These data account for deaths and re-incarcerations by removing ex-offenders from the denominator in the intervals that follow their dates of death or that correspond with dates of re-incarceration. The n of living and non-incarcerated persons with CD4 data for each time-period are reported under each box-and-whisker display.
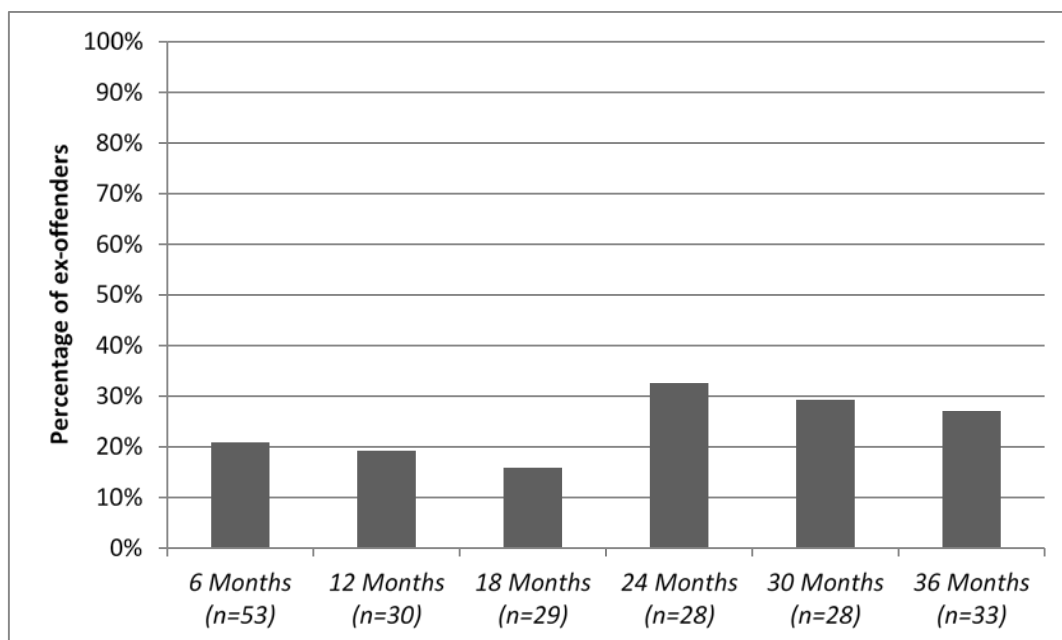

Figure 2b. Percentage of ex-offenders with undetectable viral loads recorded in CAREWare over time (*N*=119). Note: These percentages account for deaths and re-incarcerations by removing ex-offenders from the denominator in the time intervals that follow the dates of death or date of re-incarceration. The *n* of persons who were alive, not re-incarcerated, and who had viral load data recorded during the relevant time interval are reported below each bar.

Discussion

Understanding linkage to and engagement in HIV care following community reentry is crucial to improve health outcomes for formerly incarcerated individuals. Failure to engage in care in the years immediately after release from prison may have fatal consequences for HIV-infected individuals and increases the odds of their transmitting the virus to others because they have not achieved viral suppression (Mugavero et al., 2010; Baillargeon et al. 2009; Dennis et al., 2015). In this study, we examined whether formerly incarcerated HIV-infected individuals who had used the sole community reentry service in the state for HIV-infected prisoners had linked to and remained engaged in care for 3 years following their release from prison. We also assessed their health status via medical records and self-report.

We observed that although a majority of formerly incarcerated clients followed-up on referrals to medical case managers and infectious disease specialists within 30 days, most failed to engage in care over time. Roughly one-third of released individuals had no record indicating receipt of medical care after their release. Over the 3-year period following their release, only 12% were consistently engaged in care, roughly half of what one might expect to see in the general population of people living with HIV and considerably fewer than previously published literature on formerly incarcerated people (Iroh et al., 2015; Palpeu, Tyndall, Chan, Wood, Montaner, & Hogg, 2004; Stephenson, Wohl, Golin, Tien, Stewar, & Kaplan, 2005; Wohl et al. 2011; Baillargeon et al. 2009). As Murphree and colleagues note, 30% to 60% of people released from prisons fail to establish care (Murphree et al., 2018). A majority of the former reentry program's clients engaged in HIV care inconsistently or failed to engage in care at all. Furthermore, follow-up on referrals was not associated with accessing care routinely over the 3 years following release and was also unrelated to indicators of longer-term health status, including CD4 and viral load levels, mortality, and self-reported health status. Although we found high rates of initial linkage to care among those who received referrals to a medical provider, we found little difference in their long-term quality of health. These findings suggest that short-term assistance to access care immediately upon release may be insufficient to assure longer-term engagement in care.

The reentry service we examined only monitored linkage to care for 30 days. By its design, there was no follow-up assistance to those who might need longer-term help and to document the challenges they encountered. Those individuals who did not access care quickly and consistently encountered the more significant set of challenges in re-engaging with care. Among those we interviewed, those who were not engaged in care at all were most likely to report they had unmet needs at release. These findings add support to guidelines urging ongoing monitoring of engagement in care and aggressive follow-up with individuals who fail to engage in care to address access challenges and minimize treatment interruptions (Thompson, Mugavero, Amico, Cargill, Chang, Gross et al., 2012).

A minority of formerly incarcerated people accessed care consistently over the time-period we examined and could be considered optimally engaged in care 3 years after release. The small proportion of persons accessing care routinely augurs poorly for the health of the population of community-dwelling HIV-positive formerly incarcerated people. Even among those accessing care on a semi-routine basis (predominant among those we interviewed) we found poor rates of medication compliance. Indicators of well-being, including CD4 and viral load measures, mortality rates, and self-reports of physical and mental health characterized the majority as in poor to fair health. These health data are alarming, yet consistent with the outcomes one might expect given the irregular use of care we observed. Coupled with the sub-optimum pattern of ART adherence among those we interviewed, our evaluation suggests the need for ongoing intervention among this population to support medical regimen compliance, in addition to care engagement.

Limitations

A key limitation of the current study concerns the lack of baseline information for Michigan's community-residing HIV-positive formerly incarcerated population prior to the inception of the reentry service. Because these data were not available, we were unable to judge the extent to which the rates we observed on key indicators reflect an improvement, decrement, or no change. Similarly, because we lacked the ability to construct retrospectively a comparison sample of formerly incarcerated people who had not used the service, we cannot judge whether the individuals who used the service fared better than those to whom it may not have been offered.

We were unable to determine whether those who used the service comprised the entire population of HIV-positive persons released during the time-period we examined. Because all HIV-positive incarcerated people in the state's prisons were to be referred to the service, at least in theory, we could assume that our data captured the entire population. However, we have reason to doubt this is so. First, it is possible that not all prisoners were willing to participate in the phone intake prior to their release and that records failed to document these refusals. Second, we suspect that not all HIV-infected prisoners were referred to the service as they were supposed to be. Women appear to be underrepresented among those who had access to the service. The national prevalence of HIV among women in prison is generally higher than it is among men, at roughly 3.5% (Greenfeld & Snell, 2000) and Michigan has a large population of imprisoned women compared with most states. Black women are overrepresented in Michigan's prisons and among women infected with HIV in Michigan. The very small number of women referred to the program during the time-period we studied gives cause for concern that these data underrepresented formerly incarcerated women living with HIV. The single interview we conducted with a woman and our key informant interviews (data not reported) affirmed our suspicion that women were less likely to receive referrals to the program. This is concerning given that what little data we have on women suggests that they fared worse than men upon release. For instance, half of the women in the study were deceased compared with 17% of the men. Studies on women are necessary to better understand their post-release experiences accessing care.

A third limitation concerns the quality and completeness of the various records we had available to us. Michigan State Police records were generally complete. By contrast, records maintained by MDCH contained multiple incomplete fields, missing cases, and data entry errors (e.g., viral load values input in CD4 fields). Records maintained by the organization funded to provide the service did not always contain information such as pre-release lab values or demographic information; what information was recorded and how it was noted also changed over time. Equally important, these databases were not designed to produce real-time person-level reports easily and across substantive domains. Taken together, we could fill in missing information from one source to another and we could corroborate information from one source as generally consistent with another. However, the lack of an integrated, complete, and reliable state-level database across correctional and health domains limits the degree to which the implementation of programs such as this can be routinely, easily, and accurately monitored. Integrated databases to aid engagement in care efforts represent an urgent priority for this and other populations at high-risk of poor health outcomes (Mugavero, Norton, & Saag, 2011).

Conclusion

We relied on multiple sources of evidence to understand whether HIV-infected ex-offenders were in reasonable health, maintained in care, and medically compliant 3 years after they had been released. We found many ex-offenders were in poor health. Moreover, compliance with medical regimens was poor. Simple programs aimed at discharge planning and immediate linkage to medical case management are insufficient to address these long-term personal and systemic barriers to health faced by formerly incarcerated people. Formerly incarcerated people living with HIV are at critical disadvantage when released from prison. The population is more likely than the general population of HIV-infected persons to never link to care (Baillargeon et al., 2010) or to fall out of care (Baillargeon et al., 2009). Absent from routine care, formerly incarcerated people with HIV cannot achieve an undetectable viral load, the inability to transmit the virus to others, and optimum health. With thousands of HIV-infected inmates being released from prison each year, intervening to support their engagement in care during the reentry period is crucial for their well-being and for the larger public health of the communities in which they reside.

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