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*Artwork by "Loco," an incarcerated artist at P.I. Nieuwegein,
The Netherlands*

FEATURE

A Note About the Cover Art

by LOCO (M.B.)
P.I. Nieuwegein, The Netherlands

I made this drawing in 2016 as cover for our prison newsletter. I have been in prison for many years. I wanted this drawing to be a metaphor of what I think is the usual relationship between prison staff and prisoners. The snake represents the prevailing justice system and how it works in jail. The snake disguises itself in the wall, always ready, sneaking in and out to look upon the prisoner and prey on him, but never in the open. The system always wants us to be responsible but simultaneously creates a completely impossible environment in which to show that responsibility, driving prisoners to absurd situations if they attempt to follow the rules and powerless to defend themselves from the results.

The snake is still there today, but fortunately I keep it in the wall, away from me as much as possible.

--Loco (M.B.)



FEATURE--VIGNETTE

Felons Transported to America and Australia

by THOM GEHRING

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On January 26, 1788 “a fleet of eleven vessels carrying 1,030 people, including 548 male and 188 female convicts,” entered Sydney Harbor, Australia (Hughes, R. [1987]. *The Fatal Shore*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, p. 2). Most of these convicts were from London, and 431 of them were exiled or transported for minor theft (Hughes, 1987, p. 72), and were 35 years old or less. Typical among the crimes was that of Thomas Gearing, “who created a brief sensation in Oxford in 1786 by breaking into the chapel of Magdalen College and stealing some ecclesiastical plate. For this sacrilege, he was condemned to death, reprieved and then transported for life.” (Hughes, 1987, p. 73).

Convict assignment in Australia differed, in law, from its earlier form in America. Many respectable Americans railed at the influx of felons, which they thought polluted their society. ‘In what can Britain show a more Sovereign contempt for us,’ wrote an irate Virginian in 1751, ‘than by emptying their Jails into our settlements; unless they would likewise empty their Jakes [toilets] on our tables!’ But. . .most farmers and merchants in Maryland or Virginia, when offered a chance of convict labor, grabbed it—and paid handsomely for it. The American colonist owned his indentured servants. He had paid for their transportation across the Atlantic, and he expected to be safeguarded against financial loss if they were set free by some ‘unforeseen exercise of the Royal Mercy.’ Convicts were capital, like slaves, and had been freely traded as such since the early. . .[17th] century. ‘Our principall wealth consisteth in servants,’ wrote the Virginia settler John Pory in 1619. Under the transportation acts of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, therefore, the Crown was bound to pay a convict’s owner should it remit his sentence. . . .Virginia and Maryland were not penal colonies, but free ones that used felon slaves. In Australia, which had been settled as a jail, no free settler ever paid for a convict’s passage from England; and that, in the official view, disposed of the [free] settler’s claim to a right of property in the convict’s labor. All such rights belonged to the government. Nevertheless, disputes over the ‘right’ of settlers to sell or reassign their convicts kept raising colonial hackles for decades. (Hughes, 1987, p. 287; emphasis in original).

Transportation of felons to America ended with the American Revolution, and it took the English years before they realized they could transport prisoners to Australia. However, many convict sentiments were unchanged in remote Australia. By 1813, when drinking contraband liquor, Australian convicts had their own traditional toasts. London’s “Newgate [Prison] was called the ‘whit’ or ‘wit,’ and all flash lads drank to its destruction. ‘The Wit be burnt,’ ran a common criminal toast, ‘the Flogging Cull (flogger) be damned, the Nubbing Chit (gallows) be curs’d.’” (Hughes, 1987, p. 36). Transportation of felons to the Australian penal colonies continued until 1867, when the colonists in Western Australia refused to accept any more British prisoners (Barry, J. [1958]. *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island: A Study of a Pioneer in Penal Reform*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p. 36).

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PRACTITIONER PAPER

Service-learning, the Arts, and Incarceration

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TESNI A. STEPHEN
Independent Scholar

Abstract: *This paper describes three different service-learning approaches the authors utilized when working with graduate art education students and incarcerated residents at a municipal jail facility. By situating our experiences within feminist theory, we analyze and unpack the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. Through an analysis of teacher and student journal entries we came to see that our level of responsiveness to residents needed to increase as compared to our considerations of the university students. We came to see the significant knowledge that the residents hold about excellence in teaching. This created an opportunity for the university students and ourselves to learn from the residents. We also identified three areas that created change in the university students and faculty members; breaking stereotypes, awareness of privilege, and showing empathy. We believe that service-learning in pre-service teacher preparation programs allows university students to learn from and with residents, thus helping to create more empathetic future teachers.*

Keywords: *Art education; graduate students; teacher preparation*

As intersectional feminists¹, weⁱ see entanglements among various topics related to service-learning² in settings of incarceration. Through our work with graduate students taking service-learning courses that place them in the Richmond City Justice Center (RCJC), we have implemented numerous approaches to teaching and learning. In this paper, we describe our various programs and reflect upon them. This paper is a collaboration among two faculty members and a graduate student who enrolled in three semesters of service-learning courses and volunteered for numerous workshops. Through analysis of our reflections, we note the areas of our experiences that may be transferable to others in similar situations and that may have implications for others.

Service-Learning

Service-learning pedagogy, which relates classroom learning to some form of meaningful practice beyond the classroom, is an ideal pedagogical tool for pre-service teachers. Through service-learning experiences pre-service teachers produce an increased self-awareness about their future roles as teachers and increased sense of empowerment and accomplishment with project-based learning (Chen, 2004). Haddix (2015) considers the effects of community engagement in teacher preparation programs, which help her mostly middle class and white pre-service university students realize that in addition to learning *about* culturally relevant pedagogy within the college setting, they must also apply this knowledge and resist the “savior” mentality. She asserts community engagement may help students realize the importance of listening to and honoring their students’, families’, and community’s knowledge within the school settings.

¹ In advocating for women’s rights and equality, intersectional feminists recognize the many intersecting identities of people. For instance, intersectional feminists address gender in addition to race, social class, sexual orientation, disability, ethnicity, religion, among other areas. Intersectional feminists recognize that women face oppression in different ways based upon their various identities.

² Service-learning is an approach to teaching that connects classroom learning to service in the community. Some of the hallmarks of service-learning include mutually agreed upon goals, working with the community, and reflection.



Our Context

Virginia Commonwealth University is a large, urban, research university recognized by the Carnegie Foundation as one of 54 universities nationwide that is “Community Engaged” with “Very High Research Activity.” About 2.5 miles from campus is a municipal jail facility, the Richmond City Justice Center (RCJC), which incarcerates approximately 900-1,200 men and women at any given time. Several years ago, a faculty member from the English department at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) began teaching classes at the RCJC. Over time, he involved his students and this evolved into a well-established multidisciplinary university-community partnership through which dual enrollment university classes are taught at the RCJC with VCU students sitting side-by-side with the RCJC residentsⁱⁱ. This program has grown to involve faculty and students in several departments – English; Gender, Sexuality, and Women’s Studies; Religious Studies; and Art Education. Each faculty member works with the RCJC educators to determine the format and structure of each class, and the service-learning looks very different from class to class. Generally, the university students and RCJC residents enroll in the same course and learn together. The university students earn academic credit and the RCJC residents earn continuing education credits for their work. Throughout our 18 months of involvement with the RCJC, we have utilized different class structures in response to the pre-service educators’ and RCJC residents’ requests and needs.

Service-Learning Implementation

With this paper, we will focus on the art education courses for graduate students taught by Courtnie and Melanie from the spring of 2015 through the spring of 2016. Tesni, a graduate student in the Art Education graduate pre-service program, participated in all three official courses and an unofficial summer session, as well as numerous shorter workshop sessions. As faculty members, our goal is primarily to create the best possible experiences for the university students. Within the context of the RCJC, we became aware of how the needs of the university students differ from the needs of the RCJC residents. These differences created a tension between the needs of university students, who are mostly from middle and upper socioeconomic class backgrounds, and the needs of the RCJC residents, who are primarily from lower socioeconomic class backgrounds. As professors reflecting on our choices, we can see how initially we considered the needs of the university students more than the needs of the RCJC residents. However, over time, we came to consider the needs of the residents as much or more than those of the university students. Further, within our university classes we do not have much racial, ethnic, or economic diversity and thus, before bringing university students to the RCJC we needed to engage our graduate students in conversations about race and poverty. This proved challenging in the short amount of time we had available. Building a shared understanding of interaction and respect was essential so that comments which could easily alienate or “other” the RCJC residents could be avoided.

Pedagogical Approaches

Although the approaches of the three classes varied, we grounded our theoretical approach to all classes in critical feminist pedagogy (hooks, 1994; Lather, 1991) that interrogates the imbalances of power in education, the institution, and our communities and makes more transparent the intersections of oppression and the action necessary for change. Tenets prominent in feminist pedagogy that informed our approaches include:

- 1.) Feminist pedagogy evolves from feminist social practice and is oriented toward social transformation, consciousness-raising, and social activism.
- 2.) Feminist pedagogy emphasizes the development of epistemological frameworks that stress both the subjective and communal reality of knowing. [Feminist pedagogy] asks whose interests are served by knowledge and requires “knowers” and “learners” to be accountable to the uses of knowledge.
- 3.) Feminist pedagogy addresses race, class, and gender as crucial categories for analyzing experience and institutions. It also explores the complex and frequently ignored intersections of these categories. (Cohee et al., 1998, p. 3)

In the first graduate-level art education class format that we developed, pre-service students collaborated with each other to design a 10-week visual arts course for residents at the RCJC. The graduate students took

turns teaching the incarcerated adults, so over the course of the 10-week session they participated as students alongside RCJC residents, and as teachers. The role of the university instructor in this iteration was to provide support, guidance, and a theoretical framework at the start of the semester. The framework emphasized contingency, flexibility, and reflexivity throughout the process. Like Lather (1991), we position pedagogy as the “fruitful site” (p. 15) for the situated learning that took place and the “transformation of consciousness” (Lusted, as cited in Lather, 1991, p. 15) at the intersections of teacher, student, and collaboratively produced knowledge.

Collaborative planning among the graduate students, taking into account the expressed interests of the RCJC residents, took place on VCU’s campus each week, and university students taught a weekly 2-hour class at the RCJC. As the professors, we were present at both as observers, artmakers, timekeepers, and additional support. The structure of this iteration sought to access the applied knowledge and practical experiences that university service-learning provides, to “[close] the conventional gap between textual representation and the ‘real’ world” (Williams & McKenna, 2002, p. 137). However, as faculty members, we had concerns about representation, alterity, and failure to engage with the tenets of feminist pedagogy. Our own deep focus on the graduate students’ instructional and curricular component of the course gave way to our assumptions that the “real life” experience would simply unfold without more attention to the complexity of the learning space and ways we were unknowingly reifying assumptions we sought to dispel. For instance, while giving instructions, one of the graduate students asked the RCJC residents, “You all know how to do this, right?” Setting up a situation in which people who have had few positive educational experiences have to raise their hand and say that they do not know how to do something shows a lack of awareness on the part of the graduate student. While the outcomes of the course were ultimately positive, reflection on the proceedings led us to rethink the structure of the course and what was required of the university students and RCJC residents alike. A reignited priority on experience and collaboration, of further dismantling the “otherness” in the learning space, produced a different approach.

The second approach more closely resembled a traditional classroom: the professor designed a curricular plan for the graduate students and the RCJC residents to learn together. The project, a multimedia image and sound collaboration, required time in-class at the RCJC each week and out of class for both students and residents between weekly sessions. After responding individually to the prompt “My World Was...” and writing their own stories, graduate students and RCJC residents assembled themselves into collaborative teams, rewriting their stories as one collective narrative. Access to video recording or editing equipment at the RCJC was not allowed, so the graduate students acted as “area experts” each week, capturing images and video outside of class time and consulting with the residents about where and what should be included to illustrate their story. Alternately, the residents had access to sound recording equipment at the jail and were responsible for the audio portions of the projects. Our time together at RCJC was spent in negotiation of that content and the creation of collage elements for stop-motion animation, titles, and credits. At the center of all of those elements was the collective storytelling.

The third approach was purposeful, but more fluid as compared to the first two approaches because we responded directly to the requests and articulated needs of the RCJC residents. The third approach workshops included a resident-led discussion on their schooling experiences and dialogue with graduate students; a resident-requested screening of the movie *Selma* with a discussion afterward; and a series of one-day art-making workshops intended to produce small gifts that residents could share with their families, their fellow residents, and, in some cases, the administration at the jail. The framework for this third approach is an ethic of care (Monchinski, 2010) and an awareness of the significant knowledge of the RCJC residents. Care ethicist Nel Noddings (2002) considers nurturing relationships between human beings essential to emotional wellbeing. Many of the programs offered at the RCJC have either direct or indirect outcomes of relationship building as part of the rehabilitation cycle for residents (Rockett, 2016). During these shorter workshops, opportunities to engage casually without the structure of a lesson plan or specified learning outcomes produced rich conversations about life, relationships, hopes, and possibilities. We realize this third approach is a departure from traditional service-learning practices that emphasize longer periods of interaction. However, due to the nature of the RCJC, the highly transient population, and the timing considerations that revolve around their changing meal schedule, we found these one-day workshops to be a way to work with the residents’ requests, the tim-

ing needs of the RCJC educators, and, our students' busy schedules. Further, because they were interspersed within these longer classes, there was some continuity.

One workshop focused on education, with the RCJC residents teaching the graduate students and faculty members about their own educational experiences. The largely African American population of residents at RCJC shared their beliefs about what makes a good teacher or learning experience in school, and many residents expressed their experience of not feeling cared about or being unable to relate to teachers. The teachers who made a difference in their lives showed empathy and care, and having diverse as well as empathetic teachers could foster these qualities. The RCJC residents also identified aspects of their education that were difficult or contributed to their dropping out of high school. A strength of these shorter workshops was that we were able to complete the activity or discussion with the group of residents within the allotted time in a single day. However, there were times when a longer discussion or longer work time would have been helpful.

Each of the three approaches had strengths and drawbacks with the second and third approaches more thoughtfully addressing the needs of RCJC residents and the graduate students. While the first approach afforded the graduate students an opportunity to teach, it also distanced them from the RCJC residents and put them in a position of power. Further, because the graduate students were concerned with planning and teaching, they were not always attending to the socio-cultural aspects of the learning environment. We do think the graduate students learned from this approach and benefitted from the experience. However, when reflecting upon graduate student and RCJC resident responses to the second and third approaches, we think these formats are stronger in that they assist in building empathy and relationships.

Stronger relationships developed among learners in the second approach, with the VCU graduate students and the RCJC residents working in collaborative groups. The exchange of information and building of collaborative understandings in this approach developed over time, building an increased empathy among participants. Further, because the professor led the class, she was more attuned to the complex dynamics and changing rules of the site. These constant changes were easier for her to navigate than graduate student pre-service teachers because she is an experienced educator.

In the third approach of one-day workshops or activities, we found a number of strengths. We planned workshops around specific topics, usually suggested by the RCJC residents. They were not attached to specific classes; all the graduate students and RCJC residents participated voluntarily. This inherent self-selection provided a very engaged group who participated enthusiastically. We intentionally kept these sessions more open with a framework for discussion or activities, rather than a detailed plan, and allowed the process to unfold in an organic fashion. Interestingly, existing outside of a course structure seems to take this approach outside the realm of service-learning, but this may be part of its success. In the context of a community-engaged approach, this freedom from course requirements is something worthy of future consideration with regard to partnerships between universities and sites of incarceration.

Reflections/Analysis

Throughout the process of teaching and participating in these service-learning courses, we utilized a variety of reflection strategies including verbal, written, and artistic. Through conversation and multiple attempts to create thematic groupings based upon the information in our reflections, we came to see three overarching ideas present in the reflections. We found that our interactions with the service-learning classes at RCJC contributed to breaking our personal stereotypes of others, helped us become more aware of our racial, socio-economic, and educational privilege, and increased our ability to show empathy toward others.

Included in the discussion of these three areas is Tesni's analysis of her video reflection, created after participating in service-learning at the RCJC for 18 months.

Breaking Stereotypes

Throughout our reflections, a common theme is how our personal interactions with the residents disrupted so many of our pre-conceived notions about people who are incarcerated. Through hearing stories of their lives, open-ended discussions, and simply chatting, we learned that the stereotypes we had held were inaccurate and damaging. In one instance, Melanie was surprised by two of the residents' deeply philosophical conversation on the concepts of the "self" and "identity." At other times, during class conversations, univer-

sity students shared that their stereotype of who is “educated” or “intelligent” was previously largely bound by formal education. However, after interacting with the residents at RCJC and learning from and with many different people who have knowledge gleaned from formal and informal means, the graduate students reported a much broader understanding of how intelligence and knowledge operate.

Although Tesni considered herself accepting and empathetic, especially due to her job as an art educator at a community center serving a diverse audience, her service-learning experiences at the RCJC illuminated for her the effects of systemic racism, her privilege, and the unacknowledged stereotypes she held of incarcerated people. In a culminating video response to her experiences at the jail, she used words as well as images of historically significant sites representative of continuing systemic racism in her city.

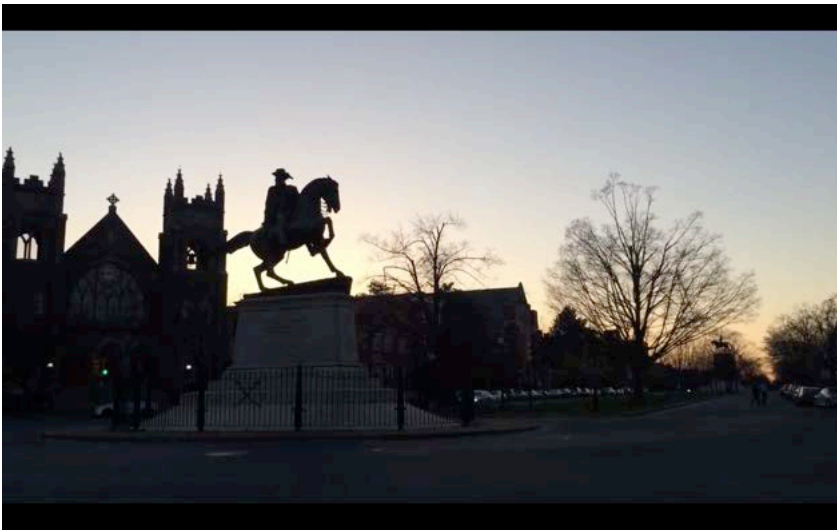


Figure 1. Tesni’s Video Reflection Screenshot. A statue of J.E.B. Stuart, a Confederate States of America cavalry general on Monument Avenue, symbolic of ongoing systematic racism. Unveiled in 1907, this monument, one of five to the confederacy, has no text or explanation offering context about how this sculpture might be problematic today.

In an effort to dispel stereotypes about who is an incarcerated person and acknowledge her shifting perspectives of privilege and identity, the video describes her experiences with the RCJC:

I know the jail is oppressive and depressing, but the people and the space we created together was inviting, fun, creative, free, energetic, comfortable, and safe feeling. I know that in a dehumanizing space, humans exist. I know that art in all forms is a release, freedom, and healing. I know that I have been privileged to work with some of the most devoted, engaged, hard working, smart, caring, open students I have ever encountered. (Tesni, personal communication, March 29, 2016)

Though certainly important for pre-service teachers, we believe this aspect of breaking stereotypes could be useful for all graduate students, regardless of discipline. Further, the graduate students came to see some of the interconnections between different social problems because they came to see beyond a stereotype and think more deeply about the people.

Awareness of Privilege

Among the three graduate classes, there were 23 students,ⁱⁱⁱ with two identifying as students of color, two identifying as men, and twenty-one identifying as women. Because the vast majority of the graduate students involved in the RCJC service-learning are white, middle class, and have had stable family environments, their life experiences are largely reinforced by stereotypes in media and in education. However, sustained contact with people from different backgrounds at the RCJC brought out greater awareness of privilege among students. Interestingly, Melanie and Courtnie previously used Peggy McIntosh’s (1989) article *White Privilege: Unpacking the White Knapsack* in classes to mixed reactions with many white female students who believed McIntosh’s points did not apply to them. These students emphatically stated that they did not have white privilege, but they did acknowledge some lack of opportunity related to their gender. Wilson, Shields, Guyotte, and Hofsess (2016) point out that among white women the tendency to focus on gender rather than race is a form of white privilege. However, having had interactions with the majority-minority residents at

RCJC, the graduate students expressed a better understanding of how formal curriculum, the educational system, and the school-to-prison pipeline all function as forms of institutionalized racism.

In the context of two art classes that took the form of the first service-learning protocol mentioned above, the university students engaged the RCJC residents in interpreting works of art. In one instance, the graduate students showed a graffiti-type image by the artist Banksy that included a rat. All of us affiliated with the university had associations of a dirty animal, something to be avoided. This was starkly different from the dominant interpretations from the RCJC residents that focused on the connotation of the rat as a snitch and a representation of someone who would work with the police or authorities.

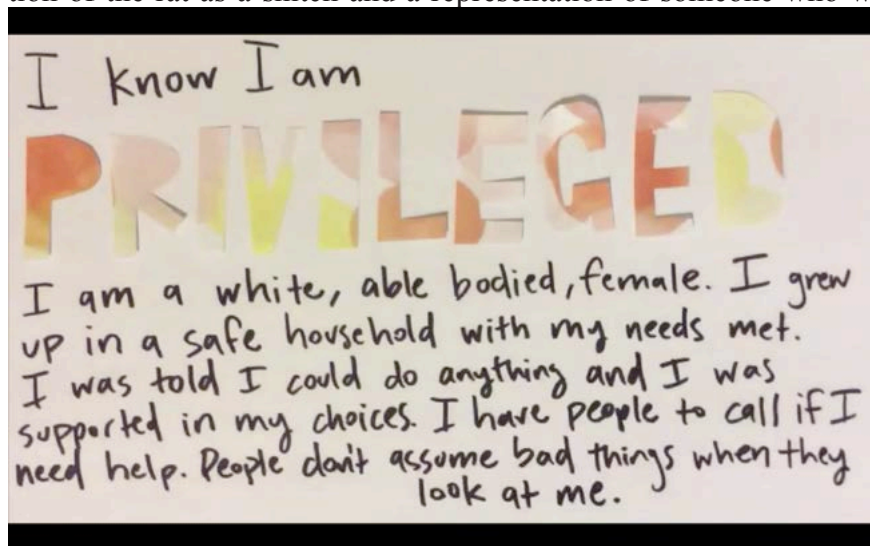


Figure 2. Tesni's Video Reflection Screenshot. As a result of relationships that Tesni developed with residents at the RCJC, her privilege that was discussed in university classes was confirmed and cemented in reality during service-learning.

This particular moment encapsulates some of the differences we became aware of between the university-associated people and the RCJC residents. We all grew up with a positive view of the police and authority figures as people who are there to help and who actually do help. We were taught that it was our civic responsibility to help the police, teachers, or other authority figures and we were to trust them. In the words of one VCU student, the ability to forget about the problematic aspects of various authority figures is just one more aspect of privilege. We postulate that it is the unique human interactions with people from different backgrounds that can allow this greater understanding to develop.

Showing Empathy

Throughout our written reflections and discussions, we shared numerous stories about the people we have come to know through our work at the RCJC. A common theme among these stories is an increased awareness of the difficulties that many of the residents experienced in their early childhood including physical, sexual, and emotional abuse; parental neglect; physical and mental health issues of their parents; pressure from family, neighbors, or friends to engage in illegal activity, including opioid use; and the various constellations of difficulties associated with dire poverty. As we discussed how hearing these stories and life experiences has affected us, we became aware of the impact on our own teaching in a variety of contexts. Tesni shared that she has now developed more patience and understanding with the adolescent girls with whom she works. Courtnie noted her increased empathy for her own students, considering their personal experiences. Melanie mentioned how she now thinks, "what else might be going on in this student's life?" when wondering about a student who may be struggling.

One topic that came up in our discussion related to our actually "seeing" the result of the school-to-prison pipeline through getting to know residents. When we learned how many of them had difficult experiences in their K-12 education, it caused us to think more about how the school-to-prison pipeline functions. For the authors, and many who choose education as a career, school was a site of growth and joy. First-hand accounts of experiences far on the other end of that spectrum illuminated real concerns of schooling and the students served in those schools, especially students of color and those living in poverty. Further, the fact that many of the residents shared their stories with us in narrative form through discussions leads us to believe

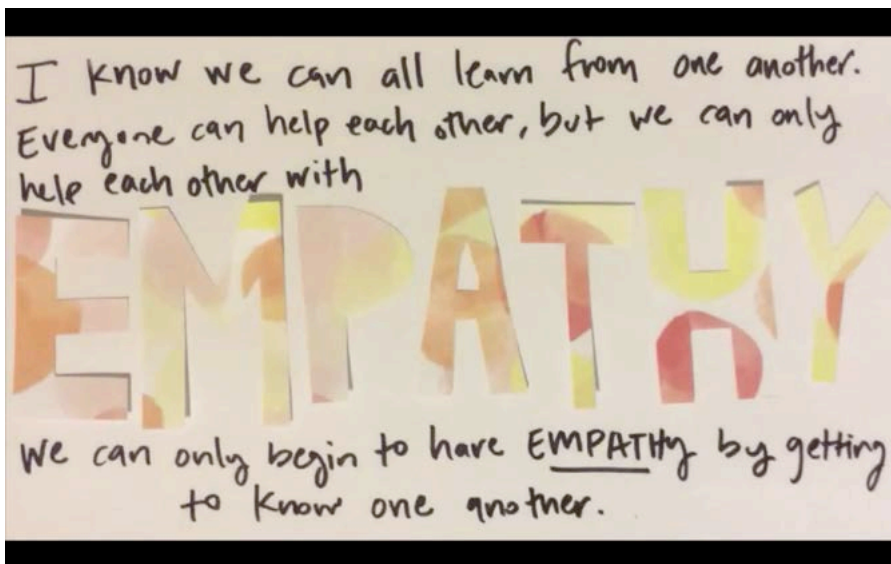


Figure 3. Tesni's Video Reflection Screenshot. As a result of Tesni's service-learning experiences, she believes that getting to know each other is one way to be empathetic humans, begin to dispel stereotypes, and overcome systematic racism.

of the residents shared their stories with us in narrative form through discussions leads us to believe that the power of narrative may help engender empathy. These stories from the lived experiences of individuals were more powerful to us than the studies and statistics which we have all read. We honed in on the experiences at RCJC, especially hearing the narratives of the residents, as building our ability to go beyond the curriculum or the requirements for a class and learn to be more empathetic with our students as complex human beings. This relates to Valenzuela's (2013) point that students may expect teachers to care about them as people first, but teachers may expect students to come to class caring about the content before teachers will care about the students as people. This disconnect of expectations can result in "schooling [that] subtracts resources from youth" (p. 289).

Service-learning Framework

Within this program, the graduate students are exposed to a significantly different learning environment with learners who have had different life experiences. The vast majority of the RCJC residents with whom we work are people of color and the vast majority of the VCU graduate students and faculty members are white. Race and class are very much a part of these classrooms and our interactions with the residents. Though we overtly address these in a conceptual sense, it was interesting how in the first approach to service-learning, not all the graduate students kept this information in mind when planning and teaching. For instance, one day the graduate student who was teaching asked the RCJC residents about different locations in town that they would like to alter artistically. During a planning session before the actual teaching at the RCJC, the professor intervened and pointed out that the physical sites the graduate students chose were in middle and upper-income neighborhoods, rather than in the parts of town where many residents lived. Thus, the planning and teaching during these service-learning experiences became ways to revisit the importance of diversity and the need for teachers to consider their assumptions and the lived experiences of their students. While there were successful aspects of all three approaches, we believe the second and third approaches were stronger in that they allowed the graduate students and the RCJC residents to build relationships, thus building empathy.

Conclusion

By analyzing our reflections, we learned more about the complex, dynamic, and powerful experiences of service-learning with graduate students in a site of incarceration. Our reflections indicate three main themes: breaking stereotypes, awareness of privilege, and building empathy. The next step for this project will be examining the effects of these classes on residents to better understand their educational experiences. Additionally, we will continue to work to expand opportunities for pre-service teachers at the graduate level to engage in service-learning classes within the RCJC. The level of maturity and self-awareness that the graduate students involved in these classes showed reinforces our belief that sites of incarceration may be well-suited for pre-service teachers to build their knowledge and understanding. Service-learning across lines of race,

class, and ethnicity may be beneficial for all students, as we live in a nation in need of greater understanding and acceptance of others.

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Endnotes

ⁱThe term “we” refers to the three authors – two faculty members and one graduate student who collaborated in writing this paper.

ⁱⁱ At the RCJC, they deliberately use the term “resident” rather than “inmate” or “prisoner.” This is part of their attempts to help the people who are incarcerated see their position as being temporary and something that they can overcome and change.

ⁱⁱⁱ Some students, like Tesni, were in multiple classes. We counted each student in each class in this total.

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PRACTITIONER PAPER

Toward a Decarceral Sexual Autonomy: Biopolitics and the Compounds of Projected Deviance in Carceral Space

by RAECHEL TIFFE
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Abstract: *This essay examines the rhetorical and structural divides between the “inside” and “outside” carceral world as they exist within the intersections of racialized state violence and biopolitics. It is also a reflection on my embodied experience, as a volunteer and activist, inside penal and correctional facilities, not in an attempt to center my “freeworld” body as more important than the embodied experiences of incarcerated people, but rather to trouble that binary altogether and to use my experience as a perceived outsider to illuminate what I call the compounds of projected deviance. I will use my experiences working in jails as well as my experiences teaching yoga in an addiction correctional facility to argue for prison abolition and transformative justice, particularly in relation to resettlement. Drawing on the work of prison and queer studies, I argue that space, race, and sexuality interlock in significant ways in historical and contemporary prisons and jails. I will also use my reflections to argue that the feminist project of sexual liberation and autonomy must start with a rejection of sexual Othering for the most marginalized members of society: incarcerated people.*

Keywords: *Carceral space; biopolitics; affect; deviance; queer*

“I feel, therefore I can be free”.- Audre Lorde

The first and most emphasized instruction I received upon doing my first workshop in an urban jail in the United States¹ was in regard to the clothes I should wear: not too tight, not too baggy. Pants or a long skirt. Closed-toe shoes and no hats or bandanas. Preferably no makeup. And under no circumstances was I to touch the inmates.

I followed these directions as best I could and on my first day of doing a group volunteer writing project inside the Hennepin County Juvenile Jail, I wore the loosest jeans I owned and a t-shirt. No makeup. Winter boots. I felt the eyes of the guards on me, and did the work so many women know how to do to deactivate triggers of past sexual violence. They *had* to look at my body, after all, for my own protection. They had to make sure I wasn't putting myself in danger through the clothes I was wearing in front of the inmates. At least, that was the “logic” I was given by the workshop coordinator, a self-proclaimed feminist man who would, later that day, write me an email berating me for wearing jeans that “hugged my hips” and “tempted” the inmates. When I later started a yoga program in the same jail, numerous people warned me to “be careful” wearing yoga clothes around the boys. Throughout the following year of the yoga program, I was told to strictly self-monitor my clothing choices and warned not to touch the inmates as I would in other yoga classes (in terms of adjustments for alignment or the common massages provided at the end of class in *savasana*, the final pose). But every week I taught (in sweats and loose tops), I would always feel relief after getting past the *guards*, and feel comfortable when sharing space with the prisoners.

I became quickly familiar with this standard approach to doing jail and prison work, and when I explored continuing this work at other locations, I noticed that every jail or prison website had a page reserved for the dress code and behavior, nearly all of them talking about was and wasn't “appropriate.” Thus, although my experience was not unique to a yoga program or being a woman, both of those particularities made me disproportionately susceptible to criticism --- from the jail and prison officials --- when I failed to perform (my



gender? my sexuality?) properly for a carceral setting. The implicit (and sometimes explicit) message from my experience in volunteering in jails and prisons, the Dress Code (and behavior) policies, and general discourse about incarcerated people is that they are always already to be understood as sexually predatory, or at the very least, sexually Other.

This essay examines the rhetorical and structural divides between the “inside” and “outside” carceral world as they exist within the intersections of racialized state violence and biopolitics. It is also a reflection on my embodied experience, as a volunteer and activist, inside penal and correctional facilities, not in an attempt to center my “freeworld” body as more important than the embodied experiences of incarcerated people, but rather to trouble that binary altogether and to use my experience as a perceived outsider to illuminate what I call the *compounds of projected deviance*. I will use my experiences working in jails as well as my experiences teaching yoga in an addiction correctional facility to argue for prison abolition and transformative justice, particularly as it relates to resettlement. Drawing on the work of prison and queer studies scholars, like Sara Ahmed (2006), Regina Kunzel (2009), and Jay Borchert (2013), I argue that space, race, and sexuality interlock in significant ways in historical and contemporary prisons and jails. I will also use my reflections to argue that the feminist project of sexual liberation and autonomy must start with a rejection of sexual Othering for the most marginalized members of society: incarcerated people.

Method

My reflections are borne of roughly three years of activism and volunteer work inside of jails and correctional facilities.² I was a writing workshop facilitator at Minnesota’s Hennepin County jail for six months before beginning a year-long yoga program at the same location. In Boston, I visited inmates in jails as part of the organization Black & Pink, and also taught yoga at an addiction rehabilitation facility, both for about a year at the time of publication. The majority of the people at the rehabilitation facility were formerly incarcerated.

At the time of writing, I have been a certified yoga teacher for four years, which provided me the ability and knowledge to facilitate the yoga classes in these spaces. I recorded in a personal journal after nearly every visit, since I was not allowed to bring writing materials into the jail. I use those notes and my memory of these visits to draw on for this essay. This project is not an ethnography, but rather a critical theoretical reflection of activist and volunteer work.¹

First I will discuss the rules for “decorum” provided by jails and prisoners to any person who wants to visit an inmate. I will expand specifically on the policy about not touching inmates and use my experience as a yoga teacher inside jails to consider the impact of this rule. I also use my experience teaching yoga in non-correctional spaces (corporate yoga studios) to compare and contrast the ways in which I am instructed to approach bodies in any of the spaces. I will then elaborate on my use of the term “compounds of projected deviance” to explain how both discursive and physical frameworks construct prisoners as sexually other and therefore less-than human. Finally, I will put forth a call for a decarceral sexual autonomy as a necessity for restoring humanity and livability to incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people.

Obligatory Warnings: The “Appropriate” Decorum

As previously mentioned, every jail and prison in the U.S. has policies or guidelines about “appropriate” dress and behavior. Each facility (stated via their webpage) uses different words, but all describe a stance on decorum that Otherizes the inmates “inside” in contrast to the visitors on the “outside.” In most cases, the visits are conducted between a plate of glass, with words carried between insiders and outsiders through a telephone. This physical barrier serves as a material reminder of engagement and separation, and is what Megan Comfort (2003) describes as the “border region of the prison where outsiders first enter the institution and come under its gaze” (80). The rules for how to dress and behave appropriately are further in service of delineating between inmate and visitor, and all suggest that danger and disorder loom without visitors’ strict adherence to such guidelines.

Foucault refers to this, the kind of management of bodies I’ve experienced as a visitor and learned about from inmates, as biopolitics. Foucault (1976) writes,

What we are dealing with in this new technology of power is not exactly society (or at least not the social body, as defined by the jurists), nor is it the individual body. It is a new body, a multiple body, a body with so many heads that, while they might not be infinite in number, cannot necessarily be counted. Biopolitics deals with the population, with the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power's problem. (p. 245)

Many prison studies scholars take up Foucault, as carceral spaces are clear examples of explicit control of particular populations. However, Foucault (and others) note that social control is not relegated only to the prison, but rather is the foundation of our entire society, both "freeworld" and not. In his reflection on corresponding through letters with a prisoner, Steve Dillon (2011) recounts one letter that described post-prison life on the outside as a limb of, rather than an escape from, the prison walls. Dillon notes, "the prison regime's collusion with heteronormativity and other disciplinary mechanisms made living in the free world virtually indistinguishable from the subjection of incarceration" (p. 176).

The constant surveillance I experience as a woman in the *de jure* carceral State (i.e., outside) is compounded when I enter the walls of a *de facto* carceral space, but this boundary is malleable and contingent. For example, surveillance in my predominantly white, middle-income neighborhood means something very different than surveillance in a predominantly Black, low-income community—the former resulting in little interaction with punitive arms of the State, the latter resulting in daily interaction with punitive arms of the State, but all in the name of "decorum." At least in theory, the *de jure* carceral state is the same across these spaces, but the *de facto* experience of carcerality blurs and bends across subjects and spaces. These blurred lines and uneven applications or consequences of surveillance enable the justification of (hyper) surveillance-as-protection, in both inside and outside spaces.

As a visitor/volunteer in jails, I have experienced firsthand the surveillance/self-surveillance instigated by the standards of decorum imposed at the Hennepin County and Essex County jails. My white, female-identified and presenting body has been the focal point of slut-shaming and ridicule disguised as "protection." One of the most evident measures of this sexual prey/sexual temptress dichotomy is through the No Contact measures provided on jail websites and also demanded of me by the staff at the jails where I volunteered.

No Human Contact

The rules about touch in punitive correctional facilities like the jails where I taught were far more draconian than the rehabilitative correction facility. For example, in the jails I was not only told how to dress, but also directed to not touch the inmates, even during yoga, which generally involves teacher-student contact. Being forbidden to touch inmates while teaching yoga is one example of many in a long history of denying touch and/or intimacy to incarcerated people.

In contrast, at the Boston rehabilitation facility where I most recently volunteered, there was no apparent prohibition on touching the patients, and so I followed my typical teaching practice: I asked students at the beginning of every class to use their own agency to determine whether or not they wanted hands-on assists and adjustments during class. No one in the correctional facility opted out of being touched. And so, I used my hands to adjust their poses, align their feet, create length in their spine, and, during *savasana* (the "corpse pose" at the end of class, at which point you lay on your back completely still), I provided the same head massage that I provide to students when I teach in any other setting.

After one class, a woman named Ronnie thanked me for the massage. Her voice cracked and tears filled her eyes as she explained how powerful it was to feel "nice touch," and that an adjustment to her shoulders helped after years of hunching over in the cold on the streets. I felt grateful to have the opportunity to bring some kindness to this woman, but simultaneously felt deep sadness, recalling all the missed opportunities in which I was forbidden to provide the same for the boys at the juvenile jail. Ronnie had also spent time in jail, as the majority of the patients had. The ability to touch or not touch human beings was arbitrary, based solely on a building location, sometimes with a difference of mere days (i.e., a patient in the rehabilitation facility could have been in jail just the day prior, and yet was treated/regarded significantly differently).

Whether or not the inmate and visitor are allowed to touch is not always concrete. Currently, there are numerous proposals in jails and prisons across the country for a decrease in physical contact in visiting rooms. Boards that oversee detention center policies suggest that more contact from visitors leads to more exchange of contraband; however, studies show that the majority of contraband found in jails and prisons come from guards, not inmates (Clarke, 2013). While eliminating the allowance of physical touch has an uncertain impact on contraband, it has a concrete impact on inmates' and visitors' mental and emotional well-being (Law, 2015). Ample research reveals that forbidding physical contact with visitors can lead to inmate self-harm, inability to develop positive identities and self-esteem (this has been researched explicitly in relation to incarcerated mothers' ability to touch their children), and decreased ability to adapt to society after release (Kaba, et al., 2014; Aiello & McQueeney, 2016; Law, 2015). In an interview with writer and prison abolitionist activist Victoria Law, former Rikers Island prisoner Anthony Collado reflects:

Contact visits are like emotional anchors to being human. You can forget to be human when you're not treated as a human...If I couldn't have loving contact with my family and friends, I would have forgotten that I was more than the fights, strip searches and iron bars. I would have chosen violence as my end-all be-all and I would have been lost. (n.p., 2015)

No-contact rules for visitors are dehumanizing. As the countless studies about the injurious impact of solitary confinement suggest, isolating a human being from touch "amount[s] to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment" (Amnesty International, 2014).

Further, isolation in prison can have long-lasting and irreversible effects on inmates after they are released from prison. Reports of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and what Terry Gorski (2016) describes as post-incarcerations syndrome (PICS) are of increased likelihood for inmates who experience isolation. Gorski notes,

The effect of releasing this number of prisoners with psychiatric damage from prolonged incarceration can have a number of devastating impacts upon American society including the further devastation of inner city communities and the destabilization of blue-collar and middle class districts unable to reabsorb returning prisoners who are less likely to get jobs, more likely to commit crimes, more likely to disrupt families. (n.p.)

Despite this evidence, physical touch in jails and prisons in the US is considered a "privilege," not a right, and as discussed above, is not guaranteed (Comfort, 2009).

Another form of implementing no-contact visits is to ban in-person visits; that is, not only can visitors not touch inmates, but also they are unable to even be in the same room or space with them. These new rules are justified through an increase of "virtual" jail visits that take place via Skype or other internet video platforms, which also reduce the likelihood of contraband entering jails or prisons. However, no-contact rules are not simply a case of criminal punishment facilities attempting to control contraband, nor are they necessarily a result of cruel intent; rather, like most policies under neoliberalism, these policies are also a matter of profit-motive. According to proponents, video visits reduce contraband and expand visiting hours, but they also reduce the need for and cost of staff (Seville, 2015). Additionally, the video calls bring profit to prisons, as they require inmates or "visitors"/callers to pay for the service, sometimes charging up to \$1/minute (Seville, 2015).

My anecdote about Ronnie in the beginning of this section reiterates the humanizing and healing impact touch can bring, whereas being forbidden to touch the inmates at the detention center concretizes denial of their humanity. This division is deeply connected to the construction of sexual deviance projected onto inmates, as discussed above. More specifically, the denial of touch and humanity is a denial of what Judith Butler describes as a "livable life" granted only to those who fit within sexual normality. Butler (2004) explains that to have a livable life means to be intelligible or made sense of in a way that "laws and culture find you [possible]"; this is a necessity denied to many marginalized bodies, which Butler theorizes through gender non-conforming bodies. Similarly, the incarcerated body is rendered illegible upon confinement—prisoners are not only literally stripped of citizenship (the right to vote, for example), but also deemed unworthy of

human touch through what I call the *compounds of projected deviance*. That is, the countless minutiae that develops overtime to articulate the incarcerated body as sexually deviant.

Compounds of Projected Deviance

I use “compounds” for what it tells us about both the discursive and material constructions that predicate the livability of incarcerated people. Compound can mean a combination of any kind, and it can also refer to “a cluster of buildings having a shared purpose, usually inside a fence or wall.” The former, in this case, refers to the ideological messages we receive about incarcerated people through various discursive means. The rhetoric of the hyper-sexual prisoner is a prominent fixture in narrative and journalistic media, and the construction of the criminal as sexually deviant is foundational to the success of mass incarceration. Countless examples reify the (majority brown or Black) prisoner as a sexual menace whose sexuality is more animal than human, and collectively predatory rather than autonomous.

In her thorough research on the history of carceral sexuality, Regina Kunzel (2008) notes “criminality and sexual perversion had long been understood to exist in a tautological relationship, such that attention to one naturally and inevitably invited attention to the other” (p. 7). Kunzel goes on to describe how the early prison functioned as a laboratory for observing and coercing experimentation onto inmates; how sexual identities have been malleable and tenuous in carceral settings; the ways in which the prison has always been understood as a site for sexual perversion and panic-inducing location of homosexual acts; the differences between discourses surrounding sex in men’s versus women’s prisons, and particularly how these discourses are deeply embedded within racialized logics; and how sexual violence inside prisons has or has not been contended with. Kunzel’s work expounds exactly the ways in which the history of the prison has colluded with a history of the social construction of ‘inmate as sexual Other.’ Perhaps most significant to my experience being warned about (the primarily Black and brown) men in prison is Kunzel’s discussion of the racialized construction of prison as a place that is always-already sexually violent. She writes:

While representations of sex in prison have changed in important ways over time, one rhetorical convention has remained strikingly constant, evident from the early nineteenth century and continuing through the early twenty-first. Those who documented sex in prison across this long expanse of time often wrote about the subject as if they were exposing it for the first time... If before [the 1960s] it was difficult to find any substantive discussion of the subject of sexual violence in men’s prisons, after the mid-1970s that subject virtually drowned out discussion of anything else. (p. 152)

Indeed, part of the reason that sexual violence became pervasive in cultural understandings of prison life is because structural factors—(like overcrowding, guard abuse, and other inherent dehumanizing factors that compose the fabric of prison life)—made that so. Prison rapes (both between inmates and guard/prisoner rape) were pervasive, and other forms of sexual violence were and continue to be well-documented. But, as Kunzel and other scholars note, occurrences of sexual (mis)conduct are often attributed to the pathology of the prisoner, are rarely contextualized in systemic conditions of the prison itself, and are always defined as inherently violent. This last move in particular denies sexual agency of the prisoner—(a reality in law, after the Prison Rape Elimination Act; prisoners are not granted an ability to consent)—and forecloses any possibility of healthy, consensual, humanizing intimacy (Kunzel, 2008; Borchert, 2016; Page, 2011).

Jay Borchert (2013) writes about the ways in which rules that forbid consensual sex is an explicit means of discrimination against LGBT prisoners, and further dehumanizes all inmates, regardless of sexual orientation. Sexual acts of all kinds are considered crimes in a carceral setting, a result of laws that have deemed prisoners as “vulnerable” and thus incapable of consent. On this Borchert argues,

The logic here is fuzzy. The notion that prisoners somehow lose their individual decision making capabilities when they enter prison in regard to sexual behavior alone is difficult to support. I assume that prisoners retain their, for lack of a better term, rationality while incarcerated – aside from prisoners with actual diminished capacity of which there are many. I assume also that coercive and consensual sex takes place in prison just as in society. Finally, I assume that

prison officials can use the same tools that are used in society to determine if an act is coercive or consensual and that the failure to use these tools, and the category of vulnerable adult... [allows] them to maintain punitive correctional frameworks. (p. 12)

Borchert goes on to explain that prisoners can even be sent to segregation units for being *perceived* as “potentially dangerous sexual bodies” (p. 10). Here we see how punitive rules about consensual sex are much less about protecting “vulnerable” prisoners, and much more are an extension of power that further denies humanity to incarcerated people. I bring up the historical and contemporary climate of laws surrounding sex in prison to demonstrate the ways in which inmates are always-already sexualized under the law. This is relevant to their treatment while in prison, as well as the treatment they receive at the hands of society after being released from prison. Sexual stigma creates further ostracization and discrimination upon release.

Laws that prevent ex-prisoners from associating with the general population (in housing, jobs, etc.) also contribute to the construction of the incarcerated person as always already sexually deviant. Regina Austin (2004) notes that all of these elements combined result in a deep stigmatization of the incarcerated person. This stigma culminates and intensifies at the intersections of criminality, race, and sexuality. Austin writes that for minority offenders, their race adds to their criminality, as “Black or brown skin...is strongly associated with deviance, particularly sexual depravity, economic irresponsibility, and lawbreaking” (p. 178). Bryan McCann (2012) discusses a similar phenomenon he describes as “the mark of criminality,” or “an intricate web of cultural discourses that teach citizens to fear their criminalized neighbors rather than see them as potential allies for building stronger communities” (p. 369-370). The mark of criminality, and the stigma that co-exists along with it, both demonstrate the ways in which incarcerated bodies are interpellated as dangerous, especially sexually dangerous. Anyone who enters the prison—regardless of the non-sexual nature of their work—will be perceived as encountering a potentially threatening sexual situation.

In addition to the ideological functions that construct caged bodies as sexually deviant, my definition of the compounds of projected deviance also refers to the material and physical structures that work in service of the same mission. My work as a yoga teacher in penitentiary spaces has provided me insight into treatment of “inside” and “outside” bodies, and how the physicality of existing in space is crucial in understanding how deviance is concretized in and upon criminally convicted people.

As soon as my body entered the space of the jail, I became both an object to be surveilled and an instrument with which to surveil. As an “outsider” I was provided an ostensible semblance of humanness, in which my body was being objectified and policed as, supposedly, a way to keep me safe from the non-human inmates. However, this act of ‘protection’ by the State was only a variation of the same sexualization and surveillance applied to the prisoners. By entering the explicitly carceral state, my body became a similarly explicit object of state control. Their actions were to both police me and police the inmates’ imagined (sexual) responses, not to ‘protect’ me. Thus even in the act of apparent protection, my body, once inside the confines of the criminal punishment system (the physical building of the jail), became—even more explicitly than in my “outside” life—an object of State control.

Insider Bodies/Freeworld Bodies

My body’s contingent relationship to space can be understood through what Sara Ahmed (2011) describes as my orientation, or “the point from which the world unfolds: the ‘here’ of the body, and the ‘where’ of its dwelling” (p. 151). Outside the prison system, all bodies experience surveillance/self-surveillance and policing. However, some bodies experience them to a greater and more insidious degree than others. As previously noted, my white skin and the neighborhoods in which I most often dwell decrease the likelihood of police surveillance. As a woman, however, I am surveilled to a greater degree in any space I occupy (e.g., on the street, in the classroom, in workplace meetings, etc.). Black and brown bodies experience increased policing in general, but as Ahmed suggests, bodies in relation to particular spaces produce particular orientations that not only impact the body, but provide the conditions for possibility. She writes,

What comes into view, or what is within our horizon, is not a matter of what we find here or there, or even where we find ourselves, as we move here, or there. What is reachable is deter-

mined precisely by orientations we have already taken. Or we could say that orientations are about the directions we take that put some things and not others in our reach. (p. 152)

Ahmed's discussion of the horizon is useful when thinking about the orientation of bodies within and outside the prison walls.

Within a carceral complex, bodies are literally trapped from particular horizons, from possibilities of "outside." However, as Stephen Dillon (2011) notes, "the free world [is] intimately connected to and constituted by the prison, and...the free world is anything but free; rather, it is an extension of the *unfreedom* central to the mundane operations of the prison" (p. 170). That is, the orientation of particular bodies—(disproportionately bodies of color, poor bodies, queer bodies)—to the "free world" reveals that the point from which the world unfolds for them never gives way to a space of liberation.

Like Dillon and Ahmed, I understand incarcerated bodies' relation to space as something that perpetuates a specific means of racialization and sexualization, and also illustrates the flawed logic of being "inside" or "outside" the prison system. The boys—all Black and brown—I worked with inside the jail are marked, both inside and outside, as sexually predatory. My body, in contrast, is allowed malleability. A body of target in some spaces, a body of provocation and temptation in another. In the space of the jail, I am both predator and prey. All of my interactions and all of the guidelines I've been provided before entering prison and jail spaces have demonstrated this. No human contact, no short clothes, no see-through clothes, no makeup—my visitor body concretizes the inmates' sexual deviance.

Toward a Decarceral Sexual Autonomy

...the body implies mortality, vulnerability, agency: the skin and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others but also to touch and to violence. The body can be the agency and instrument of all these as well, or the site where "doing" and "being done to" become equivocal. Although we struggle for rights over our own bodies, the very bodies for which we struggle are not quite ever only our own. The body has its invariably public dimension; constituted as a social phenomenon in the public sphere, my body is mine is not mine. (Butler, 2004, p. 21).

In the passage above, Butler writes of a body that is both "mine and not mine." Indeed, my experience as a free world body in carceral spaces is an exaggerated but apt example of exactly this truth: under white supremacy and capitalism, bodies are not only not-free, but also contingent, limited, and conditional. As sexual beings, then, different bodies are granted different access to humanizing interaction, whether they are sexual or not. As previously discussed, being forbidden to touch inmates was always already about a presumed sexual deviance—despite the fact that touch in yoga is non-sexual.

Given the confines, the limits of freedom on nearly all bodies, how might we stretch toward a possibility of decarceral sexual autonomy? The first answer is very simple (in that it is clear, not that it is easy): abolish prisons. Incarceration precludes autonomy in any form, and thus any such project of liberatory body autonomy would also require a dismantling of systems that create un-free conditions (prisons, capitalism, white supremacy, to name a few).

With the realization that overthrowing the oppressive foundations from which our society has been built is far-off, and in the interest of enabling mildly more livable conditions for all of those who suffer from the confines of the prison system, I conclude this article with an echo of scholars and activists before me who are fighting for a world that humanizes inmates and former inmates, calling on policy and media makers, correctional boards and staff, activists, and educators. First, as Borchert argues, overturning laws that forbid consensual sex in prison will provide agency and also reduce the additional punishments they suffer when violating these nonsensical prohibitions. Second, creating and promoting media that avoids tired tropes about hyper-sexual and/or dangerously sexual prisoners will contribute to the fabric of a cultural imaginary that envisions inmates as sexually autonomous people, rather than predatory animals. Third, changing the draconian visitation rules, allowing consensual touch, and ending the sexualization of the clothing of visitors (especially

femmes and/or women) can act as material signifiers that prisoners are not animals to be feared.

Finally, those of us invested in sustainable conditions for released inmates looking to resettle in the “freeworld,” we must contend with the ways in which discourses of sexual deviance egregiously linger. Conditions for successful resettlement are not only contingent on factors such as housing and jobs (although those things are very important), but also on a commitment to demanding and asserting the humanness—and thus also non-criminalized sexual autonomy—of formerly incarcerated people.

In one of my visits to the jail, I tried to verbally explain a pose to Deqwan, one of the young inmates. “Put your right shoulder over your hip,” I said. He still wasn’t getting it. “Like this,” I demonstrated, with my own body. Still misaligned. The other boys laughed. Deqwan was frustrated and embarrassed. I looked around the room and through the window where a guard occasionally looked on. No one was around. Quickly I put my hands on his shoulder and adjusted him into the correct posture. He got it. A look of accomplishment washed over his face and he smiled as he started to make sense of his own body in the pose. A mere moment of human touch enabled a significant moment of ease in the body.

“I feel, therefore I can be free,” Audre Lorde writes. She meant feeling in the abstract, (that is to say, to feel an emotion, for example), but I think it applies to feeling the sensory warmth of touch, too. And although true liberation will never exist within a carceral society, the humanization of inmates as bodies --- as people --- worthy of human touch just might bring momentary glimpses of freedom.

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Endnotes

¹The requirements in relation to dress is a largely US phenomenon. It is beyond the scope of this paper to unpack the cultural difference between US and non-US societies (and thus also prisons and jails), but the author is aware that this may seem unusual to some European readers.

²I consulted with a member of the IRB committee at the college where I work who believed this reflection would not require the IRB process. All names used are pseudonyms.

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RESEARCH PAPER

Evaluating the Efficacy of an Attachment-Informed Psychotherapeutic Program for Incarcerated Parents

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Abstract: *An attachment-based, psychotherapeutic parent education course was created for incarcerated mothers and fathers to help improve their ability to provide positive parenting and a more stable home environment for their children. The current study assessed the effects of this parenting curriculum on parents' reported tendencies to be abusive, their sense of efficacy and satisfaction as a parent, their psychological distress, and their knowledge of child development and positive child guidance. Results of pre-post assessments showed a significant improvement in parents' reported sense of efficacy and satisfaction in the parenting role; their knowledge, skills, and behavior as a parent; their understanding of child development; their knowledge of alternatives to using corporal punishment; establishing appropriate parent-child boundaries; and they were less likely to view their child's independence as a threat. Females showed a significant decrease in distress symptoms. Results are discussed in terms of the need for effective, high-quality parent education as an important component of intervention programs that aim to improve the developmental outcome for children of incarcerated parents.*

Keywords: *parent education; children of incarcerated parents; intergenerational transfer of parenting patterns*

The number of children in the U.S. with parents incarcerated in prisons increased by almost 80% between 1991-2007 to more than 1.7 million children (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008; Maruschak, Glaze, & Mumola, 2010). It is estimated that there are millions of additional children affected by parental incarceration in jails (Kemper & Rivara, 1993). Indeed, the Center for Children of Incarcerated Parents estimates that more than 10 million U.S. children have experienced parental incarceration (Johnston, 2012). There is considerable evidence that parental incarceration has a profound, negative impact on children, including increasing their risk at least threefold of becoming involved with the criminal justice system (compared to children whose parents have never been incarcerated) (e.g., Bilchik, Seymour, & Kresher, 2001; Conway & Jones, 2015; Eddy & Reid, 2003; Farrington et al., 2001; Huebner & Gustafson, 2007; Jarvis, Graham, Hamilton, & Tyler, 2004; Johnston, 1995; Lipsey & Derzon, 1998; Murray & Farrington, 2005, 2008; Poehlmann, 2005a, 2005b; Trice & Brewster, 2004; Turney, 2014). In fact, research suggests that parental incarceration may have more deleterious effects on children than either parental divorce or death (Turney, 2014). Children of incarcerated parents are more likely to exhibit emotional and behavioral problems compared to children whose caregivers have never been arrested (Phillips & Dettlaff, 2009). They tend to exhibit both internalizing (e.g., depression, withdrawal) and externalizing (e.g., ADHD, stealing, fighting) behaviors (Dallaire, 2007; Fritsch & Burkhead, 1981; Murray & Farrington, 2008; Myers, Smarsh, Amlund-Hagen, & Kennon, 1999; Raimon, Lee, & Gentry, 2009; Turney, 2014), and are more likely to have poor academic performance due to a number of school-re-



lated problems including disruptive behavior, suspensions from school, and increased truancy (e.g., Murray & Farrington, 2005; Phillips & Harm, 1996; Raimon et al., 2009; Trice & Brewster, 2004). Also, when their parents are arrested, many children behave in even more emotionally and behaviorally disordered ways, especially when their new caregiving situations are unstable (e.g., Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Phillips & Harm, 1997; Poehlmann, 2005a; Dallaire, Loper, Poehlmann & Shear, 2010). The instability of their new caregiving situation is a likely outcome since mothers in prison or jail often have difficult pre-incarceration histories including sexual, physical, and substance abuse, mental illness, medical problems, and homelessness (Glaze & Mauschak, 2008; Mumola & Karberg, 2006).

Factors such as low SES, family instability, low academic achievement, living in a poor/disorganized neighborhood, and engaging with delinquent peers have also been found to contribute to the increased risk of these children eventually becoming involved with the justice system (e.g., Henry, Caspi, Moffitt, & Silva, 1996; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Odgers et al., 2008; see also Simpson, Yahner, & Dugan, 2008). In addition, family factors such as parenting style contribute to the risk of delinquency, antisocial behavior, and conduct problems in children which increase their risk of future involvement with the justice system (e.g., Dallaire, 2007; Moffitt, Poulton, & Caspi, 2013; Myers et al., 1999, Odgers et al., 2008; Poulton, Moffitt, & Silva, 2015): whereas “authoritative” parenting and a secure parent-child attachment relationship (i.e., supportive, warm, responsive parenting characterized by strong parent-child bonds) are negatively related to delinquent and antisocial tendencies in children and adolescents, “authoritarian” parenting and insecure parent-child bonds (i.e., harsh, punitive, insensitive, unresponsive, and rejecting parenting) are linked to delinquent and antisocial behavior, conduct disorder, behavior problems, mental health problems, risky behavior during adolescence, and impulse control problems (e.g., Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Farrington et al., 2001; Gerhardt, 2015; Hoeve, van der Put, & van der Laan, 2012; Juang & Silbereisen, 1999; Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson, & Collins, 2005). These data highlight the relevance of parenting quality in children’s future involvement with the justice system¹.

Children whose *mothers* become incarcerated are at greater risk of living with a caregiver who abuses drugs, has more mental health problems, is poorly educated, engages in domestic violence, frequently changes residences, and lives in poverty (Phillips & Dettlaff, 2009). (The incarceration of mothers is especially disruptive because mothers are usually the primary caregivers prior to their arrest, so their children become placed with another caregiver, e.g., Johnston, 1995; Mackintosh, Myers, & Kennon, 2006). Thus, children of incarcerated women are at high risk for receiving poor parenting prior to incarceration for a number of reasons including poverty (Gabel & Johnston, 1995; Kampfner, 1995), instability in family life that often involves living with multiple caregivers (Johnston, 1995; Phillips & Bloom, 1998; Raimon et al., 2009), domestic violence (Greene et al., 2000), community violence (Smarsh & Myers, 2001), physical and sexual abuse (Green et al., 2000), substance abuse, and criminal behavior (Greene et al., 2000; Johnston, 1992; Murray & Farrington, 2008; Wilson & Howell, 1993).

Children of incarcerated *fathers* are at high risk for growing up in a single mother/ fatherless household as incarcerated fathers tend to have little or no contact with their children after birth, are less likely to marry or cohabit with the child’s mother, and are less likely to contribute substantial economic resources to their child’s household since labor force participation is greatly diminished by having a criminal record (e.g., Western & McLanahan, 2000).

Early Life Histories of Incarcerated Parents

Research studies collectively show that risk factors for incarceration include coming from a background of poverty and ethnic minority status, growing up with dysfunctional parents and poor-quality parenting (e.g., abusive, neglectful, drug and alcohol addicted), early instability (including multiple moves and foster care placement), low educational attainment, mental health problems, substance abuse, and experiencing multiple types of abuse including physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, as well as neglect (e.g., Besemer, van der Geest, Murray, Bijleveld, & Farrington, 2011; Elkins, Iacono, Doyle, & McGue, 1997; Greenfield & Snell, 1999; Piquero, Moffitt, & Wright, 2007; Poulton et al., 2015). Other risk factors include certain personality characteristics such as poor self-control, neurocognitive deficits including hyperactivity problems and learning disabilities (with boys at greater risk for these than girls), child conduct/behavior problems, associating with

delinquent peers, family factors and stresses such as living in a non-intact family/single parent household, parent loss, having a teen parent (Elkins et al., 1997; Henry et al., 1996; Krueger et al., 1994; Messer, Goodman, Rowe, Meltzer, & Maughan, 2006; Murray, Irving, Farrington, Colman, Bloxson, 2010; Trzesniewski et al., 2006; Wright, Caspi, Moffitt, & Silva, 1999) and having a parent with a criminal history² (e.g., Chesney-Lind, 1997; Johnston, 1991; Kates, Gerber, & Casey, 2014; Messer et al., 2006; Mumola, 2000; Myers et al., 1999; Wasserman, 2000; Wilson & Howell, 1993). Studies similarly suggest that the main predictors of incarceration for *males* include the early background experiences of poverty, ethnic minority status, low maternal education/unemployment, dysfunctional parenting (e.g., abusive, neglectful), growing up in a father-absent household, residential instability, early behavioral/conduct problems (including adolescent delinquency), poor academic ability and low educational attainment (including poor literacy and dropping out of high school), unemployment, and drug and alcohol abuse (e.g., Bailey & Hayes, 2006; Drakeford, 2002; Harper & McLanahan, 2004; Ou & Reynolds, 2010; Rogers-Adkinson et al., 2008; Rumbaut, 2005; Satterfield et al., 2007; Sourander et al., 2006; West, Denton, & Germano-Hausken, 2000; Wildeman & Western, 2010). The tragic early life experiences of incarcerated parents and the instability of their current life experiences diminish their ability to provide positive, skilled parenting for their own children: not surprisingly, studies show that children of incarcerated parents are more likely to experience attachment disruptions and disorganized attachments (Dallaire, 2007; Myers et al., 1999). Taken together, these findings suggest that if parents were more competent in their parenting skills, fewer problematic behaviors in children would develop, thereby helping to improve their developmental outcome and also lessen the risk of them becoming justice-involved as they become older (e.g., Heckman, 2010; Patterson, Reid, & Dishon, 1992; Reid, Patterson, & Snyder, 2002; Turner & Peck, 2002).

The Need For (and Benefits of) Parenting Education

Studies suggest a number of benefits of parenting education for incarcerated parents including improving family stability, strengthening family bonds, and teaching positive parenting practices which strengthen parent-child relationships and improve child outcomes (Sandifer, 2008). The data show that children's social competence and attachment security is impacted largely by early parenting experiences; in particular, warm, supportive parenting (Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; Berlin & Cassidy, 2003; Calkins, 2004; Rispoli, McGoey, Kozial, & Schreiber, 2013; Roisman & Fraley, 2008, 2012). In addition, teaching parenting skills and strengthening mother-child relationships for mothers with drug-abuse offenses is reported to reduce recidivism (Palmer, 1996; Rudel & Hayes, 1990). Parenting programs also help incarcerated inmates develop their interpersonal skills (Klein & Bahr, 1996; Wilczak & Markstrom, 1999), which can have a positive impact on partner relationships and family stability. In addition, the data show that involving inmates in educational programs reduces inmates' disciplinary problems (Perez, 1996), reduces recidivism (Gordon & Weldon, 2003), and improves self-esteem and parenting attitudes (Thompson & Harm, 2000). Parenting education can also improve parents' mental health and well-being, including self-efficacy, depression, anxiety, and stress (e.g., Kaminski, Valle, Filene, & Boyle, 2008). Thus, teaching parenting skills to inmates may be one pathway of a broader intervention strategy aimed at helping to improve parental mental health, strengthen family bonds, deter parents' re-offending, and lessen the risk of their children becoming involved in the justice system.

Many correctional institutions offer parenting programs, but most focus on changing parenting skills versus changing parents' *attitude* toward parenting—i.e., using a relational perspective toward parenting (e.g., Arnsbro, 2008). The nature of the parenting program taught is significant, since research supports that strengthening families, especially parent-child attachment (wherein the caregiver provides children with a “secure base”, i.e., responsiveness that keeps the child's “mind in mind”) is a critical factor in facilitating children's psychological well-being, successful peer relationships, emotional self-regulation, empathy for others, and academic endeavors (Cassidy & Shaver, 2016). Further, the quality of the parent-child attachment bond has also linked to delinquency, antisocial disorders, and conduct disorders (e.g., Hovee et al., 2012; Sroufe et al., 2005; D'Andrea, Ford, Stolbach, Spinazzola, & van der Kolk, 2012). Given that children of incarcerated parents are at least three times more likely to become justice-involved (compared to children whose parents have never been incarcerated (e.g., Conway & Jones, 2015), and the knowledge that incarcerated individuals have experienced much family disruption including frequent moves, many foster care placements, and various types of abuse and neglect (Greenfield & Snell, 1999), we created a parenting curriculum that focuses on the

critical, positive impact of early attachment security. This curriculum involves providing positive parenting education to parents in the hope that positive parenting education combined with group support that targets common sources of difficulty and relapse (e.g., substance abuse, challenging interpersonal relationships, addressing the needs of their children in developmentally-appropriate ways) may help to improve these parents' abilities to provide stable and consistent environments for their children.

The child development literature is unambiguous about the importance and positive impact of early attachment security (i.e., positive, warm, caregiving experiences): secure attachment facilitates the development of children's emotional, cognitive, and brain development, as well as academic success (e.g., Sroufe et al., 2005). The research literature supports that if parents can be trained in, and provide, their children with positive parenting approaches, they may be better able to provide a stable home environment for their children which can help facilitate children's well-being and decrease their children's risk of becoming justice-involved.

Purpose of Study

The current study was conducted to assess the impact of a psychotherapeutic, attachment-based parent education course on parents' reported tendencies to be abusive, their sense of efficacy and satisfaction in their parenting role, their psychological distress, and their knowledge of child development and positive guidance strategies. Pre-post data were collected for each participant on these factors. We anticipated that after participating in the course, parents would report fewer abusive propensities, more satisfaction and efficacy in their parenting roles, and greater knowledge of child development and positive guidance strategies.

Method

Participants

Participants included 430³ parents/guardians/other caregivers (54.8% females, 45.2% males; mean age = 30.1 years) who were serving jail sentences at the Glen Helen Rehabilitation Center (one of four jails in San Bernardino County) and who were enrolled in the parenting class from 2010-2016. Most were Hispanic or Caucasian, unmarried, with low educational attainment. Most were unemployed and living at or below the poverty level at the time of incarceration (Table 1).

Over half (58.3%) reported they were unemployed prior to incarceration. One-third (33.6%) had reportedly experienced abuse (verbal, physical, sexual, emotional) as a child by a person **outside the family**, while 44.3% reported they were abused (verbal, physical, sexual, emotional) as a child **by a family member**. Slightly over half (51.1%) had witnessed abuse (verbal or physical) between their parents as a child. Seventy-nine percent of participants stated they have (or had in the past) a problem with alcohol and/or other drug abuse.

Materials

Parenting curriculum. We designed a 48-hour attachment-based, psychotherapeutic parent education course for parents at the Glen Helen Rehabilitation Center, a jail located in the north end of San Bernardino, CA. The course is taught to groups of 10-25 mothers and fathers in 4-week cycles by students in the second year of their master's program in Clinical-Counseling Psychology who are trained by clinical psychologists with extensive clinical experience. The students receive weekly clinical supervision and use curriculum developed by a Ph.D in developmental psychology and a Ph.D. in clinical psychology.

During each 4-week cycle, the class met for three hours per day, four days per week. The course was specifically designed for this population and is informed by research-based information on attachment, child growth and development, effective parenting strategies for children of different ages, creating safe and healthy home environments, parent development (highlighting parental attachment history to help participants understand the intergenerational transmission of trauma and attachment styles), and family unification issues. The centerpiece of the curriculum is the importance of warm, sensitively-attuned, responsive caregiving for the optimal development and well-being of individuals (i.e., attachment security) to strengthen parent-child relationships and thereby improve the developmental outcome of the children of these incarcerated parents (Cassidy & Shaver, 2016; Crittenden, 2008; Juffer, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & vanIJzendoorn, 2008; Perry, 2002; Siegel & Hartzell, 2013; Sunderland, 2006). The curriculum also incorporates the latest research on early brain development which emphasizes the importance of early parental sensitivity (e.g., Cozolino, 2005;

Siegel & Hartzell, 2013). The curriculum is based on research on incarcerated parents in general, as well as the extensive data we have collected on individuals throughout the local county jail system, so the curriculum is sensitive to issues relevant to the incarcerated population we are serving.

Measures. There were four pre-post assessments administered to participants in the parenting classes. Pretest assessments were administered on the first or second day of each class; posttest assessments were administered on the last day of the class. Participants also completed a background information form as a part of their pre-test assessments and an open-ended class evaluation on the last day of the class as a part of their post-test assessments.

Table 1

Background Information on Parenting Class Participants (N=430)

Respondent Characteristic	%
Parenthood status	
Parent	92.7
Stepparent	1.4
Parent-to-be	1.4
Guardian	.7
Not a parent	3.7
Ethnicity	
Hispanic	41.8
Caucasian	35.7
African-American	12.2
Bi-racial	2.6
Native American	.8
Asian	.6
Other	6.4
Marital status	
Single	45.6
Married	18.1
Engaged	15.9
Separated/divorced	11.0
Widowed	1.7
Other	7.6
Education	
Completed a graduate degree	.5
Completed a B.A./B.S. degree	1.5
Completed an A.A./A.S. degree	2.8
Some college	21.0
Vocational/trade school	5.3
Graduated from high school	12.0
Completed a GED	13.5
Hadn't finished high school	43.5
Annual household income before incarceration:	
Less than \$10K	36.0
\$10-25K	21.0
\$25-40K	16.0
\$40-50K	9.0
More than \$50K	15.0

The first pre-post assessment was the revised version of the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI-2) (Bavolek & Keene, 2001), a standardized measure that has been used in many settings including prisons to measure the effectiveness of parent education programs (Harm & Thompson, 1997; Sandifer, 2008). The 40-item instrument has five constructs that describe parent-child skills and attitudes: Parental Expectations (7 items), which examines parents' understanding of child growth and having appropriate expectations of their child; Parental Empathy (10 items), which assesses parents' ability to demonstrate empathy toward children's needs; Corporal Punishment (11 items), which evaluates parents' understanding of alternatives to corporal punishment; Parent-Child Role Reversal (7 items), which taps the parents' attitude toward appropriate parent-child boundaries; and Power/Independence (5 items), which evaluates parents' ability to value their child's independence without seeing it as a threat to their authority. Participants responded to items on a 5-point likert scale (1 = strongly agree; 5= strongly disagree). This instrument can be used to assess parenting attitudes and child rearing practices by assessing the degree to which respondents endorse parenting behaviors and attitudes known to contribute to child abuse and neglect. Conners et al. (2006) report alpha reliability coefficients ranging from .50 (for Oppressing Children's Power and Independence) to .75 (for Lack of Empathy and Value of Corporal Punishment), with a coefficient of .85 for the full scale.

The Parenting Sense of Competence (PSOC) scale (Johnston & Mash, 1989), a 17-item scale, was used to assess parents' sense of efficacy and satisfaction as a parent. Satisfaction is defined as the parent's enjoyment or liking of their role as a parent; Efficacy is defined as the parents' perceived competence in their parenting role (Gilbaud-Wallston & Wanderson, 1978). Participants respond to each item on a 6-point likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 6= strongly agree). Parenting self-efficacy has been associated with parenting competence and children's behavioral outcomes (Jones & Prinz, 2005). Research studies suggest that when parents feel confident in their parenting ability, they are more likely to use effective parenting practices, which yield positive outcomes for their children (e.g., Gilmore & Cuskelly, 2009; Johnson & Mash, 1989; Ohan, Leung, & Johnson, 2000). Johnston and Mash (1989) reported internal consistency of .77 for the Satisfaction dimension and .76 for the Efficacy dimension. Similarly, Ohan, Leung, and Johnston (2000) reported internal consistency for mothers on both the Efficacy and Satisfaction scales as .80 and for fathers, internal consistency of the Efficacy scale was reported as .77 and for the Satisfaction Scale as .80.

The Survey of Parenting Practices (SPP) (Shaklee & Demarest, 2002) was used to assess parents' knowledge, feelings of competency, skills, and behavior. The 12-item scale was originally developed by faculty at the University of Idaho as a part of their assessment protocol for the Parents as Teachers (PAT) parenting program; studies show the scale to be reliable and valid (www.ParentsAsTeachers.org). Participants responded to the items on a likert-type scale (0 =low; 6 =high). For the current study, we assessed parents at the beginning and again at the end of the class (rather than simply assessing parents' pre-class knowledge retrospectively as suggested by the authors of this scale).

The Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18) (Derogatis, 2000) was used to assess general psychological distress. The BSI-18 is an 18-item self-report measure that is a shortened form of the 53-item BSI (Derogatis & Spencer, 1982), originally derived from the SCL-90-R (Derogatis, 1994). The BSI-18 was developed as a screening instrument for the most common psychological disorders, i.e., somatization (SOM), depression (DEP), and anxiety (ANX) (Derogatis, 2000), and yields either subscale scores or a global score of general distress (GSI). Participants respond to each item on a 5 point likert scale (0=not at all; 4=extremely). Internal consistency is reportedly .74 (SOM), .79 (ANX), .84 (ANX), and .89 (GSI) with reliability estimates for all four scores over a six week period between .68-.91. Concurrent validity with the SCL-90 for all four scores is >.90 (Derogatis, 2000).

Finally, participants completed a background information form on the first day of class that requested information about their age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, number/ages of children (including if they had lived with their children pre-incarceration), level of education, employment status before incarceration, drug/alcohol abuse, and childhood experiences (e.g., whether they had experienced abuse and/or witnessed domestic violence).

Data Analysis

For each outcome variable, a 2 X 2 mixed design ANOVA was used to assess the effects of pre-post

testing (a within-subjects factor), gender (a between-subjects factor), and the interaction between pre/post testing and gender. The pre/post tests assess whether, on average, the participants scored significantly different on the posttest relative to the pretest. Thus, the pre/post effect is indicative of the effectiveness of the program, collapsing across both genders. The main effect of gender tests whether males and females scored significantly different from each other, collapsing across pretest/posttest, and the interaction allows testing of whether the average change in scores from pretest to posttest differs depending on the gender of the participant. Thus, a significant interaction effect is indicative that the effectiveness of the program is dependent, or conditional, on the gender of the participant.

A limitation of the current research design is the lack of a control group to compare the program participants to. As such, the effectiveness of the program may be overestimated since the average difference between pretest and posttest scores is compared (and tested) relative to 0 (i.e., no change), as opposed to relative to the average difference in a control group. So, any differences between pretest and posttest scores that would be expected to occur within a control group (possibly due to confounding variables) cannot be factored into the analysis.

Results

Pre-post assessments. The differences for all pre/post tests, when split by gender, were normally distributed. There were a total of 10 outliers ($-3.29 > z > 3.29$) for all criterion variables that were removed during the analysis that used that criterion variable. Further, the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated using the 4:1 rule. For each analysis, cell means, standard deviations, and ANOVA results for the pre/post tests are shown in *Table 2*. Results showed that, with gender collapsed, participants scored significantly higher ($p < .05$) on the posttests than the pretests for all dependent variables except the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI) and the Empathy subscale from the Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (AAPI-2). For the BSI, participants scored significantly lower on the posttest than the pretest ($p = .001$), which was in the expected direction indicating a decrease in psychological distress. For the Empathy subscale, the mean difference was in the expected direction and showed a trend, but it was not statistically significant ($p = .06$).

Thus, adults' reported sense of efficacy and satisfaction as a parent improved (i.e., the PSOC scale), as did their knowledge, skills, and behavior as a parent (i.e., the SPP scale). Class participants also improved their understanding of child development and having appropriate expectations (Parental Expectations subscale), alternatives to using corporal punishment (Corporal Punishment subscale), appropriate parent-child boundaries (Parent-Child Role Reversal subscale), and were better able to value their child's independence instead of viewing it as a threat (Power/Independence subscale). The magnitudes of these effects varied considerably, with the most notable being for the PSOC ($\eta^2 = .30$) and the SPP ($\eta^2 = .25$)⁴. There were also small to medium effect sizes for the Power/Independence subscale ($\eta^2 = .06$), the Corporal Punishment subscale ($\eta^2 = .05$), the BSI ($\eta^2 = .05$), and the Parent-child Role Reversal subscale ($\eta^2 = .03$).

The **interaction** between pre/post testing and gender was statistically significant for the SPP, the PSOC, and the BSI (*Table 3*). For the SPP and the PSOC, although both males and females scored higher on the posttest than the pretest (with the expected inverse for the BSI), the difference between posttest and pretest scores was greater for females than males. For the BSI, this interaction explained an additional 4.37% of variance. Male participants scored roughly the same on the posttest ($M = 1.56$, $SD = 0.61$) as the pretest ($M = 1.58$, $SD = 0.55$), while female participants scored lower on the posttest ($M = 1.56$, $SD = 0.50$) than the pretest ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 0.77$) (indicating a decrease in distress symptoms).

Discussion

The composition of our incarcerated parents is similar to that reported in other studies (e.g., Kjellstrand et al., 2012). Most have histories that include personal alcohol and drug abuse, and most have experienced trauma; they also come from dysfunctional families where their parents used alcohol and drugs and have a history of criminal behavior (Sandifer, 2008). This history strongly suggests that most incarcerated individuals are recipients of poor-quality parenting themselves, and lacked parenting role models (Arnsbro, 2008; Wilson et al., 2010). Thus, they are at high risk for providing dysfunctional parenting for their own children (Codd, 2007), suggesting that the need for high-quality, effective parenting education for those incarcerated may be

an important component of intervention programs designed to help decrease the negative impact of parental incarceration on children, including their future involvement with the justice system. That is, programs that strengthen parent-child relationships and promote positive, responsive parenting may help to improve the mental and physical health outcomes and overall adjustment of children whose parents are incarcerated (e.g., Newman, Fowler, & Cashin, 2011).

Table 2
Cell Means, Standard Deviations, and Pre/post Results

Scale	N ^a	Pretest Mean (SD)	Posttest Mean (SD)	F (df)	p	η ²
Survey of Parenting Practices (SPP)	Male (189)	4.39 (1.21)	4.81 (0.95)			
	Female (97)	4.47 (1.09)	5.11 (0.81)			
	Total (286)	4.42 (1.17)	4.91 (0.91)	93.52 (1, 284)	< .001	.25
Parenting Sense of Competence Scale (PSOC)	Male (175)	4.27 (0.73)	4.57 (0.73)			
	Female (255)	4.33 (0.72)	4.82 (0.62)			
	Total (430)	4.31 (0.73)	4.72 (0.68)	190.94 (1, 428)	< .001	.30
Adult-Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A-API-2)						
(A - Parental Expectations)	Male (149)	2.85 (0.59)	2.94 (0.73)			
	Female (63)	3.00 (0.64)	3.17 (0.63)			
	Total (212)	2.89 (0.61)	3.01 (0.71)	6.82 (1, 210)	.010	.03
(B - Empathy)	Male (147)	3.61 (0.57)	3.70 (0.58)			
	Female (64)	3.94 (0.60)	3.98 (0.55)			
	Total (211)	3.71 (0.59)	3.78 (0.58)	3.44 (1, 209)	.065	.02
(C - Corporal Punishment)	Male (149)	3.63 (0.65)	3.80 (0.68)			
	Female (64)	3.92 (0.58)	4.03 (0.58)			
	Total (213)	3.72 (0.64)	3.87 (0.66)	11.70 (1, 211)	.001	.05
(D - Parent-child Role Reversal)	Male (149)	3.22 (0.68)	3.38 (0.80)			
	Female (64)	3.68 (0.79)	3.77 (0.80)			
	Total (213)	3.36 (0.75)	3.49 (0.82)	7.00 (1, 211)	.009	.03
(E - Power/Independence)	Male (149)	3.64 (0.49)	3.76 (0.55)			
	Female (64)	3.89 (0.59)	4.07 (0.47)			
	Total (213)	3.72 (0.53)	3.85 (0.54)	12.81 (1, 211)	< .001	.06
Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI)	Male (140)	1.58 (0.61)	1.56 (0.61)			
	Female (61)	1.85 (0.77)	1.56 (0.50)			
	Total (201)	1.66 (0.66)	1.56 (0.58)	12.10 (1, 199)	.001	.05

^aSome measures were introduced later in the study (e.g., the BSI), resulting in uneven numbers of participants among the measures.

The results of the pre-post assessments in the current study suggest that our intensive attachment-based, psychotherapeutic parenting class was effective in increasing participants' reported sense of efficacy and sat-

isfaction as a parent, and reduced their symptoms of psychological distress. This is similar to the findings of Loper and Tuerk (2011) and Dowling and Gardner (2005) who found that mothers in their studies who completed a parenting class reported reduced parenting stress and a reduction in symptoms of mental distress. Additional research suggests that high maternal efficacy *beliefs* are associated with effective parenting *behaviors* (Coleman & Karraker, 2000; Raikes & Thompson, 2005). These findings are important since research shows

Table 3

ANOVA Results: Gender and Pre/Post Interaction Effects

Effect	DV	F (df)	p	η^2
Pre/post*Gender	SPP	4.05 (1,284)	.045	.01
	PSOC	12.21 (1,428)	.001	.02
	BSI	9.64 (1,199)	.002	.04
	AAPI-A	0.04 (1,210)	.396	.00
	AAPI-B	0.00 (1,209)	.408	.00
	AAPI-C	0.21 (1,211)	.427	.00
	AAPI-D	1.02 (1,211)	.452	.00
	AAPI-E	0.01 (1,211)	.445	.00

that parental efficacy and satisfaction in parenting are related to child well-being (Coleman & Karraker, 2003). Other researchers also note the importance of increasing parental sense of competence (PSOC) and decreasing mental distress. Knoche, Givens, and Sheridan (2007), for example, noted that high scores on the PSOC seemed to act as a buffer against cognitive deficits in the children they assessed. Further, studies indicate that there is a link between maternal depression and negative child outcomes such as insecure attachment, behavioral problems, and problems with cognitive and motor development (Field et al., 1995; Murray, 1992; Petterson & Albers, 2001). Thus, reducing symptoms of mental distress in mothers may be another important by-product of participating in parenting training programs.

In our study, we found that parental knowledge of child development and child guidance skills increased-- especially for the female inmates -- from taking this parent education class. In addition, the program was found to be effective in decreasing the majority of the behaviors and attitudes found to be associated with child abuse and neglect (Bavolek & Keene, 2001), e.g., having inappropriate expectations of their child, understanding alternatives to corporal punishment, having appropriate parent-child boundaries, and not viewing their child's developing independence as a threat. The lack of statistical significance for the empathy construct may be due to participants being less likely to have received empathy growing up (due to early dysfunctional parenting) and therefore having a more difficult time being able to develop empathy for others since this is a new "construct" for them. These findings are, in part, similar to other research with incarcerated populations, e.g., Harm, Thompson, and Chambers (1998) who also found no statistical changes in pre-post testing among their subjects following a 15-week parenting program. The other findings are consistent with much of the literature on incarcerated parents in showing the effects of parent education. For example, Palusci et al. (2008) found, as we did, that the incarcerated participants in a parenting program they conducted improved their knowledge and attitudes regarding parenting, especially in inappropriate child expectations, and use of corporal punishment. The changes in views of corporal punishment and increase in knowledge of positive child guidance is noteworthy in that harsh and insensitive parenting has consistently been linked to increased risks for behavior problems in children (Campbell, Shaw, & Gilliom, 2000; Shaw et al., 2003) while sensitive, child-centered parenting has been associated with less risk for behavior problems (Calkins et al., 1998).

Gender differences on the pre-post assessments for the SPP, the PSOC, and the BSI (with females but not males showing a significant difference in the expected directions) suggest that the parenting class had a greater "impact" for females than males in increasing their sense of efficacy, feelings of competency and satisfaction as parent, parental knowledge and skills, and decreasing their symptoms of distress. These findings

may be related to the fact that females are more likely to be the primary caregivers of children, and that the parenting role may be a more salient one for females than for males.

The findings of this study as discussed above should be interpreted somewhat cautiously, though, as the use of a pre/post design without a matched control group clouds our ability to definitively conclude that the changes in scores were due to the intervention or to other confounding factors. Further, since the current study did not include pre/post observed parent-child interactions, it is unclear whether the observed change in parents' *reported* attitudes about child guidance and other beliefs translated to actual changes in parent *behavior* toward the child.

Since the research literature supports that one pathway to help improve the developmental outcome of children of incarcerated parents is by intervening with parents early, we see helping these parents early on as critical. This literature demonstrates that an attachment-based parenting program coupled with teaching positive child guidance strategies and child development can improve parent-child relationships and child outcome (e.g., Cassidy & Shaver, 2016; Crittenden, 2008; Juffer et al., 2008; Perry, 2002, 2005; Siegel & Hartzell, 2013; Sroufe et al., 2005; Sunderland, 2006). Poor-quality parenting, especially avoidant and disorganized parent-child attachments, have been linked to a number of the risk factors associated with later criminal behavior, e.g., poor impulse/self-control, negative emotionality, aggression, poor self-esteem, problems in peer relationships, mental health problems, poor academic achievement, conduct/behavior problems including antisocial tendencies, and substance abuse (e.g., Cassidy & Shaver, 2016; Gerhardt, 2015; Guttman-Steinmetz & Crowell, 2006; Heckman, 2010; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Sroufe et al., 2005; Sroufe, Duggal, Weinfeld, & Carlson, 2000). Thus, this attachment-based curriculum is particularly relevant for those who are or have been incarcerated as the intergenerational transfer of dysfunctional attachment patterns, including the inability to develop self-reflection and emotional regulation, are typically at the heart of these individuals' problems (e.g., Arnsbro, 2008; Makariev & Shaver, 2010). Our parenting curriculum is based on this research and has as its goals the enhancement of the quality of the parent-child relationship, strengthening family relationships, and thereby helping to improve the developmental outcome of the children of these incarcerated mothers and fathers.

While improving the quality of parenting for incarcerated parents may be one key point of intervention, it is worth reiterating that a number of factors beyond the direct reach of parenting and parent training programs impact children's risk of eventually becoming justice involved. As reviewed earlier, the research literature, which includes large-scale longitudinal studies such as the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study (e.g., Poulton et al., 2015), has identified other contributing factors that pose significant risks for later involvement with the justice system including personality characteristics, neurodevelopmental deficits, genetic risk factors, poverty, physical health, and other family stressors (e.g., Besemer et al., 2011; Caspi et al., 2002; Elkins et al., 1997; Messer et al., 2006; Poulton, Moffitt, & Silva, 2015; Trzesniewski et al., 2006; Viding, Blair, Moffitt, & Plomin, 2005).

It is worth noting that within this county and throughout most of California, a majority of the parenting programs are behavioral and therefore focus primarily on teaching behavioral skills. Research suggests that outcomes using behavioral training often do not sustain improvement in a way that parents can implement the learned skills, especially during times of high distress--which is when these parenting skills are most needed. That is, the literature has documented that parents without assistance in changing their attitudes toward parenting and developing greater empathy for their children have difficulty being consistent and responding in developmentally-appropriate ways, especially when the parents are emotionally distressed (e.g., Suchman et al., 2004; Suchman, Pajulo, DeCoste, & Mayes, 2006). Behavioral parent training programs may help with the short-term management of a child's behavior, but studies suggest that they do not show improvements in the emotional quality of the parent-child relationship nor do they address the needs that underlie a child's behavior; further, they do not foster improvements in the child's psychological functioning (e.g., Moretti, Holland, Moore, & McKay, 2004; Suchman et al., 2004, 2006). Attachment-based parent training programs may be especially useful with at-risk populations as they address parents' own emotional histories and focus on increasing parents' attunement to their child, improving the emotional quality of the parent-child relationship, and reframing parent-child conflicts-- thereby reducing child behavior problems and improving children's

psychological functioning (e.g., Moretti et al., 2004; Suchman et al., 2004, 2006). One of the benefits of our current parenting program is that *it provides empathy for the parent in terms of how they were parented or raised, which in turn helps them develop empathy for how they are currently raising their own children. In this way, parents are better able to change their attitudes (and hence behaviors) toward parenting (e.g., Sroufe et al., 2005).* For example, parents in many of the groups have said, “Parenting is about the children’s needs, isn’t it? I never realized that before now.”

Following this change in approach and attitude, parents learn specific positive parenting skills and have a greater ability to use them, especially in times of high distress, because the program involves both attitude change and skill development. This is consistent with the views that family relationships are important and that developing family strengths and teaching guidance skills will help families involved in the criminal justice system help their children develop prosocial, thoughtful coping (Tolan & McKay, 1996).

Impact of Parenting Education on Psychological Distress

The finding that the parenting class also resulted in decreased symptoms of psychological distress (i.e., somatization, depression, and anxiety) for the female participants is consistent with other research studies showing that parenting education can improve participants’ mental health and well-being, including self-efficacy, depression, anxiety, and stress (e.g., Loper & Tuerk, 2011). These effects are noteworthy since parental distress is associated with impaired parenting behaviors (e.g., insensitivity, intrusiveness, controllingness, and inconsistent responsiveness), putting children at high risk for developing insensitive attachments as well as internalizing and externalizing behaviors (e.g., Hughes & Baylin, 2012). Our parenting class may have had this effect on the female participants because our clinically-trained parent educators show empathy for them and help them to better understand their own childhoods in terms of how they impact past as well as current behaviors (including partner relationships). In addition, the parent educators empower class participants with child guidance skills, child development knowledge, and assist them in understanding sources of stress and ways to cope with it.

Limitations and Future Research

The results of this study should be interpreted cautiously due to several important limitations of this study’s design.

First, as mentioned earlier, the use of a pre-post design without the benefit of a matched control group limits the ability to draw definitive conclusions as to whether the intervention was responsible for the change in scores and the significance of the effect sizes. Thus, the potential impact of other possible confounding factors on the change in scores cannot be ruled out. Future studies that include a matched control group would help clarify the effectiveness of this intervention.

Second, without the inclusion of actual parent-child interactions in the study design, it is unclear whether the change in scores translates into actual changes in parent *behavior* towards the child. Future studies that include pre/post observational assessments of parent-child dyadic interactions (e.g., parental sensitivity, responsiveness, use of positive child guidance vs. punishment strategies, etc.) would be valuable in assessing the overall effectiveness of the current parent training program.

Third, longitudinal follow-up assessments that include observed parent-child interactions could be utilized to determine whether such attitudinal as well as behavioral changes can be sustained over time—this would also help to evaluate the long-term effectiveness of this parent training intervention. (This was not been possible in the current study because of the inability to track our incarcerated parents post-release.) Further, longitudinal studies that track the developmental outcomes of these children could also address the long-term effectiveness of this program.

Fourth, the effects of this parent training program for parents with histories of substance abuse and family violence are unclear and were not specifically assessed in the current study. Although Harm et al. (1998) found no difference between incarcerated substance abusing women vs. other women in pre/post parenting class measures of self-esteem and the AAPI (utilizing the 15-week Nurturing Parenting Program [Bavolek & Comstock, 1985]), having been personally victimized did impact scores. The researchers concluded that substance abusing women benefited in similar ways from parenting class. Future research could address whether

an *attachment*-based parent training program would be effective for incarcerated parents with substance abuse and/or domestic violence histories.

Finally, future interventions could also consider a reentry program post-release for families that can provide continuity for the family support system, parenting support, social services, screening, and counseling services. It is important that penal systems assist parents in sustaining their attachment bonds with their children and be effective parents post-release.

Conclusions

In conclusion, our curriculum, with its focus on attachment and positive child guidance utilizing a psychotherapeutic approach, may be one important component for the creation of an effective intervention for incarcerated parents and their children. As likely recipients of poor-quality parenting growing up, and being at-risk for providing poor-quality parenting to their own children, incarcerated men and women stand to benefit from parenting education that may help improve the developmental outcomes of their children and lessen the risk that they too may become justice involved.

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Endnotes

- ¹ These are many of the same factors that placed their parents in jail or prison (e.g., Farrington & West, 1990).
- ² Some researchers have questioned the intergenerational transmission of incarceration (e.g., Conway & Jones, 2015; Raimon et al., 2009), and have suggested that parental incarceration per se may not be a causal factor in children of incarcerated parents being at higher risk for becoming justice-involved themselves, but rather it is likely due to the factors mentioned above (e.g., increased risk of mental health problems, more externalizing behaviors, growing up in poor-quality neighborhoods, etc.).
- ³ Some measures (e.g., the Brief Symptom Inventory) were introduced later in the study, resulting in unequal numbers of participants among the measures.
- ⁴ The effect sizes noted here should be viewed cautiously due to the limitations of the participant-only design without a control group.

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RESEARCH PAPER

Masculinities, Attachment Theory and Transformative Learning: A Discussion of Some Theoretical Considerations for Developing an Emotionally Secure Teaching Praxis

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Abstract: *This paper situates education as an integral component of the overall prison rehabilitation process. The article discusses how an educational practitioner's knowledge of attachment theory and masculinities can be utilized to develop a secure methodological teaching environment in the classroom of a prison education unit and create a space where transformative learning can take place. The link between attachment theory and the social and institutional composition of masculinities are considered for their influence on perceptions and concepts of the masculine self and masculine identity in general. The practitioner who is cognizant of these issues has the potential to develop secure methodological frameworks that focus on creating a nurturing learning environment that has the potential to provide students with a space to safely reflect, examine and potentially transform their learning experiences and thus their sense of self.*

Keywords: *prison education; attachment theory; transformative learning; masculinities*

It's a characteristic of human nature that the best qualities, called up quickly in a crisis, are very often the hardest to find in prosperous calm. The contours of all our virtues are shaped by adversity.

(Roberts, 2003, p. 379)

Education has been shown to have a positive effect on inmate behaviour while in prison; it also contributes to a successful re-entry into society and reduced rates of recidivism post-release. Studies have consistently revealed the constructive contribution education has made to the lives of incarcerated men. (Gerber and Fritsch, 1995; Fabelo, 2002, Lochner, & Moretti, 2004; Esperian, 2010; Hughes, 2012; Mastroilli, 2016; Utheim 2017). Education offers a way for men to occupy their time in a positive and productive manner. In adding to this accepted premise, this paper presents a theoretical hypothesis for the development of a teaching praxis that places the emotional learning development of the student at the centre of a fulcrum for transforming the view of self. By introducing these concepts, it is hoped that practitioners will consider ways to develop and incorporate the ideas into their practice. Furthermore, it is anticipated that this will generate further theoretical exploration and practical interdisciplinary research across education in prison services.

Daniel Goleman (2004) argues that emotional intelligence forms the fundamental basis for our learning experiences. In line with Goleman's premise, this paper considers attachment patterns in defining the emotional life histories of these men. Attachment theory has been utilized to frame various prison based research. A study of young males in a German prison examined the correlation between attachment style, interpersonal problems and violent behaviour. Ross and Friedemann (2007) revealed that relationship instability, poor emotional attachment and insecure attachment styles were dominant characteristics among this group. In a US based study, the authors discovered that so called "lifestyle" criminals displayed a strong avoidant attachment pattern (White and Walters, 1991). From a Scandinavian context Hansen, et al (2011) suggests that there is a correlation between types of anti-social behaviour and types of attachment patterns. Based on his finding from studies on young male offenders in UK institutions, Harvey (2007) concludes that those who entered the institution with a secure attachment base were much more capable of adapting to life on the inside, while those



with insecure bases struggled to do so. He suggests that staff within the prisons system can fulfil a care-giving role and provide the necessary support to facilitate the transition. These studies are valuable for what they reveal, but they come from a criminal justice and/or medical perspective.

This paper considers the use of attachment through an educational lens where education is viewed as an integral and composite component of the rehabilitation process. The underlying premise presented here is that education is not just about certification – although this is an important element – but that educational learning is a developmental process involving cognitive, emotional and socio-linguistic dimensions. Through utilising attachment theory, the educator can adopt the role of an emotionally aware educational attachment figure. Acting in this capacity in the classroom, the educator is uniquely positioned to cultivate the emotional learning space and provide an environment where secure attachment patterns can be nurtured and incorporated into the teaching methodology. If the learner is not emotionally secure, cognitive and socio-linguistic learning will be hampered. Consequently, having an understanding and awareness of factors that influence masculine identity, development and behaviour will provide the educator with a framework from which to develop a strategic approach in constructing their teaching methodology. Masculinities are learned behaviours that are being constantly structured and reconstructed on a daily basis (Connell, 2000, 2001, 2002).

Therefore, working as a teacher in a male prison raises issues that are educationally specific to this setting. Practitioners come face to face with men who have transgressed society's rules and are consigned to live out segments of their lives confined behind the walls of a penal institution. A prison education unit is a space fraught with adversity. Within this walled setting, educators and students bring their cumulative life-experience, cognitive understanding and emotional intelligence. Attachment experiences have shaped all our lives. This in turn has affected internalisations of our gender identity, conditioned in the social setting of our communities and by the structural institutions of the state. These experiences serve to shape a persons' thinking and feeling processes. By developing an awareness of these influences, an individual's sense of self can be examined and reframed and perspectives transformed.

This paper argues that there is an interconnectedness between attachment, masculinity and transformative learning, which can be developed as an emotionally aware teaching methodology and utilised in the classroom of the education unit, leading to the development of attachment informed transformative learning experiences for students. Education in prison is considered through the perspective of attachment theory in order to present a hypothesis for how attachment related emotions has the potential to inform the practice of transformative learning methodology and add a component to the practitioners' professional approach to the practice of teaching in this environment. The article outlines the origin and development of attachment theory, considers the processes of transformative learning, and sets these within a framework for understanding the complexities of masculinities in a sociological context. The benefits of engaging with the practical implementation of this knowledge and developing it into an emotionally grounded praxis are then discussed.

Defining Masculinities

Socio-Cultural Masculinities

Definitions of manhood, manliness, maleness and masculinities are contested. These cultural and social characterisations are not without ambiguity nor do they go unchallenged. They are fluid and interchangeable, and conditional through association with distinctive cultural and social interpretations that underpin their meaning. These configurations are socially and culturally defined and have served to shape and are shaped by historical events (Brod and Kaufman, 1994; Connell, 2001, Kimmel, 2005, Reese, 2010). Masculinities are socially and culturally based and are reflected in the structures of governments and state institutions. Taking Gamsci's concept of hegemony as the basis for the construction of an analytical framework, Connell (2001) suggests that masculinities can be understood as negotiated relational male identities, defined within the social and cultural milieu of the power dynamics of hegemonic, complicit, subordinate and marginalized. Hegemonic masculinities are the dominant configurations of male identities that exist within a social setting and are reflective of the ideas and beliefs of those in positions of power or authority in that context. The complicit position benefits from the hegemonic order without challenging the obvious anomalies of injustice and dominance that pertain to it. In this categorisation the marginalisation of others is ignored or overlooked for the benefit of self. Thirdly, subordinate masculinities don't match up to the 'legitimacy' of the hegemonic order

and are subject to social dominance by the former. Words such as wimp, sissy, mama's boy and puff are further reflections of men categorised in this status. An abusive ritual of condescension that aligns the subordinate position with femininity is a prominent. Those in the marginalised position find themselves at the extreme of the hegemonic norm – at the margins of society due to social class or race. These four categories can be taken and utilised to analyse the power relations that exist within groups or subgroups within any social context. The analytical groupings are relational and subject to the practice that pertains to social interaction that involves men's power relations. "These two types of relationship – hegemony, domination/subordination and complicity on the one hand, marginalization/authorization on the other – provide a framework in which we can analyse specific masculinities" (Connell, 2001, p. 81). These analytical categories of hegemonic masculinities and marginalised masculinities are not fixed male types, but compositions of interactions conditioned on systems of relations within social settings. They are both outwardly visible and internally conceptual. As discussed later, this has significant implications when considering the development of attachment patterns in the life-course of men and the application of transformative learning theory for education in prisons, particularly in terms of the perceived subjugation of the incarcerated body.

Hegemonic models and practices of masculinities carry all the public status of power and legitimacy provided that the individual subscribes to its pervasiveness. In terms of gender identity, there is a perception that men must be dominant in and masters of the public sphere (Hearn, 1992). This is a space where masculinities are played out in the public spaces of our streets, institutions, workplaces, media and visible spaces in our societies. There is a crucial element of masculine identity that is concomitant, mutually inclusive, yet mostly contrary to the hegemonic project – the private domain. The private domain of masculinities represents men's relationship with and within the self. This is where the issue of self-awareness takes on an increasingly important function in the quest for male autonomy (Connell, 2002; Aboim, 2010). "If the public world of men is rooted in myth and mystery, then men's private lives can appear deep, dark, almost gothic in their impenetrableness" (Whitehead, 2007, p. 146). Moreover, these public stereotypes of rationalised emotional belief can be deemed to shape perceptions and understanding of emotional behaviour in other people and influence an individual's current and future emotional awareness and health (Timmers, Fischer and Manstead, 2003, Pease, 2012). Moreover, "at the heart of the private domain [is] trust intimacy and emotion" (Whitehead, 2007, p. 168). It is in this private domain that attachment patterns have the potential to be (re)negotiated and determined. As discussed later, addressing this aspect of masculine identity through considered teaching methodologies offers transformative educational opportunities for both teachers and students.

State Masculinities

Gender identity is contextual, based on the social and cultural politics that define any given society in space and time. Viewed through this lens, the education and justice systems have served to shape the lives of incarcerated men and has defined their sense of reality in specific ways. There is a relational framework between the masculine nature of state institutions and the pervasive masculinities associated with them. These institutions represent a complex set of social and cultural values that manifest as symbolic criteria, which transmit aspirational connotations for social and cultural reproduction under which state hegemonic masculinities are negotiated. The state is a hegemonic masculine entity and this is reflected in its institutions, historically constructed on the basis of ideologies, warfare and political principles that were shaped and contextualised by men (Bloom *et al*, 2000, Dudink, *et al*, 2004). Similarly, the state apparatuses that uphold civil order and deliver social administration are reflective of these same historical underpinnings. Internal change has taken place, but the overall structure of the state as an institutional model reflects a masculine hegemonic order in the nature of the values that underpin its origins – it was conceived and crafted by men (MacKinnon, 1989; Connell, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006). State institutions, such as the education and justice systems, form part of this same hegemonic state framework for how the curricula for the former and punishment and rehabilitation policies of the latter are reflective of what Gramsci termed the dominant order. The education system, its administration and daily application reflect the cultural value of those in positions of authority and power. They delineate the terms and content of curriculum and policy and inadvertently contribute to social exclusion. Mayo outlines Gramsci's position as follows:

The agencies, which, in his view, engage in this educational relationship, are the ideological

social institutions, constituting civil society, such as law, education, mass media, religion etc. Gramsci argues that, in Western society, the State is surrounded and propped up by a network of these institutions that are conceived of as ‘a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks’ which makes its presence felt whenever the State ‘trembles’ (Gramsci, 1971, p. 238; Gramsci, 1975, p. 866). As such, social institutions such as schools and other educational establishments are not ‘neutral’ but serve to cement the existing hegemony, therefore being intimately tied to the interests of the most powerful social groups. (Mayo, 2008 p. 420)

These hegemonic institutions reflect the attitudes and outlook of those in positions to influence its makeup. Their perspective and attitude determine the framework and ethos of the relevant institutions and their internal and external cultural influences. They reflect state masculinity in terms of the unpinning cultural and social values and thus create a gendered society (Kimmel, 2016).

Therefore, the education system serves to foster cultural reproduction by promoting class-based values and celebrating the symbolic importance of credentials and status whilst consequently reproducing social inequalities (Giddens, 2009, pp 826 – 881). For example, ‘hidden curriculum’ of formal schooling reflect the economic moral, ethics and ethos of discipline, hierarchy and subservience to the needs of global capitalism—a model built on male theoretical constructs of order, production and economic values (Hewitson, 2001, Harvey, 2005, Hill and Cole, 2004). Educational systems also exert a powerful influence on shaping gender identities (Eden, 2017).

Schools have a gendered division of labour, and a curriculum marked by a history of gender division and patriarchal control of knowledge, Schools are setting for the drawing (and erasing) of gender lines in everyday interaction, for the creation of a hierarchy of masculinities, as well as for the contestation of gender subordination... And what is true for... education is true for other sectors of the state. Seeing gender as a social structure, one of the ways collective social processes are shaped, makes it possible to analyze the state as a gendered institution and inherently a site of gender politics. (Connell, 2003, p. 16)

According to Share et al (2007), the structure of the Irish education system reflects the values of the socially advantaged – a position that maintains this social dominance. Poor attachment to education tends to be a definitive aspect in the experiences of men in prison communities. “The majority of Irish prisoners have never sat a State exam and over half left school before the age of 15” (Irish Penal Reform Trust, <http://www.iprt.ie/prison-facts-2>, 2017). The conventional education system can be seen to have a marginalising effect on this section of the population. Education plays a major role in shaping and directing gender identities (Biddle, 2001; Skelton et al, 2006). The formal education system is also influential in shaping the social and cultural relations that influence the reproduction of masculinities, relative to class and social status (Connell, 2000, p. 106). Negative socio-economic factors and poor role models influence criminality and consequently the prison populations have a disproportionate number of inmates with these life histories (Vacca, 2004, p. 301). It is not surprising to discover that the dominant imposing model of locally defined hegemonic masculinity practices, constructed on fear, intimidation and violence, have an exalted status in marginalised communities. For men from less privileged background these practices of domination offer access to power and status within the local communities (Evans and Wallace, 2008, p. 485). Although the make-up of the hegemonic order is different, the model of dominance remains transposable in social settings. Negative education attainment is a feature of the lived experiences of large majority of prison inmates (Farrington, 2002). Low literacy and numeracy abilities are common among male inmates in Irish prisons and the vast majority have not completed their Junior Certificate. Many of these men have experienced marginalisation from the mainstream education system (Behan, 2010). This has significant implications when considering the development of attachment patterns in the life-course of men and the application of transformative learning theory for education in prisons, particularly in terms of the perceived subjugation of the incarcerated body. I acknowledge there are many other complex issues that contribute to advantages and disadvantages in society that are beyond the scope of this paper. However, the norms and values that underpin the education system appear not to gain traction in the marginalised communities from which these men originate. This has implication for masculine identities

that are formed under these conditions.

Masculinities in Prison

Criminality is acknowledged as an activity predominated by men. “Three major findings from criminological literature on the relationship between gender and crime are that men commit more crimes, men are more violent, and men are more likely to find themselves involved with the criminal justice system” (Cohen and Harvey, 2006, p. 231). A snapshot of the average number of prisoners under sentence in Irish prisons on 30 November 2016 revealed that out of a total 3,077, 95 were female (Irish Prison Service Annual Report, 2016, p. 28). For 30 November 2015 the total number was 3,150 of which 115 were female (Irish Prison Service Annual Report, 2015, p. 24). Although the total average dropped slightly, and the gender gap broadened, the figures reveal an overwhelmingly disproportionately higher number of men in the Irish prison system compared to women. The figures for previous years reveal a similar pattern. (<http://www.irishprisons.ie/index.php/information-centre/publications/annual-reports/>)

As a component of the hegemonic state structure, the penal justice system exercises power and authority over the bodies of those deemed guilty of a range of socially, judicially and politically defined transgressions. Prison has a function in society; it is the nature of that system and the practices that pertain to it that is open for debate. This is why it is important to examine the social systems that present the conditions for the men who end up in incarcerated communities. People who are subjects of prejudice, institutional or personal, intentional or unintentional, experience social marginalisation. The prison population in Ireland is disproportionately comprised of men from marginalised sections of society. Many of their lives have been defined by social deprivation such as health issue, addiction, unemployment and parental imprisonment (Bacik et al, 1998; King, 2002).

Within prison communities the fact that so many men live in such close proximity to each other raises the issue of the male practices and behaviours that pertain within these domains. Social norms and values are relocated from communities and cast into the context of the confined spaces that (re)define prison environment. Within the Irish prison system the majority of those incarcerated are “25 times more likely to come from and return to a seriously deprived area” (IPRT, <http://www.iprt.ie/prison-facts-2>, 2017) pointing to a link between masculinities, crime and social marginalisation. Hegemonic masculinities are both institutional and indigenously based. Within working class areas the hegemonic, complicit, subordinated and marginalised are representative of the locally established hierarchy that pertain to these places, conditioned by collective definitions of that community within the wider social framework (Haywood and Mac’anGhaill, 2003). Given that the majority of incarcerated men are from disadvantaged backgrounds, their socially defined and constructed male identities are transferred into the prisons and redefined within the pressurised communities that exist within the institutions. These identities are further compounded by the hegemonic, hierarchical and authoritarian nature of the prison regime and often manifest themselves in intense and exaggerated representations of masculinities transferred from the outside communities (Jewkes, 2002, pp. 55-7). Just as many have felt rejected and ostracised by the hegemony of contemporary society and its institutions, this sense of marginalisation is further compounded by the structure of the prison regime and peer influences. Sabo et al (2001) outlines how the prison system mirrors the hegemonic power dynamic of society in general, but in a more extreme form. They argue that the prisons system accentuated hegemonic enactments of masculine gender politics within the walls of the institution.

Considering the cultural dynamic that operates within the walled and barred community that corrals groups of men into confined spaces, enacting masculinities is central to the social politics and personal identities that pertain under these conditions. Previous patterns and models of attachment are codified and intensified in this context. The institution of prison can be viewed as a community of masculine performance, from inmates to prison officers. Prison is a place where the use of threats and violence to dominate other males is an everyday norm. In fact it is suggested that masculinities acts as a psychological imprisonment within the physical structure of the penal institutions (Evans and Wallace, 2008). Karp (2010) has argued that male culture within prison communities emphasises hypermasculinity as a reification of maleness and defines men’s interaction as associations rather than friendships. As masculinities are socially defined, paradoxically, prison exacerbates the very characteristics of manhood that lead to crime and little determined attention is given to

interventions that help inmates re-define their masculinities in a positive manner. In this setting, asserting one's masculinity regularly takes on the form of physical aggression. The nature of masculinities in prison is an environmentally and circumstantially based reconstruction of manhood brought about through the power dynamics of social control and resource deficit (Phillips, 2001). These studies reveal that for masculinities within the prison system, serious challenges exist regarding issues of trust, intimacy and emotional development. Therefore, finding a space for engaging in personal reflection is even more important in this setting, if the overriding concern of male identity is focused on self-preservation and masculine performance. For educators, it is essential that we have a constant awareness of the environment that has shaped the lives of the students, as well as the environment they interact with on a daily basis.

The education unit within the prison offers an alternative site for (re) negotiating masculine identities – a different educational paradigm from that of the hegemonic conventional model. The education unit can be a place of nurture within the mainstream masculine prison institution. The teacher working in this environment occupies a unique position of influence, one fraught with difficulties, yet tantalising in potential. However, because of the nature of these issues and the complexities of the prison environment, it is vital to consider the type of methodological approach that can be adopted to address these concerns. The education units offer a space of difference from that of the main prison community, and transitioning the space is difficult. When a student exits the door of the school at the end of the day, he is faced with the hyper-masculinities of the extended prison community. These issues are outside the control of the teachers; notwithstanding, educators need to consider them carefully when employing teaching methodologies in the school space. The following sections discuss how attachment and transformative learning offer scope for the development of an educational approach that is essential in this environment due to their insight and transitional possibilities.

The Basis of a Teaching Methodology: Attachment Theory and Transformative Learning Theory

Attachment Theory

Attachment theory has its origins in the work of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth (Bretherton, 1992). Bowlby's seminal work highlighted the ways in which people's emotional relationships develop in early childhood and have a definitive effect on how a person – through their life-course – engages with experiences that have similar emotional connotations. The individual creates internal working models of relationship types, constructed on the basis of trust, established with the primary caregiver in early childhood. The composite nature of this historical relationship defines how the child develops his/her relational connection to significant people in early life. The ways in which the child's personal security needs are met by the primary caregiver will define the child's expectations and concept of self in subsequent and future relationship situations. Bowlby claimed that these emotional patterns are part of the process of identity development, informing the child's emotional intelligence and influencing their relationship models throughout their life-course (Bowlby, 1969, p. 348; 1973, p. 367; 1979, p. 129; 1988, p. 27; p. 126).

Bowlby found that maternal parenting was about delivering the appropriate responses to the infant's needs. If the parent is unaware of, or not responding or providing inappropriate responses, the evolving relationship creates an insecure attachment pattern in the child and forms the basis for their expectations for subsequent relationship. This leads the child to assimilate new relationships to existing models of attachment, leading "to various misconceived beliefs about the other people, to false expectations about the way they will behave and to inappropriate actions, intended to forestall their expected behaviour" (Bowlby, 1979, p. 142). On the other hand, if children have positive attachment experiences they are more likely to develop a greater sense of personal security, strategies for seeking out help and a more positive view of social relations (Fleming, 2007). This has crucial implications for the development of personal identity. Bowlby observed that a primary attachment figure who responds positively to the child's needs appeared to provide the infant with a prudent foundation for positive emotional development and the basis for constructing a secure sense of personal identity (Bowlby, 1988, p. 11).

Through empirical studies Ainsworth extended Bowlby's framework and identified different categories of attachment (Ainsworth, M. D., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., & Wall, S. 1978). Their laboratory studies, known as the 'The Baltimore Project', identified the 'strange situation' as a means of assessing these categorisations.

The Strange Situation is a 20-minute miniature drama with eight episodes. Mother and infant are introduced to a laboratory playroom, where they are later joined by an unfamiliar woman. While the stranger plays with the baby, the mother leaves briefly and then returns. A second separation ensues during which the baby is completely alone. Finally, the stranger and then the mother return. (Bretherton, 1992, p. 17)

In monitoring the child's emotional responses to the various scenarios, Ainsworth found that some children were avoidant and angry with the mother on her return, while others sought security and comfort. When compared with data collected from the mother child interaction at home, the findings revealed that infants who displayed the former attributes had a more troublesome relationship with the mother at home than those who displayed the latter traits (Bretherton, 1992). From these observations the 'secure base' concept became a significant feature of attachment theory as it provided a means of assessing and categorising the emotional responses of an individual when faced with novel and psychologically challenging circumstances. "In discussing insecure attachment the authors described how physical, social and cognitive development all correlate with children's attachment classification" (Kennedy, 2008, p. 213).

Expanding on this framework, Main and Solomon (1986) identified the category of disorganised attachment (type D). This pattern is characterised by experiences that were frightening in their relationship with their primary caregiver. Children classified in this category are at the extreme end of the maladjustment spectrum and are more likely to display aggressive behaviour in childhood and through to adolescence and adulthood. Carlson (1998) found impairments in their emotional, social and cognitive development, with feelings of 'dissociation' where continuity of consciousness was disrupted and particularly accentuated under stressful conditions.

Attachment behaviour characterises humans from the cradle to the grave and becomes evident when adults are under stress, become ill, afraid or in emergencies. Patterns established in childhood endure into adulthood and tend to structure the way we interact and relate. Attachment style and behaviours persist through life and undergo developmental transformation. Adult attachments are linked to one's own childhood during which internal working models were constructed and in turn influence one's own parenting behaviour and ability to create secure attachments. The intergenerational dimension is important. (Fleming, 2007, p. 85)

For educators, the range of attachment patterns can elucidate the ways in which adult men make meaning and develop masculine identity, based on these historical, emotionally established internal working models of social interactions developed from early childhood (Bowlby, 1969, 1973). For example, when faced with the 'strange situation' of prison, the need for emotional security intensifies (http://www.who.int/mental_health/policy/mh_in_prison.pdf) and the modes and patterns of dealing with the contingent feelings are accentuated. This is because "the model of the attachment figure and the model of the self are likely to [have] develop[ed] so as to be complementary and mutually confirming" (Bowlby, 1973, p. 238). When considered in the context of masculine identity, these internal working models of self have a prevailing influence for how men view their identities as men. This also needs to be considered in the context of the education unit, as historical experiences of school may also hold negative emotional connotations for these men. The important point here is that attachment offers a spectrum for attempting to understand the emotional underpinning of male behaviour and thus allows for the possibilities of creating teaching strategies to address particular situations as they arise, as educators strive to offer rehabilitative and transformation possibilities for students.

Transformative Learning Theory

This section presents an overview of transformative learning theory and considers the ideas of the theorists who have contributed to its framework. The aim is to situate the theoretical approach as a context for understanding and addressing attachment theory through an educational perspective.

Paulo Freire (1970) outlined a model of transformative learning that is centred on the premise of conscientization or consciousness-raising. His approach was designed with a desire to foster, through dialogue and problem posing, a means of addressing social, political, economic and cultural influence that impact peo-

ples' lives. Freire saw language as an oppressive medium, where meaning is imbued by those in positions of authority or control of the particular issue or circumstance to which the language refers. He advocated taking back ownership of the language of authority by redefining meaning through the circumstance in which the group positioned itself, thus leading to social transformation. Freire proposed that this should be done through Praxis, a process of dialectic dialogue and problem posing leading to planned action. In this way, participating parties can illuminate and address the language of the social forces that impact their personal lives by taking ownership of the specific issue or problem and addressing it in a planned and cohesive manner. The process of praxis empowers people with a means of naming and taking ownership of, and defining, "meaning" in the world around them.

Mezirow's (2007) transformative theory of adult learning is concerned with the ways in which adults make sense of their individual life experiences. This psycho-critical perspective argues that adults learn what they seek to learn through a process of transforming their 'frames of reference'. This occurs when people actively challenge their existing knowledge, perception and perspective, and seek to find new information and meaning to revise that knowledge, perception and perspective. These new experiences can bring liberation in thinking as they offer the learner a means of addressing the limitations and misrepresentations of existing frames. 'Frames of reference' are contingent on the construction of meaning in the correlation of our assumptions, perceptions and the creation of experiences. Adults have habits of expectations through which we derive our meaning schemes through three filter codes. These are socio-linguistic, psychological and epistemic. Learning takes place when we either build on our existing frames of reference, acquire new ones or transform the existing models. This happens through engaging in critical discourse, by examining our perspective, listening to the perspective of others and re-evaluating the information. The social nature of the socio-linguistic experiences is seen to shape the sense of reality and thus the sense of self. For the psychological, our basis for understanding is set from a very young age and establishes a subconscious framework for the "reality" of feeling and acting in adulthood. Equally, our particular learning style will have a profound effect on how knowledge is acquired, absorbed and personalised.

Boyd's (1991) psychoanalytical approach to transformative learning sees it as a holistic and intuitive development. By making the unconscious conscious, transformative learning is a process where adults make meaning by seeking to illuminate the experiences of the past and strive to understand how the latent memories associated with them influence our understanding of the present. This is significant when dealing with a personal dilemma, like the loss of a loved one. He sees the ego as one aspect of the process, but the unconscious forces that drive compulsions, obsessions and latent reactions are much more important to illuminate. The individual must develop an awareness of this unconscious process by engaging in a wilful dialogue with their many manifestations. By illuminating and making sense of the unconscious, adults begin to develop a greater awareness of the forces that influence our everyday experiences. Through this active engagement, transformation occurs, leading to a personality change.

Daloz's contribution to transformative learning (1986, 1999) acknowledges the different stages of life development. Adults have different needs and requirements based on their age and life experiences. It's about our ability to recognise, make sense of and understand these stages and develop the new methodologies to deal with them that defines the transformative process. He views learning as a lifelong process that should facilitate the personal development of the individual. Daloz highlights the importance of telling and listening to the personal story in the transformative process. Through the process of dialogue, stories offer support, present challenges and provide a platform for the development of foresight (Merriam, 2007, p. 137-39). Reflecting on lived experiences allows learners to transition to the next developmental stage in their lives. Daloz places greater emphasis on personal change than changing the social structure. It is about consciousness raising for personal awareness (Dirkx, 1998, p. 6).

Through Freire's social transformation and the more personal transformative approaches of Boyd, Daloz and Mezirow, transformative learning is a type of learning that goes further than the attainment of knowledge based on content, memorising formulas or retaining facts and data. It requires adults to develop the confidence to think for themselves, to question the knowledge and assumptions accumulated throughout one's life-course. It required that development of a reflective mind-set that seeks to question all forms of pre-

viously acquired knowledge. Transformative learning requires the concurrent reorganization of both cognitive and emotional representation. Through this process the learner's sense of self is altered and thus the learner is capable of developing new configurations of understanding and blueprints for action (Illeris, 2002, p. 61).

The Role of the Educator

A teaching methodology that incorporates an awareness and understanding of attachment theory offers educators working in prisons a means of forming a more comprehensive and dynamic approach to understanding and actively working with the attachment patterns, masculinities and the different learning style that are encountered in this adult education environment. The teachers' care, sensitivity and awareness of the possible historical underpinnings of the students' emotional life history and previous experience of educational institutions are critical considerations. Negotiating the relationship between teacher and student in this 'strange situation' is fraught with difficulty (Wright, 2004, p. 206, Elliot, 2007), leaving it all the more crucial to develop considered transformative teaching methodologies for the classroom. The key is to link personal experience with the experience of learning.

The thesis outlined here argues that social background, poor attachment experiences, and hegemonic masculinities, institutional and socio-cultural, have negatively impacted the majority of the male prison population. If we accept that this is the case, then for a student who has experienced negative educational attachment, the authority figure of the teacher may potentially represent an unconscious threat to the masculine self. Because attachment experiences are unconsciously reignited in adulthood, it is incumbent on the educator to engage with students in a manner that seeks to avoid the recreation of this historical dynamic. The contribution of the student must be prized and valued. "The most important single factor influencing learning is what the learner already knows" (Ausubel, 1968). The learner's life experience, presence in the room, and his involvement in class is a prized asset contributing to a transformative learning environment. The following section discusses how this transformative learning environment might be created.

Mind-mindedness, Attachment and Transformative Learning

Mein, et al (2002, p. 1717) identified mind-mindedness as a practice that focuses on the thinking and feeling processes of children. To provide a secure attachment base from which confident adult learning can take place, mind-mindedness can be utilised by the educational practitioner to create an emotionally secure learning environment for the adult students that attend their classes. To achieve this, both teacher and student must transform their mode of thinking and feeling by developing a greater understanding of the emotional process that is at play in all learning. This is where recognising the association between transformative learning, attachment and masculinities is critical, as personal attachment patterns inform the ability to engage with the transformative learning processes and by implication, students' inherent male identities. Adults who adopt an attachment style of parenting are constantly centring their attention on attempting to understand the correlation between emotional expression and cognitive development (Sears, W and Sears, M, 2001). Equally, "the tutor who is capable of understanding both the feelings and thinking processes of the [adult] learner will have the developmental dividend of a secure environment for learning and development" (Fleming, p. 9). Creating and developing this secure environment is the foundation of and basis for creating the conditions for transformative learning to take place. Once emotional security is placed at the centre of the teaching agenda, for both practitioners and students, educators can begin to incorporate the tenets of attachment by paying attention to the emotional needs of students, creating a safe environment for its appropriate expression, and guiding them to trust in their own abilities to take ownership of their learning. In adopting this approach, the practitioner can guide students towards transforming many aspects of their learning, but most importantly, the belief, confidence and pride in their abilities to learn.

Unlike the psychoanalytical tradition of Freud, attachment deals with an individual's real experience as opposed to the perceived experiences of the latter (Kennedy, p. 214). New experiences have the capacity to realign the 'frames of reference' for functioning working models of attachment for the adult. Based on a number of existing studies dealing with the nature of attachment and its pattern over the lifespan, evidence is beginning to accumulate to suggest that the internal working models and the classification of attachment can be influenced and altered during an individual's lifespan (Fonagy et al., 1996; Main and Hesse, 1990; Sroufe et al., 2005). Developing a teaching framework that utilises the interconnectedness of masculinities, attach-

ment and transformative learning have the potential to offer practitioners a means of employing sensitivity, awareness and working practices that establishes teaching methodologies within carefully considered professional boundaries. Through consciousness raising and dialogue, students can be guided towards renaming and establishing psychological ownership of the learning space. It then becomes their classroom and the teacher becomes the facilitator. Such a methodological framework has the potential to present students and teachers with a secure base from which to explore new forms of learning (Gore, Jonathan S. and Rogers, Mary Jill, 2010). Under these conditions, the responsibility of the educator is to establish professional teaching practices that ground the teacher in the role of primary attachment figure, thereby providing students with the secure base, and the necessary means of attaining new perspectives of the self. Working with this knowledge means that the practitioner must also be cognisant of their own attachment pattern and its influence on their educational experiences and gender identities. This too requires a shift in consciousness as ownership of the learning space is negotiated. This can present difficult situations for the teacher, for we unconsciously draw on lifelong constructed emotional responses when dealing with 'strange situations'. By being attentive to the processes of attachment, educators can develop a greater awareness of their own reactions when faced with emotionally challenging situations. This has the potential to contribute to better management of these encounters on both a personal and professional level. Emotionally aware educators are better placed to respond in an appropriate manner to the students' needs. (Brookfield, p. 24). Therefore, mind-mindedness is central to our function as educators and rehabilitators. Understanding these male students' concept of their identity as men is inextricably linked to this. Their masculinities are the manifestations of the quest for the self. These male adult learners have established an image of identity through their life course. How they view the world and their place within it is contingent on their level of engagement with that experience on an intellectual, social and emotional level. This is why encouraging students to view these issues from a different perspective is so crucial. They must be reassured that in a learning environment it is okay to express doubt, ask questions, admit that you don't know the answers, express vulnerability and ask for help. Adult learners have the opportunity to acknowledge and reflect on their past experiences and begin to carve a new dynamic for themselves. This type of engagement with education has the potential to help these students challenge the structure of this embedded social conditioning, whilst implicitly challenging the internal working models of the self; in fact, both are mutually inclusive (Byliss, 2003).

Adopting attachment awareness as a methodological basis for transformative learning offers the opportunity for learners to (re)develop autonomy and a masculine identity other than that of prisoner. Practitioners' awareness and attention on attachment, delivered through a transformative learning framework, presents adult students with the possibility of exploring and changing perceptions of self-esteem and personal confidence, thus changing their perception of the masculine self. Drawing on the work of neurobiological studies that link the retention of brain plasticity and an increase in brain function through positive relationship building in psychotherapy, Kennedy argues that "Siegel's descriptions justify the claim that school personnel can play key roles in students' brain development – specifically in the rehabilitation of insecure attachment models. Student-teacher relationships could stimulate the growth of the integrated fibres of the brain and thus provide the underlying mechanisms for transforming an insecure to a secure mental model of attachment" (Kennedy, 2008, p. 215). Taking this awareness into account, educators working in prison are ideally placed to provide the sense of respect and empathy that acknowledges the historical influence and personal mind-set of the students. This is key in providing the transformative learning platform for the practice of critical reflection.

Mind-Mindedness and Critical Reflection

Critical reflection is an indispensable feature of the learning process. (Dewey, 2012, Ash, S.L., & Clayton, P. H. (2009) Educators in prison must strive to encourage students to engage in critical reflection and develop new pathways and/or patterns of learning in their lives. It is important to develop these aptitudes in order to help students cultivate self-confidence in their abilities and reflect on life experiences. Teaching methodologies and practices must endeavour to provide these new pathways for students. Creating the classroom environment where participants feel emotionally secure is a delicate and skilful balancing act. As previously discussed, the historical attachment experience of a student attending an education class in prison can have a major influence on their emotional intelligence (Hamarta, Deniz, & Saltali, 2009). This includes their experience of attachment as a child in the home, in school, in their respective communities. Consequently, their abil-

ity to engage with and reframe previous acquired knowledge will be influenced by these experiences. Viewed through a gendered lens, they are men seeking to define themselves as men. Hayslett-McCall and Bernard (2002) have examined the link between attachment, masculinities and male crime rates. Their study revealed that there is a correlation between disrupted attachments in boys that leads to negative outcomes for men. They attributed what they termed low self-control as a longitudinal outcome of negative attachment in childhood resulting from poor parenting techniques. Their conclusion highlights that poor attachment has consequences of masculine development. This is not to say that inappropriate behaviours associated with masculinities should be tolerated or accepted, or that poor attachment alone leads to negative masculine development. But an awareness of the emotional impact, as manifested in negative masculine behaviour, should be considered in the context of the profile of the male student in the education prison environment. Notwithstanding, the nature of the educators' work in prison is to engage with students in terms of rehabilitation, including rehabilitation of their thinking and feeling processes. In the transformative framework of Daloz, encouraging students to practice critical reflection by linking their personal life histories with their studies provides a platform to invite participants to challenge their existing frames of reference (Costello and Warner, 2003, Behan, 2007). To effectively engage with transformative learning methodology, the educator must be cognisant of possible factors that have influenced their students' life history. Guiding students through an educationally appropriate exploration of their past should form part of the practice for building students' confidence in their ability to take responsibility for their own learning (Brookfield, 2006).

Through encouraging students to practice critical reflection in this manner, educators can employ a twofold approach to the promotion of the students' learning strategies. Firstly, there is the academic subject itself and the importance of teaching and conveying the content to participants. Secondly, there is the issue of how students learn - their established patterns of learning and/or dominant learning styles (Gardner, 2006). Drawing learners' awareness to this latter issue is as of equal importance as the academic subject itself and I go so far as to suggest, more important. Focusing on the 'how' of learning presents a space to reflect critically on these issues (Novak & Gowin, 1984). Furthermore, educators need to work on creating a platform where learners can safely experience the emotions that emerge in this space as they are guided to re-define meaning and make the unconscious conscious in their lives (Dirkx, 2008).

Nurturing students' ability to effectively engage in the learning process instils confidence to advance their own methodology of knowledge acquisition and allows them to explore the many facets that underpin the experience of learning— it encourages them to take ownership of the learning process (McKinney & Cotroneo, 2011). Taking "ownership" of knowledge acquisition is shown to result in higher grades and lower levels of anxiety. It also reduces the likelihood of dropping out of learning programmes (Gore and Rogers, 2010). However, a greater outcome is the emergence of personal satisfaction and confidence building derived through personal autonomy.

However, critically reflective learning must be approached in a cautious manner. This type of exploratory learning involves a degree of emotional disorientation as it requires students to question pre-held assumption about previous learning and thus their sense of self (Belzer, 2004). This is where teachers' awareness of attachment offers psychological insight that enables educators to negotiate the student teacher relationship in an emotionally aware manner. Because this reflective process is emotionally unsettling, it requires the educator's attentiveness to mind-mindedness. For example, students' "resistance" to learning may be a form of defence - a means of protecting emotional vulnerability in relation to that sense of self – fear of failure, fear of being judged, unconscious historical reaction to the teacher, inherently developed through their established attachment patterns. "Learning resistance is mainly related to the interaction dimension and includes learning which is unwanted or contrary to the learner's values, preferences, understandings, etc" (Illeris, 2015). Educators are in the unique position to provide secure attachment in this learning setting, we must be constantly mindful of the thinking and feeling processes at play. For a large number of these male students, disorientation experienced in a learning situation has the potential to affect their often fragile, emotionally internalised perceptions of their male identities. It needs to be treated and handled with great care and sensitivity. Viewed through this lens, the educator is an educational attachment figure, nurturing an environment that encourages students to take ownership of their learning. In order to do this, educators must be securely fixed within the boundaries of a praxis framework (Freire, 1996).

Moreover, a working knowledge of attachment theory affords practitioners a means of gaining insight into possible emotional blocks to learning. “The emotional (or psychodynamic) dimension is the dimension [of learning] encompassing mental energy, feelings and motivations. Its ultimate function is to secure the mental balance of the learner and thereby it simultaneously develops a personal sensitivity” (Illeris, 2003, p. 50). Therefore, encouraging students to take action to overcome these negative patterns can begin through positive focus on learning strategies in the classroom, with a teacher consciously aware of the significance of learners’ attachment patterns. As a method for addressing this, students could be encouraged to draw attention to the educational attachment patterns in their lives and guided in exploring how this has impacted and shaped who they are as humans, their thought processes, morals and values. By using a learning journal, literate students can be encouraged to write about their experience of learning. In this way, students can begin to take personal responsibility for the reflective process (Stevens, D. & Cooper, J., 2009).

As discussed earlier, emotional insight is a central element of effective learning and this must form a core component of the practitioners’ methodology. This is why knowledge and working practice of attachment sharpens the practitioner’s understanding of the emotional learning in any given classroom situation. This insight can help the practitioner promote students’ self-confidence through exploring past experiences to develop greater awareness of their personal abilities and instil confidence in learning ‘how to learn’. Encouraging the use of a learning journal is a tool that can help male prison students examine their learning and re-define new patterns in their lives. It has the potential to provide the platform for the development of new recourses for their masculine expression. This can help these men break the negative cycle of attachment in term of their masculinity and their ability to transform their lives (Karp, p. 68). By keeping a learning journal, students can engage in this reflective process by taking personal responsibility for their emotional development and learning. Encouraging ‘personal responsibility’ is crucial to increasing students’ capacity to transform their ‘frames of reference’. Trust is critical and creating the right environment is essential (Eaggleston and Gehring, 2000). This is particularly applicable to education in the prison setting because we must remember the person behind the number (Hall and Killacky, 2008). Within the constraints and the environmental circumstances that prison masculinities are defined, and the historical baggage that these students carry, it is all the more crucial for the educator to instil a sense of confidence in the learner to develop their potential and to view their world through different perspectives. The learner must become confident in their abilities to not alone complete learning tasks, but to actually engage with the process and overcome their previous negative experiences around learning. This building of trust and security can help students work on and map out new directions in their lives.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the utilisation of attachment theory as a central tenet of an emotionally informed transformative teaching methodology in a correctional education setting. This has been discussed in relation to transformative learning and the masculinities that relate to this environment. The paper illuminated aspects to the psychological nature of adult education practices pertaining to this context. Attachment theory was discussed as a method for broadening our understanding of the ways in which internal frameworks, constructed to provide emotional security in childhood, remain an unconscious basis for the processing of adult emotional responses. In effect, childhood experiences influence the unconscious adult sense of the masculine self. The social and cultural context of masculinities were discussed to obtain an overview of hegemony as a shaping force for internalising the social dynamic of masculine practices. Masculinities are also seen to be reflected in the structures of state institutions and serve to reinforce the oppressive nature of social expectations and emotional illiteracy that permeates the essence of the learning experience – where learning is understood as a process of spiritual and emotional development, not just the reasoned and rational acquisition of knowledge. Prison masculinities serve to reinforce this cultural dynamic of dominance and subordination, leading to an even more restricted space for the positive exploration of the emotional self. The physical and emotional restrictions that are implicit with incarceration tend to reinforce the enactment of masculine practices.

In utilising attachment theory as a methodological foundation for praxis, the teachers’ role is one of primary educational caregiver, utilising ‘mind-mindedness’ as a means of facilitating the exploration and emergence of these ideas within a secure learning environment. Transformative learning was considered in the context of rehabilitation, as a focus for critical reflection of the emotional masculine self, while being

cognisant of the resistance that this critique entails. Ultimately, the educator is charged with facilitating a secure learning environment where the emotional developmental life histories of the students are given primary importance in the methodological approach of the practitioner. The life histories are the greatest asset and source of knowledge in the classroom and must be utilised in order for effective transformative learning to take place. By embracing a methodology that places the emotional dimension of learning at its core, education in prison can ground itself in the fundamental human learning condition that shapes all our lived experiences and provide the fulcrum for effectively addressing the learning needs of the students that attend prison schools. Educators in prison must endeavour to provide students with a sense of empowerment and self-belief. Developing teaching methodologies that reflect and offer insight into how these men have emotionally constructed and contextualised their status in the world is essential. This requires the educator to be aware of the nature of attachment theory and its emphasis on emotional security, and particularly, how it engages the unconscious presence of the emotional needs of the young child that exist in adulthood within all of us.

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