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Special Edition
**The Transformational Potential
of Prison Education**

Connecting Prisons and Universities through Higher Education

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Things are never straightforward for prisoners pursuing higher education. Prisons are far from conducive environments for study, but this is compounded by bureaucracy and poor organisation on the part of administrative staff which I know — on anecdotal evidence — prisoners find extremely distracting and stressful when all they want is to get on with their studies. (Personal communication, prisoner studying LLB Law, 11 June 2015)

At [the first prison] I was made to feel as though my distance learning requirements were disrupting the education department. They were very difficult in recommending computer time and education admin staff made it clear that my use of a computer meant their company... lost out in valuable qualifications... Studying criminology was also a big concern and required all sorts of application and vetting processes... In [the second prison] staff were eager to provide support and even officers tried to help, but... studying resources were minimal. Printing work and contacting Open University tutors was a lengthy process and visits from Open University tutors on occasion were disrupted. (Personal communication, prisoner studying BA Criminology, 11 June 2015)

Convict Criminology

These extracts are taken from two of hundreds of letters British Convict Criminology (BCC) has received since it first advertised its services to prisoners studying in higher education in August 2012, in this case letters written in the knowledge that the current authors were soon to present the first draft of this paper at the seminar at HMP Grendon to which this special edition is dedicated. Readers of the Prison Service Journal will hardly be surprised to hear that many of these letters are likewise characterised by frustration and anger directed at the particular challenges faced by those

wanting to study higher education inside prison. More mundane, but just as important, prisoners in higher education also frequently write to us with requests for basic academic information what they can study, what they should read, how to reference and so on questions which any university teacher is used to hearing from their personal tutees. Except, of course, in prison students do not usually have personal tutors. The Open University, which delivers the majority of prison higher education in the United Kingdom, provides useful support through its regional learning support teams. However, currently only students taking an access module are allocated a personal tutor. Further, the role of Open University regional learning support teams is restricted to advising on study choices, careers options, fees and funding.¹

There is a desperate shortage of educated prisoner and former prisoner voices within the discipline of criminology. This is the starting point for Convict Criminology (CC), a critical perspective that we utilise throughout our research, engagement and writings on prison education, including this article. As a concept, CC emerged in North America in discussions between 'ex-con' and 'non-con' academics in the 1990s. The North American Convict Criminology group was officially launched in 1997 by Jeffrey Ian Ross and Stephen C. Richards, and following the organising of panels at each of the following annual conferences of the American Society of Criminology, made its first major contribution to the discipline of criminology with the publication of the book *Convict Criminology* in 2003.² With Rod Earle, Open University, the current authors have been leading figures in developing the CC perspective in the United Kingdom since the beginning of 2012 under the guise of BCC. We have written in detail on BCC and its relationship to the original CC movement with North American and British colleagues in three recent articles,³ one of which published in this journal. Briefly, CC is concerned with developing

1. Open University (2014) *Make a New Start Studying with the Open University. A Guide for Learners in Prison 2014/2015*, Milton Keynes: Open University.
2. Ross, J.I. and Richards, S.C. (eds.) (2003) *Convict Criminology*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
3. Aresti, A. and Darke, S. (in press) 'Practicing Convict Criminology: Lessons learned from British academic activism', *Critical Criminology: An International Journal* (special edition, *Critical Criminology as Criminological Activism: On Praxis and Pedagogy*); Aresti, A., Darke, S. and Manlow, D. (2016) 'Bridging the gap: Giving public voice to prisoners and former prisoners through research activism', *Prison Service Journal*, 224: 3-13; Ross, J.I., Darke, S., Aresti, A., Newbold, G. and Earle, R. (2014) 'Developing convict criminology beyond North America', *International Criminal Justice Review*, 24(2): 121-133.

critical, insider perspectives in prisons research and prison reform.⁴ It starts from the specific observation that the voices of prisoners and former prisoners are largely absent in the discipline of criminology; and it aims to bridge the gap between the so-called 'expert knower' and the lived experience of prison through the prisoner becoming researcher, either through working in collaboration with established criminologists or through training to become criminologists themselves. BCC now has close to 100 active members. These include more than 40 prisoners or former prisoners studying or working towards studying undergraduate or master's degrees in criminology and its cognate disciplines (for instance, Law, Sociology, Psychology and Politics), and around 50 academic or former-academics and Ph.D. students, almost a dozen of who also have prison experience. Each of this latter group of BCC members is involved in mentoring prisoners through higher education (our academic mentoring scheme that we outline later) and/or utilises the CC perspective in their research.⁵

Higher education in prison

Like our colleagues that introduced and laid the foundations for CC in North America, our vision is therefore of a research activist movement that is underpinned by the experience of prison.⁶ Within this framework, prison higher education is a central concern for CC for two reasons. First, whether our prisoner/former prisoner members have sufficient academic training to theorise, articulate and objectively analyse their experiences of incarceration and/or form research partnerships with established academics, non-con or otherwise, it is essential to our interpretation of the CC perspective that prisons research is not premised in a dichotomy of researcher and research participant but instead insists on treating academics and prisoners as co-producers of

knowledge.⁷ Naturally, the better educated a prisoner or former prisoner, the more they will be able to work with established academics on equal terms.

Second, prison higher education also has a lot to offer to prisoners. It has proven to be instrumental to many in helping them both to survive prison,⁸ and to desist from crime.⁹ As activists utilising the CC perspective, we view prison higher education as warranting particular attention in this regard both because its transformative potential is established in academic theories and verified in recent studies of prison practice, and because it is not only established academics but also educated prisoners that say so. Important to us here is the fact that academic and prison service interest in prison higher education has in part, if not in the main arisen and been maintained at the insistence of prisoners. Founder and editor in chief of the *Journal of Prisoners on Prison*, Justin Piché, writes, many prisoners cite education, 'as the only positive experience one may encounter while incarcerated.'¹⁰ The letters we receive from prisoners likewise emphasise both the instrumental and therapeutic qualities of higher education.

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We analyse the value of higher education to prisoners in relation to desisting from crime in the next section. We then turn attention to the obstacles the prisoner students we are in contact have faced in their efforts

to complete, even start university degrees. Pulled together, the correspondence we have had with prisoners studying in higher education provides a wealth of data from which a number of major themes emerge. We focus most attention on the results of a consultation exercise that we carried out in 2014, completed by 20 BBC members in prison, we also cite opinions and experiences from a number of letters we received previously and have received since. As researchers utilising a CC perspective, our view is that

4. Ross and Richards (2003), see n.2.

5. Aresti and Darke (in press), see n.3.

6. Aresti, A. (2014) 'Contraction in an age of expansion: A convict perspective', *Prison Service Journal*, 211: 19-24.

7. Aresti et al. (2016), see n.3.

8. Behan, C. (2014) 'Learning to escape: Prison education, rehabilitation and the potential for transformation', *Journal of Prison Education and Reentry*, 1(1): 20-31. Citing the work of American convict criminologists, Richards and Jones, Behan writes (at p.26), 'when an individual is committed to prison s/he descends... For some students education is part of the process of/ or towards ascent. It gives them an opportunity to participate in an environment based on a different culture than that which pervades in many prisons.'

9. Ross, J.I., Tewksbury, R. and Zaldivar, M. (2015) 'Analyzing for-profit colleges and universities that offer bachelors, masters, and doctorates to inmates incarcerated in American correctional facilities', *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 54: 585-598. Ross, Tewksbury and Zaldivar write (at p.586), 'Correctional education has long been recognized as one of the few, if not the only, jail and prison program to consistently show an association with reduced recidivism.'

10. Piché, J. (2008) 'Barriers to studying inside: Education in prisons and education on prisons', *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, 17(1): 4-17. See also, Ross, J.I., Tewksbury, R. and Zaldivar, M. (2015) 'Analyzing for-profit colleges and universities that offer bachelors, masters, and doctorates to inmates incarcerated in American correctional facilities', *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 54: 585-598.

the unsolicited nature of much of our contact with prisoners does not make the content of these letters invalid sources of knowledge. Indeed, some of the earlier letters prisoners sent us identified a number of issues that we might not otherwise have given sufficient weight in the questions we took into the consultation.

In the concluding section, we outline two measures BCC has developed over the past four years: an academic mentoring scheme for prisoners studying degrees in criminology and cognate disciplines such as psychology, politics and law that we launched in July 2013; and, more recently, a partnership between our university and HMP Pentonville, which has involved us taking a small group of University of Westminster students once a week in the prison library to study an Introduction to Prison Studies course with inmates. This latter initiative ran for the first time from January to March this year. In developing these initiatives, we have two major objectives. Most obvious perhaps, we aim to support prisoners studying in higher education. More specifically, we have also designed the initiatives as vehicles for, as previously noted, breaking down what for us are artificial barriers between expert opinion and insider knowledge. Some might argue that the first named author, who has never been a prisoner, does not have the requisite experience to research within the CC perspective. Yet it is an epistemological fallacy to make such a clear distinction between those that have experienced prison, for however long or short a period, and those that have not.¹¹ Besides, CC is ultimately concerned with challenging hierarchies of knowledge, not creating new hierarchies of knowledge. First hand experiences can be utilised, sometimes better utilised through collaborative research and study. Our academic mentors and University of Westminster students are not just committed to helping prisoners. Universities benefit from researching and studying with

prisoners as much as prisoners benefit from researching and studying with universities.

Education, 'rehabilitation' and desistance

The transformative power of education, and in particular higher education, has been documented in a growing body of academic work.¹² In essence, this work typically attempts to understand and identify the complex processes underlying the relationship between education/higher education and desistance. Mirroring the broader desistance landscape, it is becoming increasingly clear that the influential role education/higher education plays in desistance, includes a complex interaction of individual, social and environmental processes and factors. Specifically, this involves a shift in one's sense of self, and the emergence of a pro-social identity and pro-social worldview (a shift in attitudes, values and belief systems). Accompanying this is an investment in, and attachment to conventional roles and law abiding behaviours.¹³ To avoid theoretical repetition here, we will briefly discuss this relationship through the lens of our own observations; our experiential insights, projects and other work. Through such observations it is becoming increasingly clear that higher education is perceived (by prisoners and former prisoners)

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as a vehicle for change, thus reinforcing the work of others. The transformative potential that higher education provides is immense, and whilst it would be naïve to consider this potential in isolation to other important factors, including meaningful relationships, significant ties to family and/or 'significant others' and employment,¹⁴ higher education has the potential to open up a range of opportunities and pro-social life choices. Importantly, higher education is a form of collateral that can be used as currency to negotiate the stigma commonly experienced by former prisoners in

11. Aresti and Darke (in press), see n.3.

12. E.g. Behan (2014), see n.8; Hughes, E. (2009) 'Thinking inside the box: Prisoner education, learning identities, and the possibility for change', in Veysey, B.M., Christian, J. and Martinez, D.J. (eds.) *How Offenders Transform their Lives*, Cullompton: Willan; Runell, L.L. (2015) 'Identifying desistance pathways in a higher education program for formerly incarcerated individuals', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, DOI: 10.1177/0306624X15608374.

13. Kazemian, L. (2007) 'Desistance from crime: Theoretical, empirical, methodological, and policy considerations', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 23(1): 5-27; Laub, J.H. and Sampson, R.J. (2001) 'Understanding desistance from crime', *Crime and Justice*, 28: 1-69; Maruna, S. (2001) *Making Good: How Ex-convicts Reform and Rebuild their Lives*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association; McNeil, F., Farrall, S., Lightowler, C. and Maruna, S. (2012) *How and Why People Stop Offending: Discovering Desistance*, Glasgow: Institute for Research and Innovation in Social Services; Uggen, C., Manza, J. and Behrens, A. (2004) 'Less than the average citizen: Stigma, role transition, and the civic reintegration of convicted felons', in Maruna, S. and Burnett, R. (eds.) *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration*, Cullompton, Willan.

14. Laub and Sampson (2001), see n.13; McNeil et al. (2012), see n.13.

the 'conventional world'. This is evident in the second named author's experiences as a (former) prisoner, and our conversations with other BCC ex-con members. Other colleagues who have also studied in higher education and are currently working in third sector organisations within the criminal justice field typically reinforce this view. Runell (2015) concurs, stating that, 'engagement in higher education [can] help to lessen the social burdens and stigma typically encountered by ex-felons in the pursuit of traditional goals and aspirations.'¹⁵

For many former prisoners higher education is the gateway to the 'conventional world', a way back into 'conventional society' and a means of developing social capital. Relative to this, and equally important, higher education has provided an alternative way of 'being', giving new meaning and value to the lives of prisoners and former prisoners. For most of these men and women, life has not only become much more meaningful, it has had significant implications for their psychological well-being. This is evident in research the second named author has conducted,¹⁶ but has also been articulated to us through personal communications with good friends and/or colleagues on the 'ex-offender' circuit. Importantly, for those of us further down the desistance trajectory, that is those of us that have carved out successful academic careers or are on the way to achieving this, a critical factor in desisting from crime is our attachment to and investment in our 'new lives' or 'self-projects'. These attachments and investments play a significant role in deterring potential 'transgressions' to past behaviours conducive with our 'old lifestyles'. As Laub and Sampson articulate, those that have invested in desistance have a 'stake in conformity'.¹⁷ Considering the important role higher education can play in desistance, it is necessary to understand and identify the barriers and obstacles prisoners experience when studying higher education in prison.

Barriers to studying inside

While some research has been conducted in this area, we believe that there is still much to learn about the transformative potential of higher education. However, arguably this is becoming increasingly difficult

in the prison estate as opportunities to engage in higher education, and/or to continue with higher education, are becoming increasingly limited. From our understanding gained through personal communications with prisoner students, this is due to a variety of barriers, including restrictive and risk adverse prison regimes, and because of a lack of resources and available opportunities.

Some of the typical issues experienced by the prisoner students we have consulted or otherwise been contacted by are outlined below. Unsurprisingly most of their comments are as negative as the ones quoted in the introduction, although this is to be expected given the current climate within the prison estate. We are aware that many of the issues and barriers identified are common knowledge for those working in the field, although we feel compelled to highlight these issues.

Three main themes are identified.

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Access to and availability of higher education level courses

A number of prisoner students have commented to us that there is a lack of higher-level educational courses in prison, in particular degree programmes. They state that the courses available to them were not conducive with their level of education. In some instances educational service providers have tried to encourage or even

pressure them to take on lower level educational courses that are not suitable or below their educational level. They perceive this lack of support and lack of interest in their educational goals as a self-serving bias. That is, they believe the service provider would not benefit financially or in terms of their organisational targets by assisting them with their higher-level educational needs and goals. According to these students, most of the courses available in prison are low-level educational courses or vocational courses. In terms of academic support, whilst a few have told us there are some tutors and prison staff who are willing to help and support them, most students complain about limited academic support, particularly in terms of tutorials. Related to this, many also complain there is little advice and information available on higher education level courses, and in cases where they have identified a course, little if any assistance or advice with the applications process or grant applications. For those

15. Runell (2015), p.3, see n.12.

16. E.g. Aresti, A., Eatough, V., and Brooks-Gordon, B. (2010) 'Doing time after time: An interpretative phenomenological analysis of reformed ex-prisoners' experiences of self-change, identity and career opportunities, *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 16(3): 169-190.

17. Laub and Sampson (2001), see n.13.

that have not identified a funding source, there is little advice available, and for others who are interested in post-graduate study, funding restrictions apply. Specifically, these latter prisoners have commented that they have been unable to apply for a student loan for a master's degree and so are unable to continue with their education. Others that wanted to do a degree were unable to secure a student loan because they would only be eligible for a student loan when they were within six years of their earliest date of release. Yet, even if funding for a degree was secured there was also the issue of degree options. A few have commented that there is a limit on the type of degree they could study. The general view is that the range of available degree programmes has decreased over time.

IT facilities/other resources

Some respondents reported that IT facilities were limited or out-dated. This had a number of implications for studying, for example coursework had to be handwritten, which was particularly problematic as some of the modules on the degree programmes they were studying required computer based work. For those that did have access to suitable computers, access to these was often limited. However, one of the biggest issues was the lack of internet access, which was a particular problem for prisoners doing degrees, as the internet is critical for research based activities. Lack of internet access was also considered an issue because of an increasing trend towards online delivery of courses and tutorials, especially long distance courses. This limited the courses they could do or the support they could get.

Other issues identified included limited classroom or educational spaces, and a lack of study material and academic resources, which of course is related to the issues with internet access. The participants also reported limited availability of photocopying and printing resources, as well as a lack of educational DVDs/CDs. For a few, access to basic materials such as paper and pens was also limited.

Structural barriers

Finally, some prisoner students have reported security restrictions on the types of courses they can do, which has meant being forced to take an Open Degree, which they feel has less value. Relative to this, some prisons permit these types of courses, whilst other prisons do not. If they had been or were to be

transferred to these prisons, they were or would therefore be unable to continue with their studies. Other structural barriers reported to us by prisoner students include limitations on the type of learning resources they were allowed to take back to their cells, and more generally, negative attitudes towards prisoners studying higher-level education courses among some prison staff.

Given the importance of prison higher education for desistance as well as the development of CC, as previously outlined, we believe that these barriers have two grave implications. First, in terms of the psychological impact on those prisoners who have decided to use higher education as a vehicle for change, that is a means of changing their lives.

Specifically, such barriers could prevent these individuals from engaging with desistance. Second, it limits our opportunity to understand the processes underlying the relationship between higher education and desistance, which of course is critical if we are going to facilitate the desistance process. It is particularly important to understand the processes underlying the early phases of this transitional relationship, that is when prisoners make the decision to go into, and begin to engage in higher education. It is equally important to understand and map prisoners'

developmental trajectory, identifying the complex cognitive/psychological transformations these individuals go through, as well as how feelings of competency, confidence and mastery develop (self-efficacy) as they develop new identities as students. Equally important, we need to understand the external processes and support networks/systems that facilitate these subjective changes and encourage pro-social behavioural transitions.

Making links

For the current authors, prison and post-prison higher education has always been the challenge for CC, and more so in the United Kingdom, where we know of just seven former prisoner criminologists in permanent academic positions, and another three prison reform activists that are former prisoners and also former social scientists. All but three of these ten academics or former academics have signed up to BCC. When we first met and began exploring the merits of combining academic training with insider knowledge in 2004,

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neither of the current authors knew much about CC. As we have heard from so many students since, for all the second named author knew, he was the only prisoner or former prisoner studying criminology. We soon came to the conclusion that, unlike our North American colleagues, who defined CC as a collaboration between PhD qualified ex-con and non-con academics,¹⁸ in the United Kingdom we needed to connect established academics with prisoner and former prisoner criminology students. Since we launched BCC with Rod Earle in 2012, we have directed most of our activism towards developing and supporting academic support networks for prisoner and former prisoner students, including sharing the platform with ex-con PhD students at academic criminology conferences. Outside prison, several of our undergraduate student members have gone on to study masters degrees. A few of our former prisoner members are now studying or have recently completed doctorates. One has secured a full-time lectureship. Another teaches criminology part time. In the past twelve months alone, early career former prisoner BCC members have published more than half a dozen single or co-authored peer-reviewed book chapters, articles or edited collections in criminology journals.

Even more important to BCC, and the focus of this special journal edition, is the work we have put in to developing links between university students studying inside and outside prison, the latter of who we have explained face particular challenges that make them far less likely to complete their degrees to the standard they might otherwise be capable of achieving. No doubt many potentially good future academic criminologists have failed to make the grade due to their experiences of undergraduate prison education, or have otherwise been put off from advancing beyond undergraduate level before or after release, or (from hearing about others' experiences) starting in higher education in the first place. As previously noted, our efforts to bridge the gap between universities and prisons have centred on an academic mentoring scheme, which we have coordinated since July 2013, and a higher education course at HMP Pentonville involving University of Westminster as well as

Pentonville students, which we taught for the first time this winter.

In the three years we have been running the academic mentoring scheme we have matched a total of 21 prisoner undergraduate students with 15 academics. Some academics are mentoring or have mentored two, in one case three prison-based students at a time, but the enthusiasm and needs of many of our mentees has convinced us that one to one mentoring should be the norm. Mentors are expected to send additional materials to those provided by their mentee's university (usually the Open University), much of which is increasingly available only through the internet, and to comment on draft coursework.¹⁹ The usefulness of the scheme to our student members is

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highlighted in a survey completed by four BCC mentors and six BCC mentees in 2014, and a reflective exercise on their experiences of mentoring completed by four BCC mentors in 2015, as well as the many communications the first named author has had with mentors and mentees while coordinating the scheme. In addition to providing prison-based students with access to study material and feedback on coursework, our mentors and mentees emphasise the value of providing/receiving advice on matters such as what to study, applying for funding, and which additional readings to focus most attention. As distance learners,

our mentees also stress the value of having someone with whom to discuss the academic material they have read, and someone they can ask to liaise with their university when, for instance, study materials have not arrived or when they are transferred to another prison.

Yet many mentors naturally go further than this and, like any good, empathetic university personal tutor, find themselves providing emotional as well as academic support. Similar to the transformative potential of prison higher education more generally, our mentees also place value on the role academic mentoring has played in helping them overcome anxieties related to their studies, and giving them more hope for their post-prison lives. Finally, and of particular interest to BCC, our mentors and mentees are both fully aware of the potential that the scheme holds for helping to create the next generation of former prisoner criminologists. A number of BCC

18. Ross and Richards (2003), see n.2.

19. British Convict Criminology (2013) *Guidelines and Expectations for BCC Mentoring*, unpublished.

mentors emphasise the role they have played in encouraging mentees to reflect on and analyse their prison experiences, as well as supporting their mentees to publish insider accounts.²⁰ Mentees put particular emphasis on how the scheme has helped break down barriers between students and teachers, and as one mentee put it, giving voice to, 'pro social and pro democratic inmates [that want] to make a difference.'²¹

Our second initiative focuses on connecting undergraduate students studying inside (HMP Pentonville) and outside (University of Westminster) prison. At the time of writing, BCCs Making Links programme, as we have temporarily named the initiative,²² has been running as a pilot project for six weeks. It is being coordinated by the current authors along with José Aguiar, an educational consultant working at HMP Pentonville. Similar to other prison-university higher education programmes that have emerged since Temple University commenced its Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program in 1997 in the United States,²³ we aim to provide a learning environment in which prisoners and undergraduate (or in some programmes, postgraduate) students study on equal terms, as Lori Pomper, founder of the Inside Out Prison Exchange Program puts it, 'to provide a community-based learning opportunity, through which everyone

involved is seen as having something vital to offer in the learning process.'²⁴ We share with other prison-university higher education programmes an underlying concern to promote the transformative potential of collaborative learning. Beyond this common starting point, each project naturally varies in its underlying aims and objectives. As an initiative premised in the CC perspective, the primary aim of the Pentonville-Westminster project is to develop insider standpoints and knowledge in the discipline of criminology. Like the Prison to College Pipeline initiative run by John Jay College in the United States,²⁵ which promotes prison higher education in a number of different disciplines, we hope to inspire and support some of our Pentonville students to start university courses during and after prison. With our specific focus on criminology, and education as a means of transforming criminology, we also hope some of our Westminster students will be inspired to continue studying criminology to PhD level, and critically, to continue to study collaboratively with prisoners and former prisoners. Finally, and related to both these objectives, it is essential that our programme is designed and delivered (even named) by people with inside knowledge, gained through their own experiences of incarceration or through researching and studying with people that have prison experience.

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20. BCC prisoner members have published two articles, with the support of their mentors, in the prison journal *Inside Time*: Alexander, M. (2015) 'Innocence projects: A way forward', *Inside Time*, April; Leick, J. (2014) 'Finding my way through Grayling's maze: A prisoner's struggle to get a book', *Inside Time*, July.
 21. Personal communication, 5 June 2014.
 22. The final name for the programme will be chosen in collaboration with our Westminster and Pentonville students in the final session of the course.
 23. The first major prison-university higher education initiative in United Kingdom started in 2014, when the University of Durham teamed up with HMP Durham to establish an Inside-Out accredited programme. The university expanded its programme to HMP Frankland in 2015, and will soon expand further to HMP Low Newton. Similarly, University of Kent set up an Inside Out Programme at HMP Swaleside in January 2016. University of Cambridge started taking criminology students to HMP Grendon study in 2015 under its Learning Together programme. Leeds Beckett University is also in the process of establishing its own programme at HMP Full Sutton.
 24. Pomper, L. (2013) 'One brick at a time: Power and possibility of dialogue across the prison wall', *Prison Journal*, 93(2): 127-134, p.129. Pomper was writing as part of a special edition of the *Prison Journal* on the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program. See also Davis, S.W. and Roswell, B.S. (eds.) (2013) *Turning Teaching Inside Out*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
 25. See <http://johnjayresearch.org/pri/projects/nys-prison-to-college-pipeline/> (accessed 22 February 2016).