



Research Article

Intersections and Opportunities: Correctional Education Programming and Supporting the Complex Needs of Returning Citizens

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Abstract

Correctional education provides either a metaphorical bridge or an additional barrier between incarceration and community. Although members of a larger community of education professionals, correctional educators support learners in an especially complex and evolving ecosystem of custody, discipline, and security. Correctional educational programs and correctional educators' practices are of special consideration when discussing existing and potential improvements to preparing returning citizens for and supporting them through reentry into society. This article interrelates reflection on personal experiences in a range of professional educational settings with the testimony of currently and formerly incarcerated learners and recent research to highlight opportunities for and evidence supporting improvements to correctional education programming that expand resources and support available to returning citizens.

Introduction

Education has been recognized as a “pathway to assimilation and economic mobility” throughout U.S. history (Harden et al., 2022; Ransby, 2005; Sanders, 2016). Especially for people who are incarcerated or involved with the legal system, education programs improve life outcomes upon reentry (Bozick et al., 2018). Educational programs provide spaces and opportunities to cultivate prosocial metacognitive awareness conducive to navigating family and

social relationships and enable greater agency and independence by providing students with knowledge, skills, and abilities that support more expansive employment opportunities (Davis et al. 2013; Moore & Erzen, 2023, p.44). Correctional education thus represents a critical site of interpersonal, pedagogical, and professional development (Barnett, 2023; Cheung, 2023). Teachers in all settings, but especially correctional settings, hold a unique power to advocate for and affect changes to existing policies and practices, especially through their implementation (Coon, 2023; Hara & Good, 2023; Middleton, 2023).

This article emerges from reflection on personal experiences, student insights gathered while teaching high school, college, and adult learners in mainstream and correctional settings, and contemporary research on correctional education. The purpose is to expand scholarly discourse and engagement between related dialogues in the fields of adult and correctional education. To this end, I interweave personal experiences in both settings with the most recent scholarship on existing and potential adult correctional education programming.

I am a thirty-year-old, white, working-class, male doctoral candidate in U.S. History. As an instructor in this and other traditional academic settings, I challenge undergraduate students to consider how diverse contemporary policies shape opportunities for themselves and others, a metacognitive ability that pedagogically traces back to impactful experiences as a student-teacher responsible for ninth-grade Civics and eleventh- and twelfth-grade U.S. History in an urban public school. After six years of graduate studies, I served as a teaching assistant or instructor for over a dozen undergraduate courses comprising nearly 1,000 students, as an Academic Writing Tutor for college English-language learners, and as a Graduate Teaching Fellow, where I received specialized training to offer consultation services to graduate and postdoctoral instructors.

On the inside, I tutor adult English-language learners, justice-involved juveniles in educational diversion programs, and men incarcerated at a maximum-security institution. My own high school and college history teachers laid a foundation for this interest and activity by how they illuminated and equipped me to interrogate contradictions between inherited beliefs and views internalized across my upbringing and complex realities confronted as a young adult. Positive educational settings provided the emotional and psychological security prerequisite to intrapersonal growth. History classes empowered me to consider multiple viewpoints, weigh evidence, cultivate diverse professional and research skills, and develop new abilities. My objectives in mainstream and correctional learning environments and conception of the instructor-learner relationship grow from these experiences. I especially want my incarcerated students to develop metacognition—to be self-aware actors able to question their circumstances and experiences—and self-directed and -motivated learning habits.

Together, these experiences privileged me with opportunities to engage with and learn from nearly all ages and backgrounds of learners, from children to elderly citizens, high school to college learners, and individuals of different languages and learning histories. As much, they have privileged me with exposure to the ranging activities, outcomes, obstacles, and needs across disparate settings along the educational continuum. In this essay, I synthesize observations from these settings with research to ground the outlines of program and service improvement opportunities.

I especially seek to advance insights from work as an adult basic education tutor in correctional settings that are more meaningfully articulated by incarcerated learners themselves (Anderson, 2023; Taylor, 2023). Only recently have the incarcerated learners most affected by the conditions of and changes to correctional education been included in scholarly dialogue. By centering the insights of individuals with lived experience and direct knowledge about how educational programming works to support their return to home and community, I ultimately seek to advance abolitionist goals of

weakening the institution of prisons by further illuminating their functions and the consciousness-expanding value of education (Cheung, 2023, p. 57-62).

Similarities and Differences Between Correctional and Mainstream Education

Correctional education programming generally comprises attenuated versions of mainstream educational programs, including adult basic, secondary, and post-secondary programs, vocational training, and business or professional education, often abbreviated as Career and Technical Education (CTE) (Brazzell et al., 2009). Students in basic and secondary correctional education programs work toward satisfactory completion of General Educational Development (GED) exams, high school diploma equivalency, or participate in distance learning or inside-out higher education courses. Those participating in vocational and business education learn trades such as heating, ventilating, and air conditioning (HVAC) or carpentry, or develop professional business skills including money management and Microsoft Office. Learners with varying levels of English language ability and literacy coexist in all settings and those participating in basic and secondary education often do so in one setting.

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Nonetheless, the breadth of correctional education programs model and provide space for people who are incarcerated to cultivate pro-social values, practice decision-making abilities, and improve cognitive functioning skills fundamental to re-entering society. New York State Department of Correctional Services Commissioner Brian Fischer explains that education during incarceration “provides for a socialization and self-actualization process that no other treatment program can offer” (Brazzell et al., 16). Education provides a space for cultivating community through validation and sharing of resources prohibited elsewhere in prison (cite). Research

shows that the most effective educational programs to support returning citizens emphasize individual rehabilitation through skills building, cognitive development, and behavioral change and are offered alongside cognitive-behavioral therapy, job skills preparation, and Substance Use Disorder treatment as necessary (MacKenzie, 2008). Abolitionist correctional educators argue that the most effective educational programming is that which, by empowering students with abilities and skills, and by raising the consciousness of incarcerated learners, correctional staff and administrators, policymakers, and other stakeholders, works toward eliminating prisons as physical institutions and inhumane, dignity-denying practices of coercion, control, surveillance, and punishment as tools of reform (Castro, Gould, & Willingham, 2021; Cheung, 2021; Jabir, 2023; Kandaswamy & Meiners, 2023; Middleton, 2023).

Constructing new knowledge in prison, then, involves to varying extents, depending on the expert consulted, deconstructing the history, form and function of the prison setting, place and space (Middleton, 2023). Additionally, research on learning theory proposes ranging principles that encompass the ways people learn and outlines ways instructors can engage, build on, and organize new knowledge with existing knowledge to positively direct student learning and development. Four are especially critical in correctional settings and introduce the following sections (Ambrose et al., 2010). First, learners’ motivations determine, direct, and sustain their actions and decisions toward learning. This principle implicates both the objectives developed and the instructional resources and tools available for educators to motivate and guide students who are incarcerated.

Programming & Learning Objectives

Learning objectives, instructional strategies, and assessment methods must seek to acknowledge what information and skills learners experiencing incarceration bring with them—to locate and meet learners where they are—to best support and equip them with new knowledge, skills, and abilities that empower their independence and self-efficacy on reentry (cite). Prison higher education programs historically reflect a pathologized view of human behavior, described as “the Literacy Myth,” animated by the transformation of individuals viewed as criminals who, through participation in educational programming, acknowledge wrongdoing and praise education’s role in helping them prepare for civic life (Cheung, 2021, p.60; Graff, 2010). Historically, this myth well-describes the rationale for extending education to colonized, enslaved, and discriminated or excluded people in the United States, but today this conception of education as a redemptive, transformative service graciously extended by those with power to those subjected to its control denies the learner agency, choice, or power over influencing their journey.

However, learning objectives that incorporate student input and engage power and privilege (e.g., the history of prisons and policies that perpetuate pathological views of incarcerated people) best meet students where they are and empower students for reentry into communities (Adams, 2023; Lander, 2023; Levya & Bickel, 2023; Soto, 2021;). Incarcerated student Matthew Anderson shares, for example:

Prisons and learning institutions should review current courses to ensure that the subject material is relevant and real-world applicable, as well as embrace emerging fields. Both prison and post-secondary school administrations should re-evaluate access to education policies regarding individuals with criminal backgrounds, with particular scrutiny on whether or not implicit biases regarding race, gender, age, socio-economic background, country of origin, or the nature of criminal acts committed influences their beliefs about the educational potential of felons and ultimately leads them to withhold opportunity.

(Anderson, 2023, p.46)

Incorporating students in the process of designing learning objectives that synthesize their interests and needs contributes to developing necessary senses of community and trust—of reciprocal, mutual respect. It is also important to consider how educators’ access to educational tools and resources influences student motivations and progress toward learning objectives.

Many external factors influence correctional education settings (cite). Anderson explains, “Illness outbreaks, violence, facility maintenance, investigations, and staff shortages can all contribute to ‘lock-down’ scenarios where through no fault of their own—an individual is physically restricted to their cell or housing unit.” (page) Students can easily “fall weeks behind when educational opportunities, computers, and material are already limited ... to a specific time, day, and area of the facility” (Anderson, 2023, p.44). However, utilizing existing technological infrastructure provides a basis for addressing this issue by expanding access to recorded lectures and group discussions via individual tablets. Further, “educational opportunities for incarcerated individuals” should expand beyond what is conventionally considered “advantageous to securing post-release employment” (Anderson, 2023, p.45). Academic pursuits related to executive level or academia-based careers are dismissed as improbable and unattainable for felons” and “access to classrooms is restricted to students pursuing the aforementioned ‘felon friendly’ careers” (Anderson, 2023, p.46). For this reason, programming and learning objectives must creatively imagine what does not yet exist to work toward cultural change.

Curriculum Materials and Instructional Strategies

The second relevant fundamental learning principle is that to develop mastery of new learning, students must acquire component skills of any task or learning goal and be given opportunities to practice integrating those skills (cite). Third, learning is enhanced through goal-directed practice toward contextually relevant learning coupled with targeted feedback. In correctional settings, these twin principles apply to learning activities and materials that reflect, and instructional strategies that honor, the life circumstances, everyday contexts, and future aspirations of currently incarcerated people, extending into re-entry (Anderson, 2023; Levya & Bickel, 2023). Material co-designed or informed by incarcerated learners is generally underdeveloped, so instructors play a critical role in bridging gaps.

Correctional educators can acknowledge and honor the experiences of incarcerated learners largely absent from learning material by individually adapting or modifying content and creating new content informed by their experiences and interests. Instructors can positively reframe frustrations with unfamiliar or difficult content by celebrating students' problem-solving skills, translatable across other contexts (Middleton, 2023, pp.109-111). Most effective is incorporating learners into designing their programming, an ability largely limited to instructors and professors providing higher education courses in prisons (Adams, 2023; Lander, 2023). These approaches to supplementing or mitigating inadequacies in relevant learning materials challenge learners toward intra- and interpersonal learning objectives, like social and emotional regulation, while also strengthening their ability to independently identify appropriate problem-solving steps across iterations of learning. When combined, these skills improve returning citizens' ability to navigate community institutions and systems.

Programs need student-centered materials and activities designed specifically for incarcerated adult learners that are relevant and meaningful to their life contexts and that span incarceration and reentry (Levya & Bickel, 2023; Taylor, 2023). Here, mainstream instructional strategies of problem-based and experiential learning support learning exercises like developing a budget for commissary purchases with educational or employment earnings, opening a bank account, navigating social service systems, or applying for a job. In some cases, especially with English language learners, I create individualized alternative assignments or break large assignments into several smaller projects that assemble over time. For example, I worked with Student L beginning on their first day in adult basic education. His inability to communicate in English presented numerous obstacles to basic communication. In response, I initially structured objectives and activities around learning to use a bilingual dictionary until we could communicate effectively enough to co-design objectives and activities that extended from his existing strengths into areas of opportunity, like recognizing word types and sentence structure. These instructional strategies represent efforts to develop meaningful, relevant learning materials in correctional education settings.

Beyond curriculum and materials, correctional educators can confront compounding power dynamics through an approach recently outlined in Dialogues and other field scholarship (Anderson, 2023; Cheung, 2023; Taylor, 2023). For example, "reciprocal pedagogy" is based on the idea that "respect creates symmetry, empathy, and connection in all kinds of relationships" and that "everyone has something to teach and everyone has something to learn" (Skogsbergh, 2020, p. 60; Stern, 2021). In action, reciprocal pedagogy involves students learning from the teacher and the course material, the teacher learns about their students, and both teacher and students learn about themselves. Anderson (2023) provides an example when describing how quality correctional educators demonstrate flexibility and communicate accommodations to submission deadlines for extenuating circumstances (Anderson, 2023, p.45). I

Including incarcerated learners in shaping their learning process and its outcomes empowers and motivates.

integrate this belief into my learning objectives and expectation that all commit to resolving personal TABOR

or group conflict through reasoned dialogue based on mutual respect, which I model by using person-first language and honoring my students' diverse experiences and knowledge. Another way to acknowledge and celebrate student interests is a "choice menu" of personal rewards for accomplishing structured individual and program learning goals. Ultimately, including incarcerated learners in shaping their learning process and its outcomes empowers and motivates them by celebrating their interests, abilities, and aspirations, and incorporating them into the learning process.

Underexplored is the entrepreneurial business interest common among people denied individuality and self-ownership because of confinement and incarceration (Ayers, 2023). Opportunities abound in this area for businesses, colleges and universities, and local and state governments to partner to create mentorship networks and seed funds able to provide returning citizens guidance and structure in pursuing this path (Skinner-Osei & Osei, 2020). Distinct from professional trajectories associated with academic and vocational training, entrepreneurial training provides a much greater capacity for returning citizens to exercise self-ownership and extend peer support to others.

Further, technological changes have resulted in nearly half of Americans having their own "side hustles" or being interested in owning their own business. Entrepreneurial "side hustles" as frameworks for learning to cultivate pro-social "soft skills" desired by employers by foregrounding individual agency, choice, and communication in guiding the learning process, building on existing interests and strengths, and providing social capital in the form of commitments, obligations, and responsibilities to clients and fellow community member. These relationships are fundamental to returning citizens' sense of belonging.

Learning Environment

Finally, a fourth learning principle critical to improving the quality and outcomes of correctional education programs is that students must learn to monitor and adjust their approaches to learning to become self-directed learners. For students to be able to do so, learning must occur in an environment where they feel safe—able to be transparent and vulnerable about lacking different types of traditional academic knowledge. In mainstream settings, I prepare a welcoming environment by opening desk arrangements as much as possible and quietly playing upbeat music. Where unable to alter the arrangement of prison classrooms, which feature more rigid assemblies of desks that usually seat pairs, I prioritize greeting and consistently engaging students by name. I celebrate with individual students the difficulty of processing new information during individualized instruction, from Algebra to English and scientific principles like heat transfer. In such moments I look for strengths to praise and am transparent about my learning struggles and share how others, including incarcerated learners themselves, have helped me learn academically and interpersonally.

In this and other ways, I work to create a learning community in the classroom environment and model the value of collaboration by seeking out opportunities to support progress toward individual learning objectives through pair or group activity. For instance, when confronting a problem, I ask different types of questions and invite learners', which I first direct to peers to expand dialogue, develop relationships, and normalize unknowing. Further, I pause after asking open-ended questions, deliberately invite or solicit diverse responses, affirmingly encourage responses from quieter-spoken students, and seek balanced participation between students of different backgrounds. I regularly emphasize that everyone brings something uniquely valuable into our shared space and that diversity amplifies our collective learning. These activities and dynamics encourage introspective honesty among students as an opportunity to learn about their strengths and advocate for or communicate their needs.

However, the learning environment is structured by far more than the instructor alone, and instructors themselves are increasingly outnumbered and under-resourced. Modern criminal justice policy expanded state and federal prison populations, but none increased the number of correctional educators or expanded the physical and technological resources for their use. As a result, “engagement in educational programming has not grown alongside the expanding prison population”—less than 2% currently receive these services (Brazzell et al., p.12). This problem is both cultural and structural. It requires first an acknowledgment of the right to and importance of educational access to incarcerated individuals as citizens. Second, it requires policies that (1) codify student-to-teacher ratios for correctional education programs comparable to those that inform mainstream public education systems and (2) that engender a more robust network of resources. According to publicly available Department of Education data, student-teacher ratios across the U.S. range from 10:1 to 23:1, with 15:1 considered ideal; ratios vary widely within and across correctional facilities.

Although differences exist among the views of involved professionals, all invested in positive educational outcomes agree that individuals participating in correctional education programs “need to learn in environments that support their whole selves, promote their well-being, and are free from harm,” which teachers can more powerfully shape through Social and Emotional Learning programming that supports people with “experiencing, managing and expressing emotions meaningfully, making sound decisions, and fostering rewarding interpersonal relationships” (Lin et al., 2023, p.). I work to create this environment by smiling, addressing learners by their names, engaging in permissible physical contact like fist bumps, and maintaining a relaxed—not controlling, defensive, or hypervigilant—disposition. In my work with incarcerated men and returning citizens on completion of GEDs, I witness firsthand myriad ways these behaviors contribute to productive collaboration, teamwork, and group encouragement fuel and protect expressions of vulnerability in acknowledging and building on knowledge deficits in conjunction with peers.

Paradigm Shifts: From Dosage, Recidivism to a Continuum of Service with Contingent Supports

A 2013 meta-analysis found that participants in fifty-eight correctional education initiatives were more likely to obtain employment upon reentry than those who did not, and—highlighting a structured, systemic need to expand employment opportunities for returning citizens—that those pursuing vocations were more likely than those who pursued academic degrees to obtain employment (Anderson, 2023; Davis et. al., 2013). All program participants shared lower rates of recidivism, a popular metric for assessing the quality and function of correctional education program outcomes, contrasting academic assessment measures, because of correctional education’s secondary importance to custody and security mandates. Dosage—regular and consistent participation—remains a key precondition of positive performance and meaningful outcomes (Cho & Tyler, 2008; Wade, 2021), but the language of dosage perpetuates antiquated views of correctional education that overemphasize its transformative power and obscure its function as an extension of the punitive institution that is prison. In the juvenile probation setting of diversion education programs, common disruptions to participation in educational programs and services relate to occasional truancy, transportation, educational staffing, technology, and availability of supplementary contract service providers. In the adult correctional setting, lockdowns, movement restrictions, incarcerated peoples’ conflicting work, education, and commissary schedules, educational staffing, and technology issues all disrupt access to educational programming (Anderson, 2023). Obstacles to academic achievement are complicated by more than these competing imperatives.

Education programming while incarcerated has demonstrated positive outcomes during incarceration and for returning citizens, but this should not distract from known and visible deficits among existing reentry services.

Participation in education programming while incarcerated has demonstrated positive outcomes during incarceration and for returning citizens, but this should not distract from known and visible deficits among existing reentry services and disconnects between providers of supplementary services. Currently incarcerated student Trip Taylor explains that, in his experience at a rural Idaho prison, “when one piece of the puzzle leaves or changes at the facility, the whole program is prone to crumble. One way to reduce this possibility is to build a program that

includes as many active partners from across all segments of the facility” and to respond to problems that arise in educational programming with evidence-based and not incident-based policies (Taylor, 2023, p.33). Quality correctional education takes a village.

For example, The Urban Institute’s “Returning Home” studied 740 men returning to society from prisons in Illinois, Texas, and Ohio, and only six percent continued adult basic education or GED programming, and eleven percent continued participation in vocational training programming in the first eight months following release (Urban Institute, 2006). The ability of educational programs to support returning citizens’ reentry into society is undermined by “service delivery systems for correctional populations [that] are typically fragmented and isolated, often due to a lack of communication and coordination among those who provide programming” across correctional and community settings (Duwe, 2018, p.9).

One way to improve the educational continuum is to increase the number of locations for extending education pursued while incarcerated by expanding qualified community-based educational partners and enhancing employer incentives for hiring formerly incarcerated individuals, like the Tennessee Higher Education in Prison Initiative. Current opportunities relate to the proximity of an incarcerated individuals’ correctional institution and nearby academic or vocational institutions. Low participation rates also potentially stem from a lack of awareness among potential participants about program opportunities in their communities, suggesting the importance of expanding access to information about them, and developing networks of individuals able to facilitate returning citizens’ transition between correctional and community programs.

In my human services research, “warm handoffs” between emergency departments or intensive inpatient and community-based outpatient settings are central to the effectiveness of substance use disorder programs and services. Correctional and community education programs also need facilitators of “warm handoffs.” Programs need to also acknowledge and accommodate the conflicting demands of maintaining employment, finding a home, and potential parole considerations (Bushway, 2021). Further, because reentry is “not solely dependent on the program’s effort ... but also requires numerous external constructs,” reentry programs and correctional educators must “include cultural competency and emotional and psychological factors instead of just practical needs”; in one research study, 50% of participants “recidivated within one year even with housing, food, and employment assistance,” confirming returning citizens’ needs are more complex (Skinner-Osei & Osei, 2020, p. 335). Research thus illuminates the necessity of community-based, peer-support networks capable of supporting returned citizens with “warm-handoffs” across an ecosystem of providers of comprehensive, tailored services.

Conclusion

Correctional education programs represent a nexus between correctional and community institutions and a setting for positively intervening in the lives of individuals experiencing incarceration with holistic support. The existing landscape of correctional educational programs provides a foundation for empowering returning citizens to effectively reenter society and secure stable food, housing, and employment. However, many opportunities for improving the breadth and depth of programs and services appear both from firsthand experiences across diverse educational settings but also within current research on public, adult, and correctional education. This article aimed to outline potential areas of opportunity for improving programs and services using research to affirm and validate the everyday observable data and insights gathered by correctional educators and, ultimately, to contribute to the long-term effort of advocating for and serving adult learners and community members experiencing incarceration.

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Wolf, L. (2020). Teaching in a Total Institution: Toward a Pedagogy of Care in Prison Classrooms. *Journal of Prison Education and Reentry*, 6(2), 209–215. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25771/mnkb-9r88>.

This article would be impossible but for the gifts and talents, personal insights and wisdom, and institutional knowledge shared by approximately a dozen learners currently incarcerated at a male-designated maximum-security Western Pennsylvania State Correctional Institution (SCI) who participate in the SCI's educational program and with whom I worked as an Adult Basic Education tutor through The Petey Greene Program. As I produced this reflection in response to a call for submissions while separated from that setting, the firsthand accounts of incarcerated learners were inaccessible when drafting. While this work would have been richer and better represented the equitable dynamics and relationships I seek to create and maintain with the incarcerated students I serve, I make efforts to include their insights by anonymizing individuals with initials when describing experiences that derive from my work and refer to work produced by incarcerated authors only recently included in the discourses of scholarly journals.



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