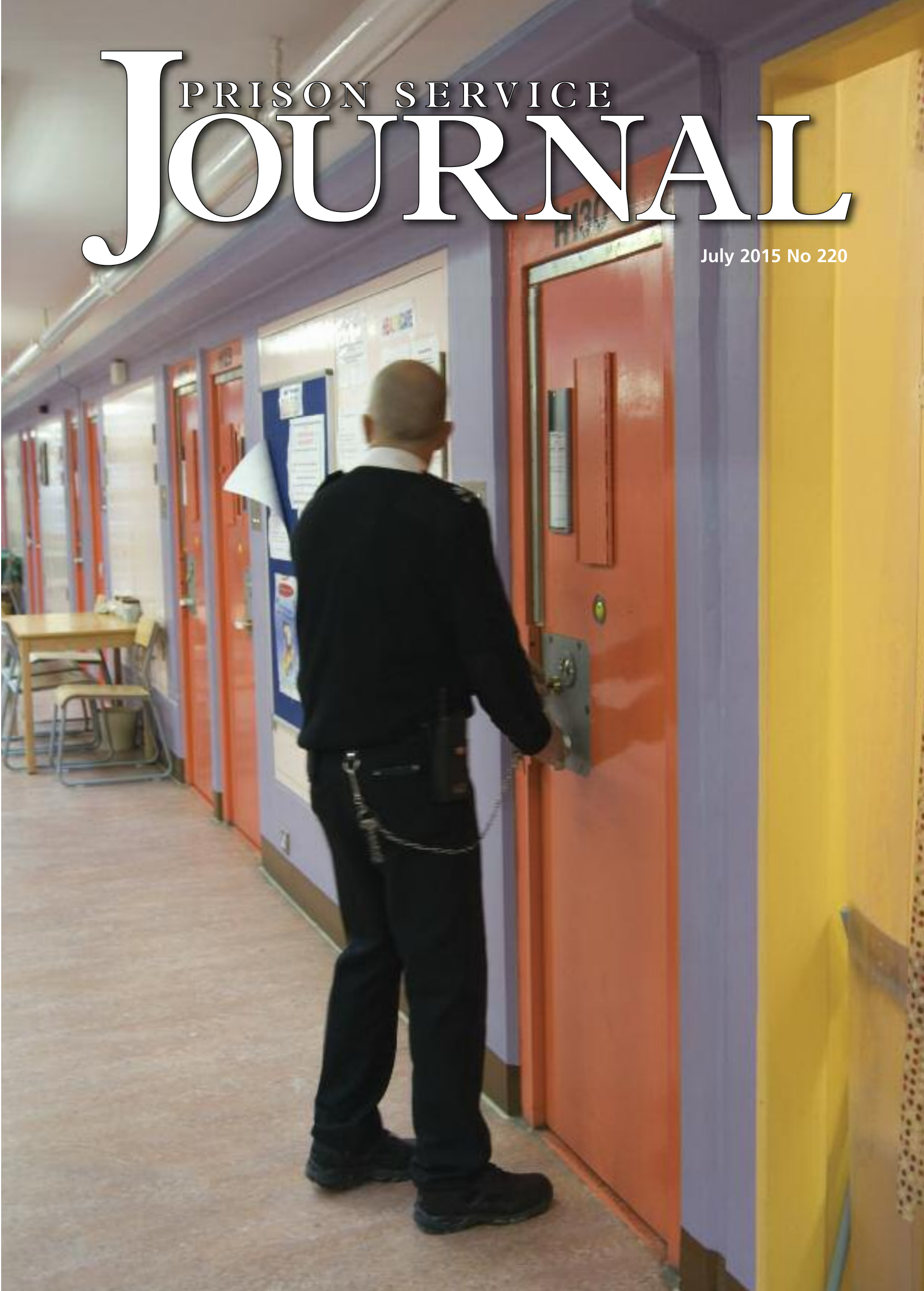

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Some Observations on the Digital Landscape of Prisons Today

Dr Victoria Knight *is a senior research fellow at the Community and Criminal Justice Division, De Montfort University, Leicester.*

…everything is going digital so what are they going to do then? It's going to be a big problem…
(Ron, prisoner)
…there are hidden goods for having technology in prison
(digital industry interview 5)

This article[1] will provide a review of some of the developments that have taken place in prison with respect to communication digital technologies and draws upon data collated from interviews with prisoners, prison staff and also digital providers and key stakeholders from across corporate and third sectors. This article adds to a body of research conducted by Knight[2] relating to in-cell television in a male adult prison. This part of the research goes some way to giving voice to 'security experts with the knowledge and skills to suggest how Internet use in prisons could be managed'.[3] Moreover, it reflects on the evolving nature of digital technologies and considers how prisons are managing these and the extent to which digital technologies are being embraced by prisons, here in the UK, across Europe and the USA. More broadly, this short analysis tells us much about the ways in which our prisons resist technology, how this is mirrored by public perception and the degrees to which digital technologies achieve 'luxury' status.

The introduction of in-cell television into prison was met with some anxiety and trepidation by both staff and prisoners.[4] In similar ways, nervousness about the appearance of communication digital technologies into prisons is also evident from a range of stakeholders. There are routinely public outcries pedalled by tabloid press about prisoners having access to digital devices and services, as headlines like '19-year-old convicted killer shows off his PlayStation, TV and hoard of snacks'[5] attack prisoners' access to 'luxury' items. Moreover fears of prisoners' access to digital technologies also link into the fundamental features of communicative technologies. What sets communication digital technologies apart from television are that technologies like the Internet, email and interactive television (iDTV) requires user engagement which is a distinguishing and stark contrast to the one-way nature of television and other media like radio. What this fundamentally means in the context of the prison is that the prisoner can 'reach' the outside world and the world can also reach them. Very recently the press have captured video evidence from prisoners using mobile phones and 'brazenly uploading pictures of drugs, cash and even a dangerous weapon on their illegal social media accounts'.[6] Despite these concerns for 'security', brought about by the permeability of digital technologies the prison services have been sensitive to the digital lag or gap brought about by such delays and stalling of introducing digital services across the sector. Overall provision is patchy across the estate in the UK and there is no definitive integrated ICT system as there is in countries like Belgium and in some states across the USA.

The Context:

Overall prisons are 'communication' poor environments and therefore there is no surprise that prisons are places which enhance digital poverty and strengthen the digital divide.[7] The NOMS Digital Strategy[8] sets out a national plan to boost and exploit digital technologies across the criminal justice sector in the UK. This is however, limited and disjointed and

1. A version of this article with appear in Knight, V. (2016) Remote Control: Television in Prison London, Palgrave Macmillian.
2. Knight, V. (2012) The role of in-cell television in a male adult prison: Governing Souls with television , PhD thesis De Montfort University Leicester 2012- https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/2086/7886
3. Jewkes, Y. (2013) Penitentiary systems in the era of Internet services, *Laboratorium: Russian Review of Social Science*, 2 http://www.soclabo.org/index.php/laboratorium/
4. Knight, V. (2012) The role of in-cell television in a male adult prison: Governing Souls with television, PhD thesis De Montfort University Leicester 2012- https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/2086/7886
   Knight, V. (2014) A modus Vivendi –In-cell Television, Social Relations, Emotion and Safer Custody *Prison Service Journal* November 2014 No 215.
5. Daily Mail (2012) http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2082656/Convicted-killer-Liam-Ryan-shows-PlayStation-TV-snacks-inside-young-offenders-institute-cell.html#ixzz3POSjK8Cx 6.1.12 accessed 20.1.15.
6. Channel 4 (2015) Prisoners on Instagram reveal security crisis behind bars 29.1.15 http://www.channel4.com/news/prisoners-on-instagram-reveal-security-crisis-behind-bars-contraband-drugs-knives accessed 10.2.15.
7. Champion, N. & Edgar, K (2013) Through the Gateway: How Computers Transform Rehabilitation London, Prison Reform Trust http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Through%20the%20gateway.pdf
8. Ministry of Justice (2012) Digital Strategy https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ministry-of-justice-digital-strategy

makes no reference to the social uses of communication technologies with respect to prisoners and how they can use technologies to cope with everyday life. Others like Champion and Edgar[9] have reviewed this enterprise and are collectively lobbying for a more synthesised approach to enable prisoners to learn and develop important digital skills for life. Other countries, like Belgium and USA have however demonstrated a different approach to enabling provision. In Belgium the prison services have developed a coordinated approach to providing a whole package of digital capabilities and opportunities for prisoners. However in the UK many prisons try to adapt current provision to communicate important messages to prisoners. Tony[10] a Deputy Governor usefully captures the frustration of trying to use television like a computer

> *Here we are restricted to a PowerPoint type presentation that just flicks over; that would do my head in if I was waiting for one bit of information to come up, once they have got it, it flicks over and I have lost it and I have got to wait for another 100 pages for it to come back round. I don't think that side of it has been utilised to its full.* (Tony, Deputy Governor).

This review has identified that there are several challenges that can be identified in relation to digital provision and access in prison.

This review has identified that there are several challenges that can be identified in relation to digital provision and access in prison. These include concerns about security, digital capability, cost to install and run the service, prisoners' rights and implications for staff workload. Despite these obstacles 'technology can work well in a prison if it is managed' (digital industry interview 5). Furthermore, there is a consensus across the interviews with stakeholders that digital technologies are 'a tool to look after themselves' (digital industry interview 5).[11] Moreover, Prison Services market formal and authorised digital provision within pedagogic and resettlement discourses. Little is said about the social and emotional uses of such technology.

Email

In 2006 HMP Guys March was the first prison to introduce *emailaprisoner*. This was a service which allowed prisoners to receive an email from an approved sender instead of a letter. After a period of piloting, the provision was expanded across the prison estate in England, Wales and Scotland and now covers almost all prisons across this sector. Prisoners receive a printed version of the email that is downloaded by officers who examine incoming correspondence and censor the emails in the same way as they do letters.[12] The advantage of having an email is there is no doubt that contraband will be concealed and since the message is printed there are no difficulties in deciphering hand-writing thus making it much easier for prison staff to manage. Moreover, costs are reduced for the sender and security concerns are mitigated much more efficiently for the prison. However, like in-cell television its introduction and roll-out hasn't been seamless and a number of obstacles did slow down uptake by establishments. The next logical phase for *emailaprisoner* was to introduce a prisoner reply service and so a growing, yet smaller number of prisons across the UK are using this system. Unlike conventional email where all transactions are done electronically the reply is undertaken by scanning in a handwritten letter from the prisoner and this reply is sent via a bar code that is attached to the originating letter. As a result the full email experience is not fulfilled. However the company that now owns *emailaprisoner*, Prison Technology Ltd, are supplying a number of prisons (predominantly private) with hardware such as kiosks and in-cell services linked to televisions and PC tablets which means prisoners are able to access a wider digital experience (see below), which includes sending approved and secure email replies. A NOMS evaluation of this service in 2008 pointed towards revolving concerns about ICT security[13] but acknowledged how well its initial roll out had been received. There has been no evaluation of the service since the reply functionality has been introduced in 2010.

9. Champion, N. & Edgar, K (2013) Through the Gateway: How Computers Transform Rehabilitation London, Prison Reform Trust http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Through%20the%20gateway.pdf
10. Knight, V. (2012) The role of in-cell television in a male adult prison: Governing Souls with television , PhD thesis De Montfort University Leicester 2012- https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/2086/7886
11. All respondents are anonymised and were given pseudonyms to protect their identity.
12. Her Majesty's Prison Service (2011) PSI 06/2011 Prisoner Communications- Correspondence.
13. NOMS (2008) Evaluation report following survey of prisoners on use of emailaprisoner.com http://www.prison-technology-services.com/NOMS_Report.pdf p4.

In contrast ,Trust Fund Limited Inmate Computer System (TRULINCS) has been providing an email service to all Bureau of Prisons (Federal State) in US prisons since 2007. This is a fee based email service and prisoners are charged to send and read emails. Unlike the *emailaprisoner* the service in USA is a complete electronic service where the prisoner accesses the email online. Emails are limited to 13000 characters and they are not allowed to send or receive attachments. There is still a staff screening system. Access to the email system is not automatic. Prisoners have to have access approved and they have to provide a list of contacts which are then authorised. The prisoners' contacts are approached by the institution to check if they would like contact with the prisoner. As a result contacts can be barred from prisoners' lists of contacts if recipients do not want contact with the prisoner.

One other example includes a coordinated initiative in Belgium called *PrisonCloud*.[14] The prison service in Belgium have approached digital provision in a consolidated way and have ensured that digital services are networked together. Unlike the UK and USA models this approach means that *PrisonCloud* delivers a wide range of services from one single platform. This model is currently being developed in two mixed sex adult prisons in Belguim and almost all of the prisoners there have access to basic services. A functioning and interactive email service is being developed to add to the cloud service. This will be managed under the same legislation as letters that prisoners receive and send. Prison staff can open letters to look for contraband but they are not, under statute, permitted to read the letters. As a result email is one of many services that prisoners can access with relative ease whilst in prison. This system is particularly useful for prisons to achieve control, surveillance and regulation with relative speed and accuracy and is described as being 'NATO certified' (digital industry interview 4). As a result services can tailor access to different parts of the system according to the needs of the individual and the needs of the establishment.

As Jewkes and Johnston[15] discuss the constraining nature in which digital technologies are handled by prison services especially when prisoners are denied routine and regular access. They refer to these as 'modern' pains of incarceration which can be translated as feelings of loss. As Ron, a prisoner described,

> *I have got a DAB radio in my cell, so I have got a bit more access to different radio stations…but we should be moving with the times... If they don't it is like going back to the stone ages…*(Ron, prisoner)

Thus Jewkes and Johnston, advocate access to 'computer-mediated communication' as part of 'normal rights of communication'[16] and that limiting access is 'an example of technology being used as a strategy for social exclusion' (ibid:137). As Champion and Edgar[17] suggest, a disjointed service has amplified this digital poverty, particularly in relation to maintaining family ties. Underpinning the ethos of mechanisms like Belgium's *PrisonCloud*[18] is to use digital services to bring about an 'individualised approach and is more humane' (digital industry interview 4).

In the context of England and Wales most prisoners are denied the freedom to surf the Internet.

Internet- The World Wide Web

In the context of England and Wales most prisoners are denied the freedom to surf the Internet. This is regulated by PSO 9010[19] which states that 'prisoners must not be allowed uncontrolled access'. As Champion and Edgar[20] stress this may suggest that prisoners could have 'controlled' access but according to their review 'there is a blanket ban'.[21] This is because the UK model is not sufficiently coordinated. Their research found that there is controlled and restricted access in localised pockets of the prison sector, particularly in private prisons. This kind of access is only permitted to assist with prisoners' learning, resettlement plans and healthcare. Learning platforms like *Virtual Campus* permit some prisoners to access

14. Prison Cloud http://www.ebo-enterprises.com/en/prisoncloud accesses 16.2.15
15. Jewkes, Y. and Johnston, H. (2009) Cavemen in an era of speed-of-light technology: historical and contemporary perspectives on communication within prisons, *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 48 (2): 132-143.
16. Ibid. p135.
17. Champion, N. & Edgar, K (2013) Through the Gateway: How Computers Transform Rehabilitation London, Prison Reform Trust http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Through%20the%20gateway.pdf accessed 16.2.15
18. Prison Cloud http://www.ebo-enterprises.com/en/prisoncloud accesses 16.2.15.
19. Her Majesty's Prison Service (2003) PSO 9010 Information technology security policy.
20. Champion, N. & Edgar, K (2013) Through the Gateway: How Computers Transform Rehabilitation London, Prison Reform Trust http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Through%20the%20gateway.pdf accessed 16.2.15
21. Ibid p5.

restricted sites. However Champion and Edgar are critical of those kinds of provision as they fail to replicate the interactive features of using the Internet. They argue that there should be 'should be a clear national strategy and a Prison Service Order'[22] that relates specifically to provision and access of digital technologies. Elsewhere, supporting access to on-line interaction has been challenging for services. For example *Virtual Campus* was intended to support and consolidate learning on-line, however many establishments have struggled to secure sufficient broadband speed and so services have been limited and disrupted.[23]

Concerns about prisoners' access to digital technologies have been best amplified by the media reporting how some prisoners have managed to gain unauthorised access to social networking sites. The development and speed in which mobile phones have become 'smart' and Internet ready has meant that access can no longer be strictly controlled by the prison. Prisoners' access to illicit mobile phones has seen the emergence of serving prisoners now developing their online profiles through sites like Twitter and Facebook some of which have gained a large following. On such example is The Lifer @Prison_Diaries who claims to tweet from a prison in the UK.[24] Other prisoners use third parties to set up websites on behalf of them. Charlie Bronson, a violent criminal who has famously spent long periods of time in segregation and secure hospitals, has his own website to promote his artwork.[25] Moreover, in the USA there are a number of websites which supports a pen pal service. In these cases prisoners send their details (including a photo) to the provider. In these cases prisoners are using third parties to set up on-line identities. In the USA, it has been argued that denying prisoners access to these kinds of sites is an infringement of their rights to 'freedom of expression'.[26] Provision in Belgium is geared towards providing a digital experience which is as close to the real world as possible and so 'normalization is huge without losing security is a priority' (digital industry interview 4).

Video Conferencing

At present the use of video conferencing or virtual face-to-face contact across the UK is limited to court appearances and for meetings with their legal representatives.[27] It was also noted that some prisons use this for foreign national prisoners to see their family and friends. There is a desire, as outlined by Champion and Edgar, for this to be extended to prison visits. Furthermore some prisoners and their families have made the decision not to allow their children to visit them whilst in prison,

> *I have a 3 year old son and I've asked not to bring him here so much. I want to see him, but I worry how it is affecting him. We need to maintain a bond, but I worry about him growing up and that it is damaging him. It is about balancing it.* (Leon, prisoner)

In overcoming some of these tensions, video conferencing is being developed to nurture family contact in Ireland and support for prisoners in the Netherlands.[28] These aspirations are a reality in the USA. Imprisonment can mean that many prisoners find themselves large distances away from their homes and family and therefore the logistics of family members travelling to encounter a face-to-face visit can be resource intensive, in terms of time and cost. Real time video conferencing in prison was first introduced in the USA in the 1990s and a few years later this was extended for visiting arrangements. Phillips'[29] review outlined that the cost of using this service varied across the prison estate. In some prisons they permitted two 25 minute video conferences at no cost to the prisoner or family member. Whereas in other prisons there was a charge of $15 for a 30 minute conference. Reviews by Phillips[30] and Doyle et al[31] outline that video conferencing helps assist more communication with families than if they just relied on face-to-face visits. Doyle et al calculated that the return on investment for this service would be approximately 6 months since its

22. Ibid p3.
23. Turley, C., & Webster, S. (2010). Implementation and delivery of the Test Beds Virtual Campus Case Study. National Centre for Social Research https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/32322/11-827-implementation-of-test-beds-virtual-campus.pdf accessed 20.1.15
24. The Lifer (2015) @Prison_Diaries, Twitter, 20.1.15. https://twitter.com/Prison_Diaries 20.1.15.
25. Charlie Bronson www.charliebronsonart.co.uk (2014) accessed 20.1.15.
26. Holtz, T. A. (2001) Reaching out from behind bars: The constitutionality of laws barring prisoners from the internet *Brook. L. Rev., 67*, 855.
27. Champion, N. & Edgar, K (2013) Through the Gateway: How Computers Transform Rehabilitation London, Prison Reform Trust http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Through%20the%20gateway.pdf accessed 16.2.15
28. Europris (2013) ICT Expert Group Meeting 12-13 December 2013 Europris Netherlands http://www.europris.org/resources_package/summary-report-ict-expert-group-meeting-12-13-december-2013/ accessed 20.1.15.
29. Phillips, S. (2012) Video Visits for Children Whose Parents Are Incarcerated: In Whose Best Interest? Washington D.C The Sentencing Project http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/cc_Video_Visitation_White_Paper.pdf
30. Ibid.
31. Doyle, P., Fordy, C. & Haight, A. (2011) Prison Video Conferencing The University of Vermont http://www.uvm.edu/~vlrs/CriminalJusticeandCorrections/prison%20video%20conferencing.pdf accessed 20.1.15.

introduction.[32] Virtual visits do enhance communicative opportunities by facilitating 'more meaningful relationships' between parents and their children.[33] The *PrisonCloud*[34] model in Belgium is also developing this facility within prisoners cells, so instead of making a phone call they can make a video call. This is not intended to replace face-to-face visits but to enhance the quality of those interactions. Legislation in Belgium means that phone calls and also video calls cannot be recorded by the prison establishment for screening purposes as they are in the UK and USA.

e-learning and t-learning

Within the UK context there has been significant investment in the service Virtual Campus. This is a secure web-based environment managed by NOMS and Department of Business Innovation and Skills. This provides a through-the-gate capacity so learners can continue to use this facility during their resettlement back into the community. Like other initiatives its roll out was phased. The introduction of e-learning is considered a natural progression to assist education with prison settings and forms part of the 'normalising' of learning for prisoners.[35] Historically, supporting learning within the confines of prison, has meant prisoners have always had a limited educative experience, as Fong[36] argues accessing materials, such as books and articles to support learning has been limited. Hence, learning can be compromised regularly by the prison regime and security. Compounding these issues, a significant proportion of prisoners have poor basic skills[37] and learning disabilities;[38] and thus come to education neither ready, supported nor motivated. Morgan and Kett[39] found for example that many prisoners have a negative view of education, whilst the curriculum on offer within establishments may not be attractive.[40] Prison teachers are also acutely sensitive to these challenges.[41] The development of any new system to enhance educative experiences needed 'to ensure that prisoners themselves take ownership of their education'.[42] One interviewee remarked how some ICT lessons talked about the Internet and even showed videos of what it does and how it works, yet prison learners were denied the opportunity to try it out. This interviewee argued that 'it doesn't really take the prisoner as a responsible person' (digital industry interview 4). Thus the digital agendas proposed by national strategies are limited.

With these issues in mind a full e-learning solution could have assisted in improving the prison education experience for both learners and teachers. Yet digital gateways like *Virtual Campus* are not without its constraints and capability still remains a problem. Birmingham City University conducted a review of the *Virtual Campus* network across the West Midlands in 2011 and found that most of the problems were considered organisational and technical.[43] For example connectivity to the web was reported widely and learners often found themselves frozen from their accounts due to log-in difficulties. There is no doubt that most research into this topic identifies that e-learning is an important tool for enriching learning. Here in the UK Adams and Pike[44] promote the concept that e-learning has transformative potential — enabling prisoners to reinvent themselves. Knight and Hine[45] argue that e-learning and t-learning (learning using television rather than a computer) could boost the amount of time prisoners can learn in their

Within the UK context there has been significant investment in the service Virtual Campus.

32. Ibid p5.
33. Welsh, D. (2008). Virtual parents: How virtual visitation legislation is shaping the future of custody law. *JL & Fam. Stud., 11,* p214.
34. Prison Cloud http://www.ebo-enterprises.com/en/prisoncloud accesses 16.2.15.
35. Turley, C., & Webster, S. (2010). Implementation and delivery of the Test Beds Virtual Campus Case Study.
36. Fong, J. (2008). Facilitating Education in Prisons. In Advances in Blended Learning (pp. 1-15). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
37. Sparkes, R. (1999) Schools, Education and Social Exclusion Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics, London.
38. Loucks, N. (2007). No One Knows: offenders with learning difficulties and learning disabilities–review of prevalence and associated needs. *Prison Reform Trust, London*.
39. Morgan, M., & Kett, M. (2003). The prison adult literacy survey. *Results and implications*. Irish Prison Service http://www.iprt.ie/files/adult_literacy_survey.pdf accessed 20.1.15.
40. Hughes, E. (2005). Free to Learn?: Prisoner-students' Views on Distance Learning. Prisoners' Education Trust.
41. Irwin, T. (2008). The 'inside'story: Practitioner perspectives on teaching in prison. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice,* 47(5), 512-528.
42. House of Commons (2005) Select Committee on Education and Skills: Seventh Report 31.3.05 p27 http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmeduski/114/11407.htm accessed 20.1.15
43. Birmingham City University (2011) Working with the Prison Virtual Campus — End of project report p6 http://archive.excellencegateway.org.uk/page.aspx?o= accessed 16.2.15.
44. Adams, A., & Pike, A. (2008). Evaluating empowerment and control of HE e-learning in a secure environment. Open University http://oro.open.ac.uk/24174/ accesses 20.1.15
45. Knight, V. and Hine, J. (2009) Learning their Lesson: T-Learning as a vehicle for in-cell learning by prisoners. The International Journal of Learning, 16 (10), p51-64.

own time, especially inside their cells. The prevalence of boredom is also significant to prisoners' desire to learn and find stimulating activities, especially inside their cells during periods of bang up; as one prisoner explained,

> *I like crosswords to keep my brain active. How can I say you could become 'cabbaged' here with the boredom and depression, doing something stupid you could snap and yes I have been there.* (Stuart, prisoner)

Belgium's *PrisonCloud*[46] is one example where the transition from the classroom to the prison cell is seamless and achievable. Here learners can continue their learning in the cell with support from content that can be accessed via their in-cell television. In the USA Gorgol and Sponsler[47] advocate a move towards an IT mind-set across prison services. Slow progress in this direction means that prison authorities are blocking educative progress of prisoners.[48] Europris's ICT Expert Group is one such initiative that is trying to support ICT capability across prisons in Europe. In Sweden they are developing a distance learning package for prisoners to ensure that they can access their teacher irrespective of location.[49] Here digital solutions are helping to overcome barriers to learning.

Digital industry experts explain that private prisons 'are more open' to installing these kinds of services as they want to ensure that their contracts offer a number of 'selling points' . . .

Digital kiosks, handheld devices and in-cell communications

Developments are always evolving but as outlined in this section the speed in which introducing digital technologies takes place is slow. There are a number of prisoners across the UK estate that are benefiting from electronic interactive services. Private prisons especially are moving at a much faster speed than state prisons. Digital industry experts explain that private prisons 'are more open' to installing these kinds of services as they want to ensure that their contracts offer a number of 'selling points' (digital industry interview 5). As a result kiosks, handheld devices, interactive televisions and in-cell telephones are becoming a feature of prison life for some prisoners. With this kind of hardware establishments across the UK are beginning to pull together a number of services which resemble the *PrisonCloud* model currently available in Belgium. What this means for prison services is that 'having advancements in technology does open avenues for education bodies and health bodies too' (digital industry interview 5) and thus services can be directed and channelled to individual prisoners depending on their needs and profile. For example a prisoner who smokes can be exposed to advice about quitting through their digital accounts. As a result this technology can assist services to ensure prisoners are being targeted with the right support and interventions. Moreover the availability of digital platforms outside the traditional learning environments such as classrooms means that availability and usage encourage wider use. Currently just over twenty prisons have implemented these devices and two prisons are currently trialling in-cell provision (one based in London and one based in the North of England). Belgium's *PrisonCloud*[50] provides a valuable portal which also attracts use by prisoners. Here prisoners can access details about the prison regime and have their own personalised timetable, get judicial advice, access their own judicial files and send requests across the prison to make applications for appointments and apply for jobs both inside and outside (in preparation for release) prison. A move towards a paperless environment is claimed to enhance transparency and allow prisoners to take control and 'get their life back' (digital industry interview 4).

Kiosks operate using a touch screen function and prisoners access their accounts using pins or biometrics. From here prisoners can access and directly manage a wealth of detail including their own money, order their meals, email approved contacts, make appointments to

46. Prison Cloud http://www.ebo-enterprises.com/en/prisoncloud accesses 16.2.15.
47. Gorgol, L. & Spogler, B. (2011) Unlocking Potential: Results of a National Survey of Postsecondary Education in State Prisons Washington, IHEP http://www.ihep.org/sites/default/files/uploads/docs/pubs/unlocking_potential-psce_final_report_may_2011.pdf
48. All-Party Parliamentary Group on Penal Affairs(2009) Prisoners' Education: Are we doing enough? http://www.open.ac.uk/cetl-workspace/cetlcontent/documents/4a8293cab678c.pdf
49. Europris (2013) ICT Expert Group Meeting 12-13 December 2013 Europris Netherlands http://www.europris.org/resources_package/summary-report-ict-expert-group-meeting-12-13-december-2013/ accessed 20.1.15.
50. Prison Cloud http://www.ebo-enterprises.com/en/prisoncloud accesses 16.2.15.

see healthcare, apply for prison jobs and access their learning portfolios. Currently these kiosks appear in landings and public spaces across the prison. One digital provider confirmed that there are '8 million transactions on kiosks in a year' (digital industry interview 5) and thus are well used by those prisoners who have access to them. This kind of usage data can help unlock knowledge about the behaviour of users in this environment. Instead of challenging security, industry experts believe it can tighten security controls. Surveillance data on the use of digital prisoner accounts can provide important data on aspects relating to safer custody such as bullying, data to support purposeful activity and spotting opportunities for family contact. Moreover, setting up electronic systems for prisoners' pay and finances, ordering their canteen and meals is claimed to assist with efficiency. In Northern Ireland digital technologies are assisting in prison work with developments to move towards a tablet platform to help officers keep up with paperwork. Moreover surveillance systems like cell cameras and microphones activating when officers approach the cell are also being developed. There is some anxiety amongst staff that these kinds of systems could mean staffing levels are cut. Currently this is a reality and since 2010 many prisons have seen in some cases a 40 per cent reduction in staffing.[51] Fears of machines taking over the work and input of people are not new, but in the light of current sector reviews the introduction of digital services which reduce workloads can arouse resistance and suspicion especially from staff.

In-cell digital provision is revolutionary and is a far cry from the old and decaying cells that once had no in-cell sanitation and in-cell electrics. However not all cells are digitally ready, but where they are these prisoners can, if prisons have invested, enjoy digital access to their prison accounts via their in-cell television. This is supported by not only a remote control, but also a keyboard. This kind of hardware is claimed to be tamper proof and there are no back-doors to gaining access to the Internet. Additional services include in-cell telephone, where in the same way telephone is used on the prison landing instead phone calls can be made in the privacy of their own cells. Calls are monitored by the establishment in exactly the same ways. In Belgium the in-cell provision is advancing and in the same ways the *PrisonCloud*[52] platform is accessible via the television. Significant investment is being made to ensure cells are digitally capable. However a move to more mobile devices like tablets means that services might not need to wire up cells as they are currently doing. In Belgium the service is exploring the use of 4G in place of WiFi to ensure there is a secure bandwith. Other discussions include some solution to develop a social networking site that provides prisoners with a sense of community, albeit located only within the prison setting. Other considerations include designing a system which is suitable for people with learning disabilities and also for different languages. *PrisonCloud* are developing a translator application to ensure all of its population can access information. Countries like Norway, Sweden and Netherlands are keen to move towards the *PrisonCloud* model and investment in digital solutions are now an important development.

This in-cell provision will have some important effects, still yet to be observed and evaluated. Current research into in-cell television can highlight some anticipated outcomes. In particular the withdrawal of prisoners from the public landscape of the prisoners will undoubtedly see a decline in situated activity and a rise in mediated activity. This means prisoners will disappear from view and remain comforted, albeit in limited way, inside their cells.[53] The attractiveness of these facilities means again the use of the cell becomes normalised and thus can assist with current government drives to reduce costs. Whilst prisoners are 'busy' in their cells-there is no need to invest in staff costs and emphasis on prisoner-staff relationships may slip from the agenda altogether. However the enriching benefits of prisoners taking control of their own lives, however small can nourish the social and emotional responses to modern imprisonment. Exploring and evaluating these kinds of impacts are necessary in order to fully understand the psychosocial dimensions on the experience of incarceration and marry the aims of imprisonment with resettlement and desistance.

51. http://www.howardleague.org/prison-officer-numbers/ accessed 21.10.14.
52. Prison Cloud http://www.ebo-enterprises.com/en/prisoncloud accesses 16.2.15.
53. Knight, V. (2012) The role of in-cell television in a male adult prison: Governing Souls with television , PhD thesis De Montfort University Leicester 2012- https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/2086/7886