

Is education a necessary/sufficient condition for being crime-free?

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Abstract

Education is not an absolute protector from offending and lack of education is not an absolute guarantee of offending either. The current study is part of a bigger research project at the University of Queensland investigating factors that are assisting ex-inmates to live crime-free. This study in particular investigated whether prison education is a necessary/sufficient condition for being crime-free and whether low levels of education and/or educational deficiencies are related to criminal behavior. Six male adult ex-inmates living crime-free in Queensland took part in this study and participated in a face-to-face interview. A holistic assessment was conducted and participants were asked how much and in what way education was assisting them to live crime-free. The results showed that all ex-inmates had low levels of education and education per se was not a contributing factor toward them living crime-free. Overall, it was found that education prior to, during or post incarceration was independent of ex-inmates' criminal behavior, indicating that low levels of education and/or educational deficiencies alone were not directly related to their prior criminal behavior. This paper will conclude by suggesting a hypothetical model to precisely investigate how educational levels and/or educational deficiencies are likely to affect ex-inmates in the community.

Introduction

Although people with low levels of education are more likely than people with high levels education to offend (Newman, Lewis & Beverstock, 1993; Tewksbury, 1994), most of those with low levels of education do not offend and some with high levels of education offend. Perhaps then, it is quite possible to suggest that a reasonable (basic prison education) level of education alone is neither a necessary (people with low levels of education live crime-free) nor a sufficient (people with high levels of education commit crime) condition for ex-inmates to live crime-free. If education is not an absolute protector from offending and lack of education is not an absolute guarantee of offending, then it raises the question of whether low levels of education and/or educational deficiencies related to criminal behaviours? It further raises the question as to the purpose of prison education in terms of how they aim to assist inmates while incarcerated and more so upon their release into the community (Harer, 1995; Hudson River Center for Program Development, 1995; Newman et al.; Tewksbury).

Perhaps the most effective way to investigate the relationship between education and living crime-free is to study and report on the educational history of ex-inmates living crime-free. The current paper will begin by reviewing general information on the educational levels of inmates around the world and more specifically will inquire into the educational levels of inmates in Australia and more so in Queensland and will report on how the Department of Corrective Services (DCS) in Queensland provides education for inmates. The paper will then present a brief review on prison education and will discredit two basic assumptions within prison education: that prison education somehow translates into post-prison employment and that lack of education and/or educational deficiency as a significant factor alone increases the likelihood of criminal behaviour. Finally, the paper will propose a model to accurately investigate the role of education in post-prison life.

Illiteracy is a common trait among offenders within any correctional system and studies show that the majority of inmates around the world have low levels of school education (Correctional Service Canada, 1991b, 1991d; Harer, 1995; Hudson River Center for Program Development, 1995; Newman et al., 1993; Tewksbury, 1994). For example, the United States Bureau of Prisons in 1979 estimated that 50% of adult inmates could not read and write, where at least 90% did not complete high school, and many had less than a grade 8 level of education (Harer, 1995; Newman et al.; Tewksbury; Tewksbury & Vito, 1994). Also, a more contemporary review of prison education programs and educational levels of inmates found that a significant number of young inmates had learning disabilities and below-average cognitive abilities (Hudson River Center for Program Development). Furthermore, the educational levels of inmates found in 1979 in the US are still very similar to the more recent results found in England, Wales and Canada, where almost half of adult inmates have a grade 6 level of reading and writing abilities/skills (Correctional Service Canada, 1991d; Harer, 1995; Gwynn et al., 1997; Newman et al.; Ryan, 1991; Stevens, 2000; Taylor & McAtee, 2003; Tewksbury & Vito).

Although similar statistics may apply in Australia and in the Queensland, this information is currently not available in the public domain (Correctional Service Canada, 1991b; DCS, 2002, 2003). However, one small Australian study posted on Corrections Canada, found that even though most inmates had attended secondary school (n=80), only one third had completed a School Certificate and only 23% had completed a High School Certificate (Correctional Service Canada, 1991b). More specifically in Queensland, even though eight graduating Engineering students from Wolston Correctional Facility reported a great sense of achievement (Queensland Department of Corrective Services, 2004), there is little or no information on how such accomplishments are assisting them in prison and more so how they are likely to assist them in post-prison life. Apart from the above information, there are no documented or published reports on the overall benefit of prison education programs or the educational levels of inmates or ex-inmates in Queensland. Other specific questions that need to be

asked of Australian and more so of Queensland inmates are: what are the educational levels of inmates in general; what kinds of educational deficiencies do these inmates have; what are the immediate benefits of education while incarcerated; how does participation in, or completion of prison education programs contribute toward ex-inmates living crime-free; and where do the educational levels of ex-inmates stand relative to the national and international standards and censuses?

Prison education programs in Queensland

Generally, due to the low levels of educational attainments of inmates and the belief that this affects ex-inmate chances of gaining employment, accommodation, accessing various community support networks and recidivism, prison education programs are delivered within various correctional facilities (Adams et al., 1994; Gwynn et al., 1997; Harer, 1995; Hudson River Center for Program Development, 1995; Newman et al., 1993; Smith & Silverman, 1994; Tewksbury, 1994; Tewksbury & Vito, 1994). The following are some of the prison education programs delivered within Queensland. The DCS allocates 100,000 annual curriculum hours for literacy education programs, with approximately 1300 inmates participating in literacy education programs within Queensland Correctional Facilities (DCS, 2002). Most education programs are tendered to private providers, who run various literacy and numeracy, work literacy and computer literacy programs. Literacy and numeracy programs are made available for inmates so that they can either start or complete their formal education while incarcerated (DCS). Many of the Correctional Facilities also make provisions for external studies through distance education, which allows inmates to enrol in programs such as Junior or Senior certificates, the Tertiary Preparatory Program (TPP), TAFE courses and University approved courses. Apart from the above information, there is no other information available on the content or the delivery of prison education programs in Queensland. Basic prison education can facilitate and potentially increase the likelihood of post-prison employment but prison education by itself may not necessarily lead to, or is directly related to post-prison employment or reduced recidivism.

Reviewing prison education in terms of psychological gains, reduced recidivism and post-prison employment

In terms of positive psychological gains, Adams et al. (1994), who reviewed the Windham Prison Education Service in Texas, found that participation in prison education programs does reduce the likelihood of disciplinary problems while incarcerated and that prison education was found to be most effective on positive behavioural outcomes for the most educationally disadvantaged inmates. Also, a large study in Canada by Porporino and Robinson (1992) on the role of prison education for 1,736 inmates, found that through participation in prison education programs, inmates reported a change in their behaviour such that they had better self-control, better family relationships

and an increased sense of self-mastery and self-esteem. A study by Parker (1990) on educational accomplishment of 301 inmates found that education accomplishments were positively related to inmates' increased self-esteem and social competence. That is inmates were very likely to gain a sense of positive self-image and self-value and were able to build their self-esteem simply by being engaged in educational pursuits. But it is not clear how big of increase this was relative to the initial levels of self-esteem and social competence of inmates. However, despite these immediate positive benefits, the question of to what extent and in what way increased self-esteem affects both prison and post-prison behaviours and environments over long periods of time has not been addressed by the above mentioned studies.

Contrary to Parker (1990) and Porporino and Robinson (1992), Smith and Silverman (1994) found no difference in self-esteem for participants (n=60) of prison education programs, such that pre-and post-tests results did not show any significant difference in participants' self-esteem. Smith and Silverman note that one must not only study the short-term and immediate benefits, but should more critically examine long-term outcomes and overall benefits of prison education for post-prison. Further, these findings of Smith and Silverman may also be indicating that certain benefits cannot be generalized to all participants, as some may benefit more than others and perhaps more critical measures are required to assess individual personal benefits. Moreover, Smith and Silverman also note that inmates, as adult learners in a jail setting, may have different expectations about the benefits and outcomes of education in relation to learners who may be younger or even outside of prison, and thus consideration must be given to how benefits are measured for inmates. Further, it is important to critically examine whether positive skills and psychological gains are due to prison education alone, or whether they are being mistaken for changes brought upon by a hidden curriculum in educational programs (e.g. arrive on time, discipline). This is because inmates are also likely to indirectly benefit from prison education as they begin to learn various life skills such as how to arrive on time, work towards a deadline, complete work as per criteria, have work/study discipline and accept constructive criticisms. Further, participation in prison education may not benefit all inmates to live crim-free and that receiving education during incarceration may help some more than others (Adams et al.; Correctional Service Canada, 1991c; Harer & Klein-Saffran, 1996).

It is also posited by Steurer et al. (2001) and Porporino and Robinson (1992) that prison education leads to reduced recidivism. In terms of reduced recidivism, some studies indicate that they have not found a positive or direct relationship between participation and completion of prison education and reduced recidivism (Harer & Klein-Saffran, 1996; Schumacker et al., 1990; Vito & Tewksbury, 1999). Ryan (1991) also notes that even though prison education may lead to considerable improvement in learning it does not always lead to post-release employment or reduced recidivism. In contrast, others would argue that they have found a direct and positive relationship between participation in

education/literacy programs and finding post-prison employment, participation in post-prison training and reduced recidivism (Adams et al., 1994; Correctional Service Canada, 1991c; Gwynn et al., 1997; Harer, 1995; Porporino & Robinson; Taylor & McAtee, 2003). A recent comprehensive study in USA by Steurer et al. (2001) on the role of prison education on 3,200 inmates from three different regions, found that participants of prison education programs showed lower rates of recidivism (re-arrest, re-conviction and re-incarceration), than non-participants.

The results of Steurer et al. (2001) are similar to the study mentioned earlier by Porporino and Robinson who reviewed Adult Basic Education (ABE) program and found that recidivism was significantly lower for ABE participants (30.1%) compared to those who were released before completion (35.5%) and also in comparison to those who withdrew from the program (41.6%). However, caution must be taken in interpreting these results because recidivism is not measured over long periods of time (i.e. 5 to 10 years) and is generally defined in limited terms (e.g. re-arrest). Further, the real issue is a 'chicken & egg' one, i.e. did inmates do well because of the program or because the sorts of individuals who would do the programs are the sorts who would do well anyways? There is a potential self-selection bias, for inmates who complete or don't complete an ABE program differ in another way than just having done or not done the program. They also differ in the personal attributes which would lead them to choose to complete or not complete the program. Thus, post-prison differences may be due to these personal differences rather than the program or a combination of both.

In terms of post-prison employment Porporino and Robinson (1992) found that inmates who participated in the ABE program had full-time employment within the first month of their release and participants reported that skills gained in the ABE program assisted them in their job search and about half of them reported that the ABE skills were still "very useful" in post prison life. Even though Porporino and Robinson found that the ABE program assisted both high-risk and low-risk inmates, it is not very clear whether these results are simply due to inmates completing a prison education program as part of the ABE or whether they are due to inmates' attributes and post-prison support. For, ABE is a well structured standardized program that provides high-quality education and is noted to be a part of a much broader programming, where it incorporates living skills programs and focuses on inmates' personal development, as it strategically targets particular cognitive, attitudinal and interpersonal problems of inmates (Porporino & Robinson).

Even though it is argued that the key in attaining post-prison employment or being employed for ex-inmates is literacy (Batchelder & Pippert, 2002), prison education does not automatically translate to post-prison employment and such views should be challenged and critiqued (Adams et al., 1994; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Steurer et al., 2001). The findings of Porporino and Robinson (1992) are in direct contrast to that of Steurer et al. (2001) who found that non-participants of prison education programs showed higher rate of employment (81%) than

participants (77%) of prison education programs. Close attention must be given to these findings for this is an extensive study conducted across three states in USA with a large sample size and even though it is argued that this difference is not statistically significant, these findings demonstrate that post-prison employment may not be subject to or related to increased levels of knowledge or education. Further, these results are also useful for they could be suggesting that prison education does not necessarily aid in or lead toward post-prison employment. A study by Schumacker et al (1990) of 760 parolee inmates who participated both in vocational and academic programs found that the academic group had the lowest employment and second highest criminal rate over a twelve month period but the results also showed that inmates who completed General Educational Development (GED) or higher had greater success in the post-release, for they had higher employment rates and lower criminal activity over the 12 month period, but it is not clear whether education actually led to quality jobs. Recognizing this, Saylor and Gaes (1997) argue that education may have little or no impact on inmates for labour market success as in most cases inmates are likely to obtain low wage and low skilled jobs irrespective of their education or skill level.

As, noted above with regard to prison education the literature reports contradictory findings. On the one hand, some studies show positive outcomes for the prison education programs in terms of positive psychological gains post prison employment and reduced recidivism ((Adams et al., 1994; Porporino and Robinson, 1992; Parker, 1990). And, in contrast some studies show that prison education does not lead to either post-prison employment or reduced recidivism or in some cases both and further that it directly does not assist in the post-prison (Smith and Silverman, 1994). It is difficult to appreciate why this might be, but perhaps one explanation could be due to various assumptions that centre on prison education. Therefore, in evaluating the benefits of prison education and training, other factors such as labour market treatment of inmates, community responses, inmate skill level and inmate attributes need to be considered in making an inmate suitable (acceptable to) for the labour market over and above participating in prison education.

Current study

In this section, the following two basic assumptions will be challenged:

- 1 that prison education somehow translates to post-prison employment; and
- 2 that educational deficiencies or low levels of education are a significant risk factor for criminal behaviours.

In society it is generally perceived that education not only leads to employment but also that the higher the level education the greater the possibility of quality employment. These notions are also extended to prison education

where it is assumed that providing education to inmates while incarcerated leads to post-prison quality employment. That is, there appears to be an unqualified hypothetical link made between prison education and post-prison employment and that prison education independently leads to post-prison employment (Harer, 1995; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Any hypothesis and assumptions that prison education programs by themselves can directly lead to post-prison employment have very little evidence, for the simple reason that the process of employment is complicated, especially in the case of ex-inmates for they not only seem to have low levels of education but now have a criminal history, which further restricts and limits their possibilities for employment. Perhaps this is one of the frustrations faced by a number of inmates when they are released into the community, for they quickly learn that their education (education prior to incarceration or during incarceration) by itself does not usually translate into post-prison employment and that it could remain independent of their employment opportunities.

It is ideally envisaged that even basic education can potentially provide inmates with practical and realistic skills and pro-social values for post-prison success (Harer, 1995; Stevens, 2000). But any assumptions and hypotheses that are based on cultural and societal perspectives that education by itself leads to productive and satisfying lives need to be more critically studied, especially in the case of ex-inmates. For a long time, prison education was based on the assumption that most inmates were uneducated, unsocialized/contrasocialized, and incapable of informed moral reflection and unable to process simple information in terms of right and wrong behaviour, and perhaps this contributed to the philosophy that any education is good education (Harer). This belief is perhaps due to the fact that lack of education was always recognized as a social problem closely related to criminal behaviour. That is, lack of education was seen to be a contributing factor toward criminal behaviour, where it is understood that criminal behaviour becomes a substitute for a legitimate career achieved through educational means (Ryan, 1991; Saylor & Gaes, 1997; Smith & Silverman, 1994; Tewksbury & Vito, 1994). However, this may not be generally accurate for all inmates and such views should be challenged because although people with low levels of education are more likely than people with high educational levels to offend (Newman et al., 1993; Tewksbury, 1994), the majority of those with low levels of education in the community do not offend. Moreover, some with high levels of education offend.

Other assertions, such as low levels of education or lack of formal education lead directly to criminal behaviours need also to be thoroughly investigated along with how educational deficiencies or needs are related to criminal behaviours and what factors compound, deter or enhance criminal activities or behaviours (Harer, 1995; Smith & Silverman, 1994; Tewksbury, 1994). Newman et al. (1993) present findings from a number of early studies and make the case that illiteracy and criminality are connected and argue that there is a strong correlation between educational insufficiency or deficiencies and

criminal behaviours, such that the greater the literacy the higher the chances for reduced recidivism and a way out of criminality. Based on this, Newman et al. argue that literacy is a way out of criminality and that prison literacy results in reduced recidivism, but no information is presented on how literacy is a way out of criminality nor is the precise link between them established? Further, Newman et al. define education only in terms of formal and institutionalized learning and only at the point of an inmate's incarceration. Even though this definition may be relevant, it does not take into account education as a whole, for it does not document informal learning, the age of the inmate, and more importantly their life experiences, to the extent that they are actually discounted and not appreciated or valued. Also, when assessing an inmate's level of education, generally it is some level of content knowledge in subject matters such as English, Biology, Math or Geography that are assessed, rather than the ability to use information and knowledge in meaningful and positive ways.

Further, Newman et al. (1993) do not precisely show how illiteracy leads to criminality. It is important to recognize that just because inmates have low levels of education that this doesn't necessarily mean that this why they have ended up being involved in criminal behaviours. By itself, the fact that the majority of inmates have low levels of education does not provide a strong direct link between low levels of education and crime. Rather, one needs to consider the fraction of the total number of people in a community with low levels of education who end up in prison, to investigate how strong an influence education levels might have on criminality. As not everyone who has low levels of education or educational deficiency is likely to be involved in criminal behaviours and likewise not everyone involved in criminal behaviours are likely to have educational deficiencies or low levels of education. More importantly, there is no evidence to show how education leads to or facilitate a crime-free lifestyle and whether it actually deters criminal activities. Concerns still remain on the role of prison education and its relationship with ex-inmates living crime-free. Consequently, there is still the concern of what should be included in formal, literacy and basic prison education programs. Answering and addressing this question of "what is good education for inmates" provides insight into the aim, purpose and the process of education and whether it is simply designed to rectify the basic three "R's" or whether it actually extends to include the process of a life-long journey of being engaged in crime-free living (Porporino & Robinson, 1992; Ryan, 1991).

Perhaps then, one way to precisely investigate whether education is a necessary/sufficient condition for being crime-free, is to assess the educational levels of ex-inmates living crime-free in the community in terms of what role education (including prison education) has played in their life and whether education has deterred them from criminal behaviours. This is important to investigate for it can challenge some of the assertions stated previously that low levels of education or lack of education lead directly to criminal behaviours and that inmates are incapable of informed moral reflection (Harer, 1995; Smith & Silverman, 1994). It is hypothesised that being involved in both formal and

informal education has great benefits to any individual, but education by itself is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for living crime-free. However, consideration needs to be given to investigating how strong an influence educational level might have on criminality in both pre and post-prison environments.

Methodology

This study is part of a larger research project examining how positive life pathways, educational training, and/or employment opportunities in the community assist ex-inmates to live crime-free. In particular it is examining how corrections programs, personal factors, community factors, positive behaviours and life pathways are assisting ex-inmates in Queensland. Studying the post-prison living environment of ex-inmates provides insight into understanding what psychological, social and legal implications are faced by ex-inmates and how they cope, address and resolve them in their day-to-day life. The criteria for the study was that all ex-inmates (excluding sex-offenders) had served at least one year of a judicial sentence and were crime-free for a minimum of least two years and had not have been in any conflict with the law or any justice department during their time in the community after being released. The Office of Marketing and Communication at The University of Queensland distributed a “Media Release” for the recruitment of volunteer adult ex-inmates in the community.

PARTICIPANTS

All participants were voluntary male adult ex-inmates (n = 6) living crime-free in Queensland. The participants’ mean age was 39 years and it ranged from 30 to 45 years and the mean judicial sentence served by the ex-inmates was 6.4 years and it ranged from 3 to 15+ years. The mean post-prison crime-free time in the community after the index offence was 9 years and it ranged 2.1 from 17 years.

DESIGN

All participants took part in a semi-structured face-to-face standardized open-ended interview and all interviews were tape recorded for accurate coding and analysis. Only after the Consent Form was formally signed by the participants did the interview commence.

MATERIAL

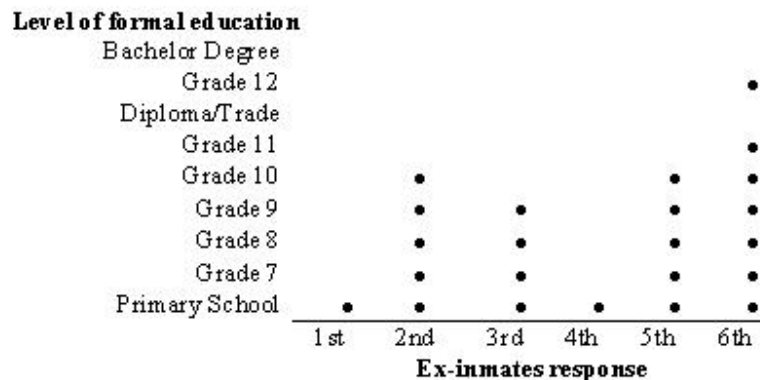
Data was gathered through a three phase questionnaire: Phase one included a checklist of what post-prison support was made available for inmates before they were released into the community. Phase two included information on the post-prison living experience of ex-inmates. This information was acquired in a qualitative manner through open discussion. In phase two the data was

acquired in two ways: firstly, there was a general discussion on whatever the participant wished to share in terms of crime-free living. And secondly, the discussions focused more on accurately identifying what issues/factors were directly assisting the ex-inmate to live crime free. Phase three provided quantitative data which mainly included the background information and developmental history of the participant.

Results

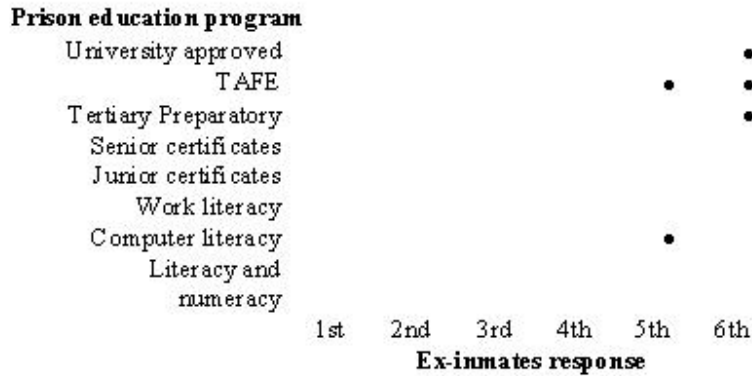
The results presented here are from the Phase III part of the questionnaire. Educational histories of ex-inmates are shown in the following three tables. Formal education levels are reported at three stages of education prior to, during and post-incarceration and only in terms of ex-inmates' participation and not their level of success or actual attainment. Overall the results indicated that most ex-inmates had low levels of formal education prior to incarceration and in response to in what way education was assisting them to live crime-free free, ex-inmates reported that level of formal education did not and does not deter them from criminal or anti-social behaviours and nor does it enhance or motivate them toward pro-social behaviours. They also reported that their post-prison success and their ability to live crime-free were not subject to their level of formal education or post-prison training or post-prison employment.

Figure: 1 Education prior incarceration



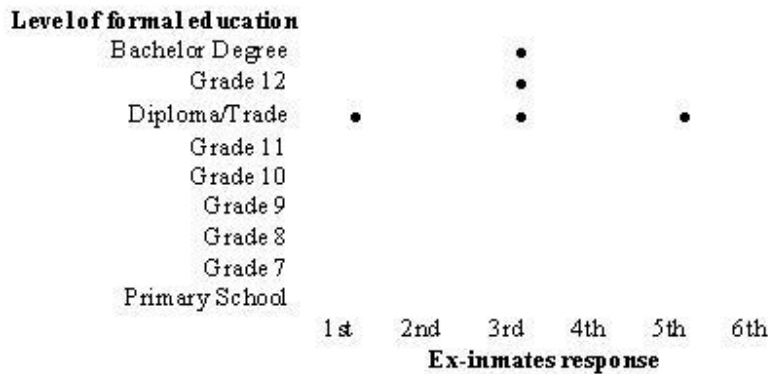
As shown in Figure 1, most ex-inmates reported of completing primary school. 4 of 6 ex-inmates report of being in grade 9 and about half of them report of being in grade10, but they were not able to precisely recollect how well they achieved in school and whether they successfully completed or graduated from one grade level to the next grade level.

Figure: 2 Education during incarceration



As shown in Figure 2, in terms of education while incarcerated the majority of the ex-inmates reported that they did not participate in education programs. Of those who participated, they reported that prison education programs they were not assisting them to live crime-free and further that they did not lead to post-prison employment.

Figure: 3 Education post incarceration



As shown in Figure 3, ex-inmates reported of mainly participating in trade (e.g. Vocational Training) related studies in their post-prison, perhaps to increase their employment opportunities, but this is not very clear.

Discussion

The current study found that generally inmates have low levels of school education at the time of, or prior to, incarceration consistent with previous studies (Correctional Service Canada, 1991d; Harer, 1995; Hudson River Center for Program Development, 1995; Gwynn et. al.1997; Newman et al.1993; Ryan, 1991; Stevens, 2000; Taylor & McAtee, 2003; Tewksbury & Vito, 1994). Even

though only six inmates participated in the studied, the hypothesis that education by itself is neither a necessary nor a sufficient to live crime-free was also confirmed, as ex-inmates reported that their level of formal education did not and does not motivate them to live crime-free and further that education does not deter them from being involved in criminal activities. But, it is very likely that prison education enables ex-inmates to progress toward social participation, positive inclusion in the community and to some degree may assist them to effectively re-integrate into the community.

Education is valuable for many reasons, but it is neither a necessary nor sufficient for living crime-free. Ex-inmates can and do directly benefit from education and prison education, for they are likely to gain content knowledge in the particular area or grade level, thus increasing their knowledge base and reducing the overall information gap (Ryan, 1991; Smith & Silverman, 1994; Tewksbury & Vito). In addition, the ability to read, write and spell, can also aid in positively accessing and using different resources and community support networks (Gwynn et al.1997; Ryan; Tewksbury & Vito). Even though prison education may be limited to delivering basic education, it still can to some degree play a crucial role. Perhaps then inmates are at a greater advantage when prison education is made more holistic in terms of including moral, social, ethical and spiritual values as well as basic literacy skills in the curriculum and pedagogy (Harer; Ryan; Tewksbury; Smith & Silverman, 1994).

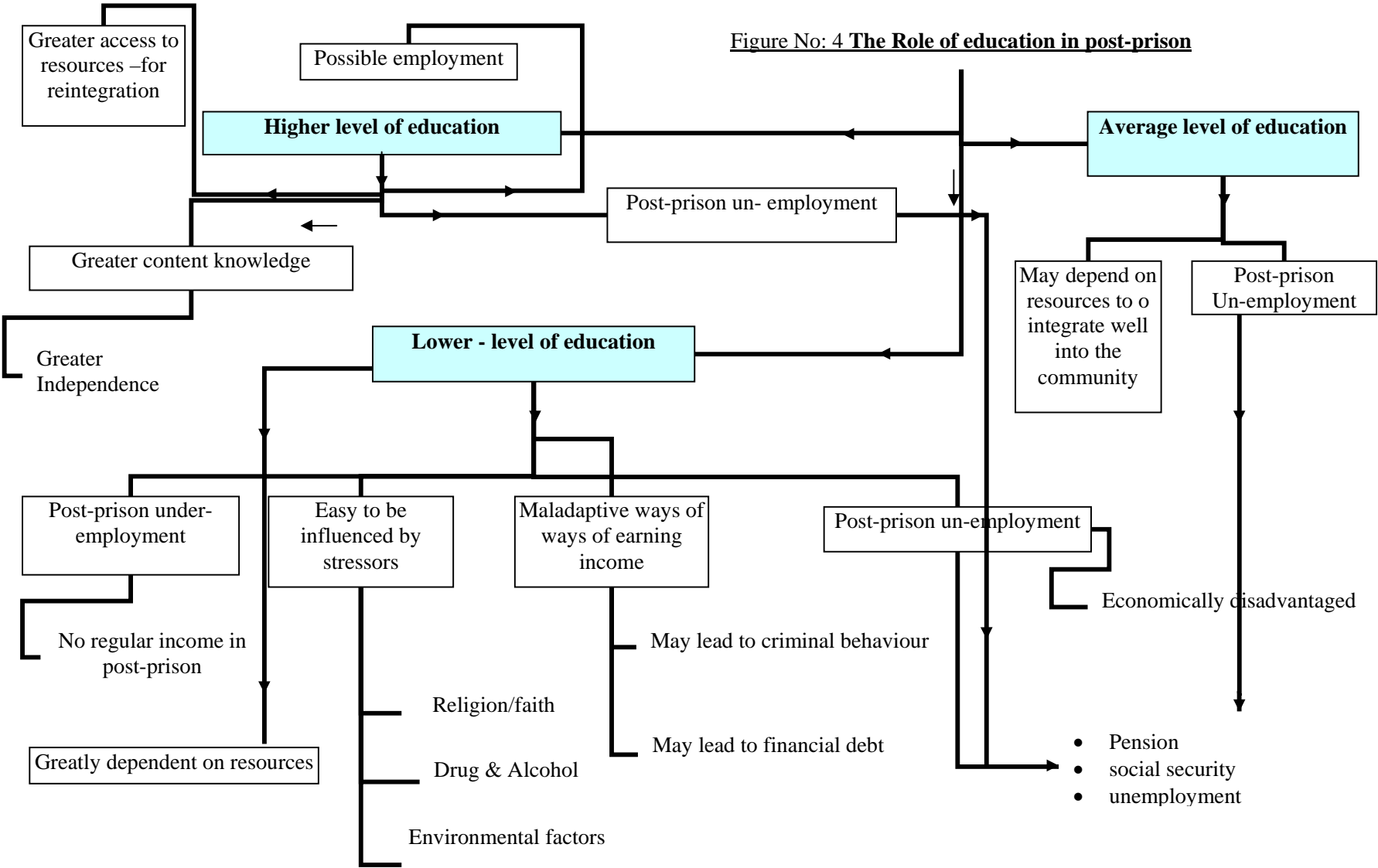
Even though the participants of this study were volunteers, still caution must be taken in how these results are interpreted for the sample size is too small to be adequately generalized to the wider population. And although prison education and literacy skills can potentially assist ex-inmates in a number of ways to the extent that it can increase the possibility of employment, it is highly unlikely that it alone directly leads to employment, for ex-inmates, positive ambitions and career opportunities are limited by the nature and severity of their offence and their criminal history. But equally, irrespective of the small sample size, the current study was unable to find a direct link between education, post-prison employment and/or reduced recidivism. One reason perhaps why prison education remains independent of post-prison employment could be due to the fact that now ex-inmates have a criminal history, which could be acting as a stigma and also their conditions of release could further be restrict them from pursuing various job aspirations and opportunities.

Therefore, in evaluating the benefits of prison education, especially in the case of ex-inmates, other questions must be investigated more broadly as to how and in what way education is linked to employment or recidivism and whether post-prison employment and recidivism are appropriate outcome measures of prison education programs (Gehring & Eggleston, 2005). Ex-inmates, achievement and gaining post-prison employment is still only a partial indicator of post-prison success and further investigations should be conducted into how prison education programs are assisting ex-inmates over and above just

employment or recidivism (Ryan, 1991). This is because recidivism cannot measure someone's incremental progress in their formal learning or calculate the advancement towards post-release success and more importantly cannot measure how specific content knowledge is used or applied in post-prison life (Gehring & Eggleston; Mears et al., 2002; Porporino & Robinson, 1992). Perhaps then, a more accurate way to evaluate prison education would be in terms of measuring an individual's content knowledge and how it is assisting in post-prison living.

Other factors may need to be considered when studying education lacks and its relationship to crime (Newman et al., 1993). Tewksbury (1994) suggests that perhaps economic hardships, lowered self-esteem and social alienation along with no, or little education, can contribute toward individuals pursuing alternatives to a productive and positive life style which may or may not lead to criminal behaviour. Thus, further research should more specifically consider the above factors in relation to how education influences or affects or aids inmates and ex-inmates in their everyday life and to what degree certain educational endeavour enhances pro-social and crime-free living. Perhaps one way to examine the role of education is to consider ex-inmates' context, personal characteristics, environmental influences, age, life experiences and informal learning within the following hypothetical model shown below in Figure 4, where any and all possibilities are likely.

Figure No: 4 **The Role of education in post-prison**



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