"What are Nice Guys Like them doing in a Place Like that?": Education Journeys from Australian Indigenous Students in Custody

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Abstract: Indigenous Australians have been the subject of long-term disadvantage and discrimination. They are "nearly 16 times more likely to be imprisoned than non-Indigenous people" (Council of Social Service of New South Wales, 2006, p. 1). Just over one third of Indigenous prisoners have completed primary education as compared to just 16% of non-Indigenous prisoners (Rawnsley, 2003, p. 19). The majority of Indigenous people in custody have little opportunity to intervene in the offending cycle because they lack the education tools. Since 2000 our university has offered a Tertiary Entry Program (TEP) specifically designed for Australian Indigenous people who wish to gain the necessary skills for successful university study. The university has a growing Indigenous student cohort at various correctional institutions across Australia. As lecturers in the program, we sought to look beneath the shocking statistical reality and better understand our students. This was a qualitative research study to explore the education journeys of our students in one, local correctional centre. The project investigated the lived realities of our students from early education experiences through to their current studies. We asked; "Do we know our students and where they come from and is this relevant to effective teaching?" We sought to understand how their experiences of formal educational settings impacted on their current learning. While we adapt our program to accommodate the rigours of the correctional system and to provide our students with the best possible learning experience, we questioned how we could improve what we do. This paper explores aspects of student education journeys. Our students represent a fragile, double equity group, that of Australian Indigenous men in custody.

Keywords: Prison, Education Experiences, Australian Indigenous Students, Transformative Education

Introduction

"WHAT ARE NICE guys like them doing in a place like that?" We often came away from our sessions in the correctional centre with this question. Our students were not the stereotypical 'Other' as portrayed by media and stigmatised by society in general. We asked the question, what has happened in their lives to have them end up inside? Do we know our students and where they came from and is this relevant to effective teaching? What were their experiences of formal education settings and how does this impact on the way they learn?

This paper provides background on the historical and contemporary contexts for Indigenous Australians as a population group and briefly examines Indigenous disadvantage and over-representation in custody. The disadvantage experienced by Indigenous Australians is also reflected within the Australian education system.

Our research, explored the education stories of six of our Indigenous students. These students were either currently enrolled, or had previously been enrolled, in our tertiary preparatory program while in custody. From this background landscape, we critically assess the relevance of the concept of transformative and emancipatory education as advanced by Mezirow (1977). Can higher education intervene in

the offending cycle? Can higher education transform the existing values and assumptions of students within a correctional environment, through a critical reflection process? Through the themes of 'Attitudes to education' and 'Motivations to study' which emerged from our data, we discuss the dimensions of transformative education and its relevance within the complex dynamics of a correctional centre.

Historical & Contemporary Backgrounds - Colonialism & Indigenous Incarceration

To understand our students in custody, we must first acknowledge some of the colonial underpinnings of the nation state – Australia – and the interplay of the First Australians against the political climate of colonisation. For at least 50,000 years before colonisation by the British in 1788, Australia's Indigenous peoples inhabited the continent (Broome, 1994). During the following 220 years, Australia's Indigenous peoples have experienced numerous injustices including dispossession from lands, massacres, forced removal of children and loss of culture, languages and identity (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997). According to Altman (2001), contemporary Indigenous economic disadvantage is characterised by the historical legacy and continuing consequences, structural factors, location-

al factors, cultural factors and prejudices held by non-Indigenous society. The ramifications of these injustices are reflected in the findings of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (Commonwealth of Australia, 1991). The Commission (nearly 20 years ago) found that "the disadvantaged and unequal position of Aboriginal people in Australian society in every way, whether socially, economically or culturally" constitutes "the single significant contributing factor to incarceration" (The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991, p. 15 cited in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, 2003, np.).

Indigenous incarceration has been increasing. According to Baldry and Maplestone (2003, np.) "…the proportion of prisoners who are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander rose from 14% in 1991 to 20% in 2001. The rate of Indigenous imprisonment in 2001 was 1,828 per 100,000 compared with [just] 121 for non-Indigenous imprisonment". This population group is more likely to experience the disadvantage associated with imprisonment including illiteracy, homelessness, unemployment, poor health and drug and alcohol addictions. Henstridge (2000, p. 3) suggests, Indigenous people are more likely to engage with justice systems, more likely to experience imprisonment and more likely to "die in custody" and further, that these effects are recorded in the statistics "published in every [Australian] State". In other words, Indigenous Australians are alarmingly over-represented in the justice system and this is endemic. In addition, "[f]or Aboriginals who have already been arrested once or twice, the probability of re-arrest approaches certainty" (Harding et al. cited in Henstridge, 2000, p. 3). This over-representation is the 'fall-out' from the widespread disadvantage across all social indicators.

Indigenous Adult Education & Education in Prisons

Given these historical and contemporary contexts, Western education for Indigenous adult learners can be problematic. In Australia there exists a common, misleading belief that Indigenous Australians constitute a homogeneous group. Further, this belief suggests that Indigenous adult education and Indigenous culture are distinct from mainstream adult education and culture. Rather, there are many Indigenous cultures. According to McDaniel and Flowers (2000, pp. 253-254) "… there is a wide variety of Indigenous cultures which, through increasingly vigorous processes of contestation, are resisting traditions of White cultural hegemony and contributing to new notions of national culture". Indigenous learners, therefore, must be considered as individuals with different cultures and different first languages. In addition, learners in custody must also negotiate their space and place within the prison culture which is imposed and dominant.

Education in custody then, becomes a conundrum further complicated by inmates having low overall education levels. The statistics indicate that only 36% of Indigenous prisoners have completed primary (elementary) education as compared to 16% of non-Indigenous prisoners (Rawnsley, 2003, p. 19). This is concerning as primary education can be considered the building block on which access to further education and subsequent employment relies. These statistics suggest that some two thirds of Indigenous people in custody have little opportunity of escaping the system because they lack the tools to intervene.

Does education provide the capacity to intervene, particularly where support from institutions outside of the prison system is involved? Nulloo Yumbah (which means 'Our Place' in local Indigenous language) is Central Queensland University's Indigenous Learning, Spirituality and Research Centre, is one such institution. Since 2000 Nulloo Yumbah has offered a Tertiary Entry Program (TEP) specifically designed for Australian Indigenous people. The program is a university preparatory program comprised of core and elective courses designed to assist students to gain the skills necessary to successfully gain entry into an undergraduate program. Course options range from academic writing and communication, computing and mathematics to the sciences, politics, law and humanities.

Nulloo Yumbah expanded to correctional centre offerings to fulfil our social justice and social responsibility role as the university's Indigenous centre. We have the primary goal to ensure every opportunity for access to higher education for Indigenous Australians (Nulloo Yumbah - Central Queensland University, 2008). Students generally study the program full-time, over one year, via distance mode. They participate in two residential schools per term. Whereas, students in correctional centres usually complete the program, over two years part-time, without attending a residential school. While Nulloo Yumbah is offering opportunities to access higher education for Indigenous people in prisons, we ask the question; does the TEP have the capacity to be more than an access program? Is it possible for TEP to constitute a tool for intervention or for transformation bearing in mind the multi-marginalised status of our student cohort?

Education – A Tool for Intervention or Transformation?

Can access to education in prison be transformative and/or assist rehabilitation, encourage reintegration into society and have a positive influence on deter-

ring re-offending? There are a number of education programs for prisoners currently operating throughout Australia. These programs have a variety of learning and sentence management outcomes. Some programs, as stated in the research by Campbell & De Vore (2003, p. 2109) profess to be able to help students "overcome their behavioral [sic] and emotional retardation and learn that they are adults". UNESCO (1995, cited in Clarke, 1999) acknowledged that there are potential positives of education such as students gaining useful knowledge and skills. However, UNESCO also acknowledged that access to education in prison may not necessarily lead to a reduced level of re-offending.

The concept of transformative learning was developed by Mezirow (1977) (see also Mezirow, 1981, 2000; Mezirow & Associates, 1990). Transformative learning is described as the process of self-reflection which involves the questioning of one's assumptions and values. This can occur as a result of life crisis but it can also occur through being challenged or stimulated through reading or visual materials. There are a number of studies that link transformative education to the student experience, particularly for preparatory programs – that such programs, by their very nature, lend themselves to the transformation process. In fact, when referring to preparatory programs specifically, some claim that, "…as we transform, we contribute to the transformation of all the systems of which we are a part – from families, work places, and communities, to our country and the very planet itself" (Willians & Simpson, 2004, p. 383). Further, for our students, their historical contexts of colonisation and their current incarceration, constitutes a double burden of 'otherness' and marginalisation. Other researchers suggest that a transformative education process can be achieved (apparently) by students,

> …recognising the positive aspects of terms such as 'marginalisation' and 'otherness'. [Further,] [i]t is from this perspective as marginal and other that students are able to develop the techniques of critical self-reflection and cross the border between their own field of experiences and that of the university…. They move from the educational margins to the centre and back again in a way that is mutually empowering and affirming (Coombes & Danaher, 2006, p. 765).

Mezirow (1990) further advanced the concept of transformative learning to emancipatory education which constitutes an organised attempt to facilitate transformative learning in others. The transformative emancipatory process "… has as its goal not only individual change, but also social change – the removal of the oppressive conditions which may have produced distorted assumptions and values" (Mezirow 1990, cited in Cranton, 1992, p. 146). However, we are not informed of whose distorted assumptions and values have been produced or what social changes are necessary or even what constitutes the oppressive conditions. As evidenced by earlier discussions of the historical and contemporary issues, our students come from what may be deemed as oppressive conditions into yet another set of oppressive conditions, the prison. A transformative, emancipatory education model *seems* to suggest that the student, through a process of reflection and the development of critical thinking, can in turn influence social change. Our students, however, seem a highly unlikely group to initiate such change.

In the case of the Tertiary Entry Program, while it may be a potential tool for intervention in the re-offending cycle, we have no evidence at this time to support this idea. By interventionist approaches to education in prisons, we refer to the programs primarily for sentence management which run within prisons. These include Anger Management, Drugs and Alcohol Abuse and Improving Relationships programs. Considering both the interventionist and transformative approaches, the TEP *seems* to fit within the transformative education model. Through our program, we hope that students, as a result of acquiring new knowledge and skills, will perhaps undergo some change process. We promote a process of "critical reflection and transformative learning" by encouraging students to examine existing social "assumptions and values" (Cranton, 1992, p.150). However, our core business is to teach the skills necessary to engage with undergraduate study in a Western higher education model. For our students in custody the transformative process may be far more complicated.

The Research Aim & Methodology

Against the backdrop of the colonialist contexts, the multi-marginalised, double 'othered' group profile and the issues of education in reducing re-offending or in transformation and emancipation, we ask: what do we know about our students apart from what the literature tells us? What level of difference does access to education make to the lived experiences of our students in custody? Our stories as teachers and researchers in the prison context are already constructed through our engagement with the landscape and therefore conspire to influence our assumptions. This research project became a means to explore our assumptions against the perceived realities of our students. While we adapt our program as best we can to accommodate the requirements of the correctional system and to provide our students with the best possible learning experience, we must continue to ask questions such as how much do we know and

how can we improve what we do? With this aim, we were awarded a Learning and Teaching Grant from the university.

This was a qualitative study and data analysis adopted an interpretative stance. This approach did not condense or frame data by sorting or coding (Berg, 2004), rather the researchers searched for understandings and meanings in participant education stories "…to examine the character of daily life as the outcome of the activities of social actors" (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997, p. 137). The methodology adopted was designed to enhance our understanding of individual lived realities. We selected unstructured, qualitative interviews with open-ended format as the method of data collection to avoid the researchers' pre-determining the participants' views of reality (Merriam & Simpson, 1995). The study sought to capture the individual's points of view, examine the constraints of everyday life and secure rich descriptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). We began the study with an awareness of the stark statistics, but it is the individual perspectives that provide the richness of lived education experiences.

We conducted six, in-depth interviews with students from the TEP. Five of the participants were currently in custody and the other was post-release. Participants were selected from students who were currently enrolled or had previously been enrolled in the program (whether or not they had completed). This constituted a convenience sample simply because numbers were low and participants had to self-select based on their own personal interest in the study outcomes. Participation was totally voluntary and the students could withdraw at any time without adverse impacts. Ethical clearance was obtained from the university, the correctional centre and the Queensland Department of Corrective Services and took nearly 12 months.

Findings & Discussion

Returning to our original research question, what level of difference does access to education make to the lived experiences of our students in custody? Do our students in custody experience the transformational and emancipatory outcomes as suggested by Mezirow (1977)? To further understand our students, notwithstanding the historical and contemporary contexts as previously discussed, we also have to understand how they are situated within the prison. Figure 1, shows our interpretation of the relationship dynamics between the central actors of this paper and other external influences. This interpretation is based on our observations of the environment from our teaching within this space.
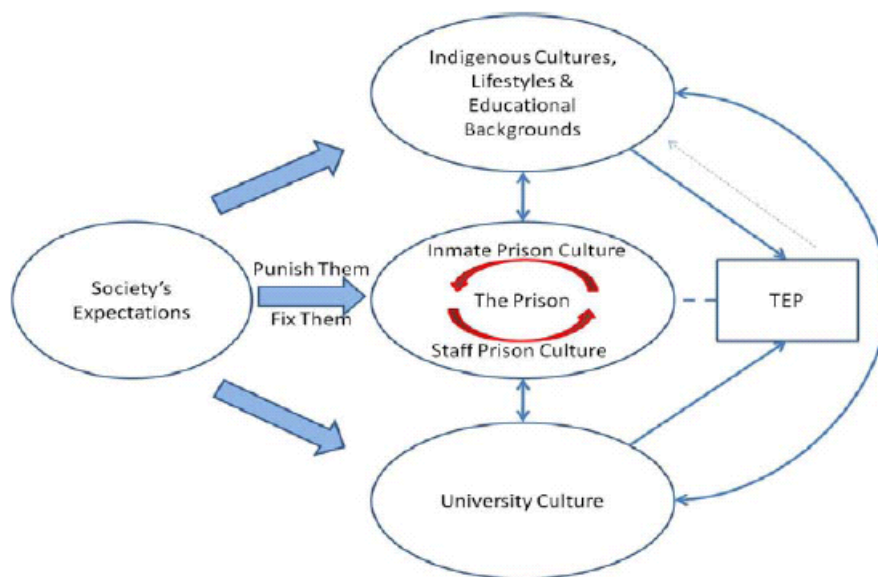

Figure 1: The Contextual Relationships between the 'Others' and the Outside

The *Indigenous Cultures, Lifestyles & Educational Backgrounds* space represents the diversity and heterogeneity of our students and their communities. In the centre of the diagram, is *The Prison* space with the social actors of the prisoners (the disempowered) and the staff (the powerful) and their respective subcultures which evolve from this power imbalance. Nulloo Yumbah's role in the diagram is as part of

the *University Culture* space and the TEP is based on Western university culture as well as endeavouring to be an Indigenous focused, culturally sensitive program. The program draws its students from the Indigenous community and in return, as demonstrated by the dotted line, attempts to make a positive contribution to Indigenous education. The *Staff Prison Culture* is the agent of social control and the *Inmate*

Prison Culture is the deviant, sometimes hidden, sub-culture. This sub-culture manifests as a code of conduct and has evolved as a survival strategy. Impacting on each of the spaces of the *Indigenous Cultures, Lifestyles & Educational Backgrounds*, *The Prison* and the *University Culture* is the overall moral expectation and societal values sanctioned by mainstream society. In terms of society's expectations of prisoners and the prison system,

> [p]olicy-makers and the general public have demonstrated increasing readiness to expand the spectrum of social transgressions punishable by imprisonment – and hence the number of radically othered individuals – with relatively little reference to the context of root-causes of such transgressions (Wilson, 2006, pp. 377-378).

It is within this interplay of complex, dynamic relationships that our students in custody attempt to study. To grasp individual lived educational experiences, we invited our students to share their education journeys. What are their stories?

Who are they? Our Students; the 'Others'

Our participants were Indigenous, Australian males aged between their early 20s to their late 30s. One student, now in his late 30s, had been in custody for all but two years of his adult life (since turning 18). Most of our participants began their institutionalisation in 'boys' homes' prior to entering prison as an adult. This often led to an early entry into a 'criminal career'. One participant spoke about his 'boys' home' experience where, at age 14, he did not receive any further 'formal' education but noted:

> "...I was getting educated all right... educated in how to steal things and break in. ... I learned how to steal a car [inside] ... there was all talk about it at first but when you get out you've got to put that into practice so... it worked."

All participants were from low socio-economic backgrounds and had experienced disrupted home and education environments, with some attending several schools. As this student explains,

> "[So can you reflect back to your earliest memories? Where did you go to school?] I remember grade one at ...W State School. ... that was grade one, I think it was, then in grade two I went to ...X State School and [for] two and three there [I was] with an uncle. My mum left me out there with an uncle so ... I think she had a few kids at that time ... Then grade four, I

> think it was grade four, I think [we might have moved] to [town A]. Then we were staying out at [town B] ... and I was going to Y State School there ... I don't remember too much about the education ...Then from there I went to Z State School."

Contrary to the statistics on elementary school completion noted previously and not-withstanding these disruptions, all of our participants had completed elementary education to year 7. However, only some of them finished junior high school (year 10) and one of our participants finished senior high school (year 12). It must be noted however, that our sample was small and a certain literacy level is required to access the TEP, which could explain the contradiction. All of our participants lived with family members apart from their biological parents or in other situations (including foster homes) for at least some of their early education years. One student revealed that he was removed from his mother while he was in preschool and spent most of his elementary school years in various foster homes which caused him significant trauma.

> "...I can remember I was in preschool and taken then ... by family services. There were four of us ... we were all split up. ... Seriously I was confused and I used to talk to myself ... at school I wouldn't talk to other kids. ... I had a little ... I had a little ... there was a teddy bear that was mine and that was my friend."

Most participants experienced violence in the home. All wanted better lives for their children and families.

As a result of their past education experiences, our students are used to being 'othered' and marginalised and they cannot escape this. The many arenas of marginalisation for this group have been clearly shown previously through the discussion of historical and contemporary contexts. For example, they are 'othered' from mainstream society because they are Indigenous. Further, they are currently prisoners and will forever hold criminal records which in turn will exclude them from various careers and opportunities.

The experience of being 'othered' has been an intrinsic part of our participants' education journeys; how has this influenced our students' interaction with Western education and education settings? Is there a flow on from this into personal attitudes towards education and motivations to study? Furthermore, does 'othering' and marginalisation impede the potential for transformation?

Attitudes to Education: Failure, Indecision & Apathy

Educational failure is a part of many prisoner profiles as evidenced in the literature (Senate Employment Education and Training References Committee, 1996). When questioned about their attitudes towards education and further study, all except one participant, replied in language which accepted that they could or would fail – a "self-depreciation" attitude (Freire, 1972, p.39). Some participants believed they were to blame for their perceived educational 'failure'. Ideally, particularly in early education, the system should protect and nurture children. Not only did our participants not have appropriate intervention on their behalf, but they also felt personally responsible when the system failed them. One participant reflected on his elementary school experience. He was in an abusive home situation and had a problematic relationship with a relative at the same school. While the system attempted to intervene to some extent, he still felt powerless and helpless but yet responsible for his perceived 'failure'.

"I've known I failed in plenty of things… but I had a go at other things too you know…I've had a go and I … it's hard to speak about your failures… It wasn't like people [didn't] try but you know … I had a family services officer, I think she was good you know… people did … There was one or two people that did try you know… by that time I'd already been set in my way."

Can these lived experiences of early education within a Western framework (which included failure and disruption) suggest that there could be an adverse residual impact on the student's capacity to undergo a transformative process? At the point of interview, our students had not demonstrated any perceived form of personal transformation through education. However, their expectations of others were high and their aspirations for others were clearly articulated. As one participant demonstrated through his desire for his daughter's success[1]:

"My daughter's fourteen. She lives with her grandmother and she goes to a Catholic college and she's doing really well. [What do you want for her?] Oh everything! As I've always wanted for her …[… education and career, have you got high expectations…?] Yeh she's doing …

well of course I do but I don't force it upon her. I encourage her you know. …She's doing well and she sends me her report cards and things like that so I …Yeh … I keep onto her, yeh…"

Our participants did not demonstrate how they could reach these goals for themselves. Indeed, these goals did not apply to them. Their feelings of failure and attitudes towards study generally allowed them to 'opt-out' of these aspirations – it was acceptable for them to fail but they expected (perhaps unrealistically) others to be exceptional achievers. This perception of self as 'one who fails' can be described as a 'self-depreciation' (Freire, 1972) spiral. The spiral down is reinforced and perpetuated by the system and by student perceptions of failure (particularly if they reoffend).

Participants' also demonstrated indecision and apathy towards education and the world of work. Education provides a pathway for access to better social and economic opportunities for prisoners on their release. However, for our students, their responses did not show a clear link between educational achievement and post-release work opportunities. One of the younger participants felt that he had plenty of time to organise his future. His comment below indicates that while he acknowledged the importance of education he did not have the commitment to act[2].

"I know I've got to do it… so I'm going to do it, I'm going to try anyway? …I mean, I'm still young … so…"

Despite more senior years and 'experience', all but one of the older participants also indicated indecision, confusion and apathy towards education, work and career post-release. In a discussion on post-release options, one participant considered all of the following as possible career paths including, apprenticeships, trades, boilermaker and welding, concreter, bricklayer, engineer, mining careers and university study.

" I think I'm one course away from … becoming a boiler maker you know? I mean that's another thing that I like doing too you know? Welding and stuff and that's to do with mines and that and … I don't know, it's a hard decision for me at the moment you know? … Like, I wouldn't want to sacrifice getting in a good at least

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[1] On the one hand, this participant, shows great potential for success at university. However, on the other hand, he is perhaps the one who struggles the most with procrastination and the lack of motivation towards his studies.

[2] During the course of this research, this participant was released and stated that he was determined to finish the TEP and begin university. He stated that he was going to start a new life with his girlfriend and he was adamant that he would not return to prison. Unfortunately, within three months of his release he has returned to prison. During his release time despite his verbal commitment he did not engage with the university. As evidenced by the statistics and our research, this pattern is predictable. This student has subsequently re-enrolled in the program since returning to prison.

maybe even five years of work you know? Saving money... trying to save money ... See how I go with that and then after ... and after that then if I think that education's going to be good then ... yeh ... I think the mines they don't go like seven days a week so it's not a seven day a week job, it's only like four or something isn't it?"

In this list of alternatives, even while completing a program of study to enter university, actually entering university is only considered as a last resort. This student's story indicates that, for him there is no link between education and transformation in a custodial, marginalised context. This is also reflected by the majority of our students in custody. Transformative and emancipatory education should enable the student to reflect on his existing reality and as a result to critically assess other alternatives. This student confirmed that while he was not unaware of alternatives, he was unable to grasp those alternatives as real options from within his insular environment. This student's unrealistic expectations of the realities of the world of work and the world of career education would impede any form of transformation, whether or not we have the potential power to transform him. Within this context, the student has no power to enact any such transformation.

Motivations to Study

To date, and we realise that TEP is a relatively young program (2000), none of our students in custody have continued their studies post-release – whether they are continuing the TEP or whether they have progressed into undergraduate study[3]. Upon release students seem to abandon the program for other priorities. However if they are again incarcerated (as is often the case) these students usually request to be re-enrolled. We suspect that this is because parole and the positive influence course enrolment has on the possibility to obtain it, again becomes a primary focus now that the student is back inside. As Knowles (1998) asserts, adults need to see why the knowledge gained through learning will be valuable (to them personally). TEP can constitute a valuable addition to a student's parole application.

Our students, while studying in custody, are also motivated to study (secondary to obtaining parole) by several other attractive features. They attend the education block, which can be viewed as privilege because students are able to access computers. Access time sometimes is found to include word processing parole applications, writing letters home or playing games such as solitaire. In addition, there is a music program installed on the computers which enables students to create their own songs (hip hop is very popular). Moreover, attending the education block allows students another opportunity for movement around the facility perhaps with the added bonus of socialising with other inmates who they might not otherwise see.

Evans-Hall's (2006, p. 47) research in Jamacian prisons espoused the 'reasoning' prison pedagogy which has as its goal "…awakening of the prisoners' consciousness so that they have a greater awareness of self, are more critical in their thinking and are proactive in determining their fate". Under this method, which has similar tenents to Mezirow's (1977) transformative learning model, students became sufficiently empowered as to critically assess their situation and even became politically proactive within and around the prison and the prison system. From what we have observed of our students however, they do not directly challenge the prison system though they may indirectly subvert prison processes. Their approach utilises more covert strategies to manipulate the system (as far as possible) to their advantage. We have no evidence of any obvious transformative or emancipatory process evolving in our students in custody. This of course does not mean that at some time in the future this might be recognisable.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper examined the historical and contemporary contexts for Indigenous Australians, including their over-representation in the prison system and their multi-marginalised and 'othered' position in society. We recognise that there are significant limitations to this study including the small sample size and the fact that the TEP is a relatively young program. However, in our view, transformational education, particularly in relation to students in custody, is problematic. Our questions concerning the capacity for higher education and the TEP to intervene in the offending cycle, remain largely unanswered.

Attitudes of our students towards education are based on their past education experiences which include disruption and failure. This seems to produce an adverse residual impact on their future choices. Our research shows that choices about education and work are undermined by indecision and apathy. Motivations to study may not be linked to 'learning' as such while students are in a self-depreciation spiral. However, there may be a positive flow-on

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[3] At the time of writing one student post release presented at the university to continue his undergraduate studies. This student completed the TEP and moved into undergraduate study while in prison. While he was not a participant in our research, he is the first to cross the divide between study in prison and study outside.

effect in that these students are extremely ambitious for their families and communities. The dynamics of a correctional environment are powerful and complex. This restrictive environment has the potential to impede the dimensions of transformative education for the individual.

Can higher education transform the existing values and assumptions of students within a correctional environment, through a critical reflection process? The prison culture is one which seeks to take away individuality. Further, the justice model generally, is primarily centred on punishment, while education and rehabilitation are often secondary considerations. Indigenous students are used to being 'othered' and marginalised through their cultural, social and economic disadvantage and are further oppressed through their incarceration. They are not encouraged to question the values and assumptions of the prison culture or society. These factors, when considered in conjunction with their past educational experiences, would seem to severely limit the opportunity for any transformative process.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this paper are the views of the Researchers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the State of Queensland, Australia.

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