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**Prison Education in Tanzania:
An Exploration of Policy and Practice**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy in Education
at
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by
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Abstract

This study is one of very few research-based investigations regarding prison education in Tanzania. It provides rich data that help to address the literature gap on prison education policies and practices in African countries, particularly in Tanzania. With its major research question: *Are current policy and practices adequately meeting the needs of prisoners?* the study explored the adequacy of prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context. Three subsidiary questions were addressed: *What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania? What existing educational programmes are available in Tanzanian prisons for inmates?* and, *Do current practices adequately reflect the intention and substance of the policies?* These questions helped me to obtain relevant information to address the major research question. This qualitative study, within an interpretivist paradigm, was conducted in Tanzania. Five prisons were involved in the study. The participants included inmates, teachers, prison staff, ex-inmates, a senior (retired) prison officer, an adult education officer, the IAE representatives, the OUT representative, the VETA tutor, an NGO representative, and an ex-student who shared the same National Examination centre with inmates. Data were mainly gathered through individual interviews, focus group interviews, observations, and document analysis. Themes and subthemes were inductively developed through thematic analysis. Three main themes generated from the analysis constituted the discussion of three findings chapters. Four main concepts – perspective transformation, total institutions, lifelong learning, and rehabilitation – were used to interpret and discuss the findings.

The study suggests that Tanzania has yet to fully embrace prison education as part of liberal approaches to imprisonment. Individual prisons have different informal policies regarding prison education. The main governmental prison education policy of Tanzania – the Prison Education Guide – is not rooted in the laws of the country, implying that Tanzania has yet to fully comply with the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice. The Prison Education Guide was interpreted differently in every prison. Many prisoners did not have access to educational programmes, suggesting a mismatch between policy (the Prison Education Guide) and practice. Literacy education, vocational training, and general education were

the main educational programmes found. These programmes suffered from a lack of resources, accentuated by the shortage of funds. Accordingly, it is concluded that prison education is not adequately practised in Tanzania; the current policy and practises are not adequately meeting the needs of prisoners. The study proposes a set of recommendations to improve prison education.

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Dedication

In the memory of my cousin, Abdu Said Sadick; prison bars did not stand in your way to gain basic adult education. For me, your perseverance will remain a living symbol of lifelong learning.

To my wife (Mariam), and to my children; this dedication is a true symbol that I cherish your love, tolerance, and support throughout my study. I hope that this thesis will instil in you the feeling that you, also, can achieve your goals.

He who opens a school door, closes a prison (Victor Hugo)

Poor people are much more likely to be found in prison than in institutions of
higher education (Angela Davis)

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List of Acronyms

ACSEE	Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
CGP	Commissioner General of Prisons
CMO	Case Management of Offenders
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GED	General Education Development
IAE	Institute of Adult Education
LLB	Bachelor of Law
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
ODL	Open and Distance Learning
OUT	Open University of Tanzania
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examinations
SDL	Self-Directed Learning
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TPS	Tanzania Prisons Service
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VET	Vocational Education and Training
VETA	Vocational Education and Training Authority

Section 1
The Background

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study: *Prison education in Tanzania: An exploration of policy and practice*. The purpose of this study was to explore the adequacy of prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context. The chapter begins with a brief discussion about my personal, academic, and professional backgrounds as a researcher. This information is important because it may help a reader to better understand my position within the study. Also, in this introductory chapter, I discuss the focus of this project which will allow readers to understand the underlying purpose and research questions that guided this study. I believe that this discussion is important as it may help readers to follow the subsequent sections and chapters. In this opening chapter, the rationale of the study and definition of terms are explained. The chapter ends by providing the summary information about the organisation of this thesis.

1.2 Researcher's Background and Positionality within the Study

Whenever I introduced myself by saying that I was researching prison education, people asked me again and again the following questions: Are you a prison officer? Have you ever been in prison? These are important questions to answer as part of my overall motivation for conducting this study. Further, qualitative researchers are urged to explain their positions within their studies as there is a possibility for their positions to influence the direction of the research (Greene, 2014). Hence, this section discusses my background and positionality within the study. The section shows how that background influenced my choice of the topic and interpretation of the findings.

In fact, I am not a prison officer, and I have never been imprisoned. I was raised in Mjimpya, Morogoro (Tanzania), an area with rampant crimes during the 1980s and 1990s. Poverty, violence, theft, excessive alcohol taking, and drug abuse were common. As a result, many young people spent part of their lives in prisons. My experience in that suburb taught me that youth with lower educational qualifications and who were unemployed constitute the people who are at the

highest risk of falling into the crime cycle. One of my cousins spent time in prison between 1994 and 1996. His imprisonment was the beginning of my experience in prison education. Although he (my cousin) went through a primary school cycle prior to his imprisonment, he was completely illiterate. While in prison, he used to ask for exercise books and pens whenever I visited him. I did not understand what he was doing with them until he emerged from prison a more literate person than he was when he entered prison. He could even speak and write a few English words and sentences. That was an “aha” experience for me. Then, I knew the secret of those exercise books and pens he was requesting. That experience started to shape my thinking of prisons. The experience has never left me.

Between 1994 and 1996, I underwent a Grade IIIA teacher training (certificate) course. This was soon after completion of my Ordinary Level Secondary Education (CSEE). In 1998, I was appointed as a primary school teacher in one of the Tanzanian districts. Since then, a desire to improve my qualifications has been high. As I had no qualifications to take form six examinations (ACSEE), I had to re-sit for CSEE in 1999. Because I was employed, I could not attend regular classes; I had to put aside time for private study after working hours. This was the beginning of my experience as an adult learner in formal education. It was a good experience because it taught me *self-discipline* in learning – one of the basic tenets of adult learning. I became a self-directed learner.

With the required qualifications and experience in self-directed learning (SDL), I registered for the ACSEE. I went through a similar process of privately studying after working hours and successfully sat the examinations in 2003. The qualifications enabled me to undertake my first degree at the University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) between 2004 and 2008. Having the experience of adult education in my prior learning, I decided to undertake a Bachelor of Education in Adult Education. Later, I was employed by the University of Dodoma to teach courses related to Adult Education while studying for my Master’s degree. The topic of my Master’s thesis reflected my interest in adult education possibilities as it investigated how Tanzanian secondary schools could be used as centres for adult education (Msoroka, 2011).

Working at the University of Dodoma exposed me to a range of literature related to social justice issues, including prison education. I was able to read articles on

prison education across the world. This revived my feelings and enabled me to reflect back on my past experience. The literature shaped my understandings of the social neighbourhood in which I was raised (Mjimpya). However, I discovered scant research that focused on the Tanzanian prison education context. Because this subset of Adult Education is not well explored in the Tanzanian context, it increased my interest in understanding and contributing to prison education. That thinking kept alive in my mind even when I moved from the University of Dodoma to the Muslim University of Morogoro. As a result, the topic of the current study came straight into my mind immediately when planning for my doctoral degree, despite the fact that I am not connected directly to the prison system.

It is noteworthy that because I am not attached to the Tanzanian Prisons Service (TPS) in any way, there is little possibility that the analysis and interpretation of the findings could be influenced by an attachment with the system (Kanuha, 2000; Serrant-Green, 2002). However, I acknowledge that lack of attachment in some ways hampered access to prisons. Some prison officers, particularly at the headquarters, were not very cooperative as I undertook this study; I assume that they considered me an outsider (Greene, 2014). But the inmates that I met with and other officers at prison level were all empathetic and cooperative. Although throughout this study I remained sensitive to my background, I acknowledge that there is a possibility that in one way or another data collection, analysis, and interpretation might have been influenced by that. To reduce effects of potential bias, I have collected data from multiple sources with different methods (refer to Chapter 5). I have also reported all the processes that were undertaken, and I have used participants' direct quotes to strengthen discussion.

1.3 The Focus of the Current Study

1.3.1 Statement of the problem

Offending and re-offending is a worldwide problem. Currently, the world has witnessed more than 10,000,000 people spending their lives in prisons (Walmsley, 2016). Considering the continuous increase in the numbers of prisoners, scholars argue that the conservative ideology, which relies on inflicting pain to prisoners through punishment, does not help (Cullen, Jonson, & Nagin, 2011; Leipold, 2006;

Pollock, 2014); it fails to address the original causes of the problem. Instead, this approach hardens prisoners and increases reoffending behaviour (Cullen et al., 2011; Frederick & Roy, 2003; Kemp & Johnson, 2003; Scott & Flynn, 2014). Inmates constitute one of the least advantaged groups when it comes to access to education (Aitchson & Alidou, 2009). It is suggested that poor educational background and lack of work skills are the main causes of crimes and recidivism among inmates (Aitchson & Alidou, 2009; Klein, Tolbert, Bugarin, Cataldi, & Tauschek, 2004; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

On account of this argument, education is considered necessary for prisoners across the world, including Africa (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). Various African countries – Eritrea, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho and South Africa – have developed diverse prison education programmes (Aitchson & Alidou, 2009). In the Tanzanian context, agricultural projects and vocational training in prisons are claimed to be among the rehabilitation programmes (Mboje, 2013; Msamada, 2013). The Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs (n.d.) reports that long and medium-term prisoners are provided with vocational training such as carpentry, masonry and plumbing. Vocational training centres in Mbeya and Morogoro regions are examples of the centres that have been developed by the TPS. Agricultural activities are carried out in open (agricultural) prisons. The TPS argues that these programmes (agricultural and vocational skills) help prisoners to reintegrate into the society (Tanzania Ministry of Home Affairs, n.d.).

Although government documents and reports claim to have such programmes in prisons, there has been little scholarly research focusing on prison education in the Tanzanian context. The two extant studies (Mboje, 2013; Msamada, 2013) did not investigate prison education policies and practices. Msamada's (2013) study addressed two main things: perceptions of prisoners in furthering their education and the challenges that prisoners face in accessing education. He found that prisoners had positive perceptions towards prison education, and that prisons were faced with critical shortages of human and material resources, which hindered proper provision of education. However, Msamada's study only delved into Open and Distance Learning in two prisons in Mbeya City. Mboje (2013) assessed the role of vocational skills in prisoners' rehabilitation. His study mainly examined the relevance of vocational training courses to prisoners' needs and rehabilitation.

Mboje's study was conducted in two central prisons – Ukonga and Isanga – focusing only on vocational training. There were no studies known to the researcher that delved into prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context. For that reason, it was the intention of this study to go beyond Msamada and Mboje's studies. Therefore, this study investigated issues related to prison education policies and practices.

1.3.2 Objective of the study

The purpose of this study was to explore the adequacy of prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context. Accordingly, explorations of the available prison education policies, their (policy) implementation, and actual educational programmes in prisons were undertaken.

Guiding research questions

In order to achieve the stated objective, the following major question was addressed: *Are current policy and practices adequately meeting the needs of prisoners?* Below are the subsidiary research questions that helped me to gather relevant information, which collectively addressed the major research question:

1. What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania?
1. To what extent are educational programmes available in Tanzanian prisons for inmates?
2. How do current practices reflect the intention and substance of the policies?

1.4 Rationale for the Study

This study enhances understanding of the role and performance of prisons towards inmates' cognitive, emotional, and social development, which may translate into inmates' potential contribution to society. The study was carried out in five Tanzanian prisons for the following reasons: first, scarcity of prison education studies conducted in Tanzania, and therefore, little is known about prison education in Tanzania. Second, I wanted to bring attention to Tanzanians and the world, on what is happening in the Tanzanian prisons regarding prisoner education. I hope the findings of this study may trigger interventions for rehabilitation, especially in Tanzania and other African prison systems. Selected stakeholders in Tanzania (the Ministry of Home Affairs and the TPS) may use the

findings of this study to decide on the best way to use prison education to address the problem of recidivism within Tanzanian prisons. Other stakeholders – the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), the Institute of Adult Education (IAE), the Open University of Tanzania (OUT), the Vocational and Education Training Authority (VETA), and other learning institutions – may decide to use prisons effectively to enhance a *learning society* (Cisco, 2010; Jarvis, 2007). This approach of using prisons as education centres may enable prisons to create a workforce who may contribute to the social and economic development of Tanzania. Third, the scholarship (NZ Commonwealth Scholarship) that I was awarded is a developmental scholarship; its main purpose is to bring changes to the home country of the awardee. Therefore, research located in my home country was part of the agreement.

1.5 Definition of Terms

It is necessary to explain the frequently used terms in this thesis.

Case Management of Offenders

Case Management of Offenders consists of an assessment of an offender's needs, development of appropriate programmes, and programme delivery. These initiatives are taken to improve an individual inmate's attitudes and skills that are needed for successful reintegration into the community.

Functional literacy

Functional literacy refers to programmes that combine the teaching of literacy, and vocational (economic) and social skills (Nasution, n.d). The purpose is to enable learners to apply the knowledge they gain from literacy classes in their daily activities, to solve their economic and social concerns.

General education

In this thesis, general education refers to educational programmes designed to develop prisoners' personal and general knowledge, including cultural heritage. It includes all post-literacy courses provided in Tanzanian prisons, but excludes tertiary education, vocational training, and the primary education curriculum provided in one prison.

Lifelong learning

In this thesis, lifelong learning refers to an act of learning throughout one's lifecourse and across multiple contexts (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). It combines the formal education, non-formal education, and informal learning modes. This type of learning may enable everyone to access knowledge and skills regardless of age, gender, space, and status. Usually, lifelong learning is connected to four main themes: the learning economy, personal fulfilment, social inclusion, and active citizenship.

Literacy education

In this study, literacy education is defined in respect to the Tanzanian context. It simply refers to educational programmes that enable individuals to gain the reading, writing, and counting (numeracy) skills in Kiswahili (the language of Tanzania). A Tanzanian illiterate person is someone who cannot read, write, or count in Kiswahili.

Peer teaching

In this study, peer teaching refers to a teaching strategy that allows resourceful inmates to teach their fellow inmates (Bradford-Watts, 2011; Velez, Cano, Whittington, & Wolf, 2011). In this thesis, inmates with higher qualifications taught their fellow inmates with no or lower qualifications.

Prison education

Prison education is central to this study. Therefore, defining this term (prison education) required a careful approach because its definition sets the scope of the study. I carefully decided on what activities were to be considered prison educational and which were not. In the process, I avoided too rigid and too fluid definitions to prevent leaving out important aspects or including everything. In the end, an "activity" was considered "prison education" based on its purpose and participants' (prisoners') views about it. Any activity that aimed at providing inmates with specific knowledge or skills and acknowledged by prisoners to be part of the organised education/training programmes was recognised as "prison education". Hence, both liberal and vocational forms of (adult) education have been included.

Recidivism/Reoffending

In this thesis, the terms “recidivism” and “reoffending” have been used interchangeably to mean an act of repeating crimes, regardless of timespan and frequency.

Rehabilitation

In this research, the term rehabilitation refers to processes that help prisoners to readapt into society after serving their sentences. Various programmes, including prison education, have been used to prepare prisoners to re-join and cope with their society.

Self-concept

Self-concept, as used in this project, refers to beliefs that an individual prisoner holds about him/herself. It is assumed that as people become more mature, their self-concepts shift from being more dependent to being more autonomous and more self-directed. They become more responsible for their decisions and actions (Knowles, Holton, & Swanson, 2005). Gecas (1982) suggests that self-concept is a product of self-reflection.

Self-directed learning

Most adult education scholars (Bolhuis, 1996; Knowles, 1975; Moore, 1980) link self-directed learning (SDL) with learners’ being responsible and managers of their own learning processes and outcomes. In the current study, SDL refers to formal/non-formal learning that occurred as a consequence of prisoners’ initiative. With SDL, prisoners take initiatives to study on their own, with little or no assistance from others. SDL was observed in a few cases in this study.

Tertiary education

In this study, tertiary education is used according to the Tanzanian context. It refers to post-secondary educational programmes that lead to certificates, diplomas, or degrees (The Tanzania Commission for Universities, 2010). These programmes are mostly organised by higher education institutions such as colleges and universities.

Total institution

According to Goffman (1962), “total institution” is a concept that is used to explain restricted organisations which isolate their members from society and restrict access to those outside. Thus, it is difficult for outsiders to acquire information from these institutions. Usually, total institutions work under structured daily routines – strict times for waking up, eating, security check-ups, headcounts, and time to be locked up in cells. This thesis has used this concept (total institution) to explain the conditions experienced by inmates within Tanzanian prisons.

Vocational training

In this study, vocational training is used to refer to the programmes that train inmates for a specific career or trade, excluding the professions related to academic. Vocational training programmes usually focus on practical applications of the skills learned; they are usually biased towards hands-on formats.

1.6 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five major sections: Section 1 (Background); Section 2 (Literature review); Section 3 (Methodology and prisons’ profiles); Section 4 (Discussion); and Section 5 (Final thoughts and conclusions). All five sections form a total of 10 chapters. Section 1 maps the contours of this study; it provides background information on the research context. This section is composed of Chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 1 introduces the study by discussing my own background, the focus of the study (the research problem, research objective, and research questions), and the rationale for this project. Chapter 2 discusses the research context. In this chapter, issues related to historical and political backgrounds of the country, trends within education, and the context of the prison system are covered. Issues related to interventions within formal and non-formal education – during and in the post-colonial period – are discussed.

Section 2 (Chapters 3 and 4) covers the literature review of the study. Chapter 3 provides in-depth analysis of theoretical and empirical literature related to this study, in particular, conceptualising the meaning and application of various concepts and theories – lifelong learning, rehabilitation, perspective transformation, and total institutions – integral to this project. The chapter also

discusses how prison education has been facilitating perspective transformation which may lead to prisoners' rehabilitation within the "total institution" context. Chapter 4 discusses policy contexts of prison education beginning with an analysis of the international policy contexts and eventually narrowing to examine national policy contexts (Tanzania). This chapter is the foundation of all discussions on prison education policy in the following chapters.

Section 3 of this thesis is about methodology and prison profiles. The section is made up of two Chapters: 5 and 6. Chapter 5 is about methodology. It discusses the research paradigm (interpretivist), research approach (a qualitative approach), and study design (case study) used for this project. Issues of data collection methods, case selection, access, data analysis, research validity, and research ethics are also addressed in this chapter. Chapter 6 provides profiles of the selected Tanzanian prisons and the ex-offenders. These profiles provide a snapshot of differences between prisons and among ex-offenders involved.

Section 4 (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) covers the discussion of the findings. All three chapters discuss the main findings of this project. Chapter 7 focuses on the contexts of prison education in Tanzania. Specifically, the chapter examines the available prison education programmes in the Tanzanian context, prisoners' motivation to learn, participation in prison education, and partnerships in prison education. Chapter 8 focuses on teaching and learning resources, inmates' involvement in course development, and prison education learning timetables. Chapter 9 discusses the perceived benefits from and barriers to prison education; it examines the benefits of prison education at three levels: societal, prison, and an individual inmate. The barriers to prison education discussed in this chapter are mainly prison and imprisonment situation, without minimising the importance of dispositional (attitudinal) features.

Section 5 of this thesis focuses on providing closure. The section presents my final thoughts as the researcher and conclusions. This section is formed by one chapter – Chapter 10 – which is entitled Conclusions: Reflection and Recommendations. This chapter provides final thoughts by pulling together the main ideas discussed in previous chapters to generate a general overview and develop conclusions for this project. Based on the arguments discussed in Chapters 4, 7, 8, and 9, it provides general responses to the research questions.

The chapter also proposes some recommendations resulting from this project, notably proposals for a prison education model suitable for adoption in a Tanzanian context.

Chapter Two

The Research Context

2.1 Introduction

An understanding of the context where prisons and research participants, including prisoners, live and interact is essential to understand the discussion of prison education. The current chapter discusses the context of this research project, exploring issues related to the historical and political background of the country, Vision 2025, and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty. Also, the chapter examines trends within education – focussing on some important educational events before, and after independence, including issues related to adult education. One section of this chapter focuses on the Tanzanian Adult and Non-Formal Education policy context. This section discusses the link (sometimes weak) between educational policies and prison education. This part provides preliminary information regarding the prison education policy context which will be discussed further in the later chapters. The other main issue raised in this chapter is a discussion of the prison context. This section provides an overview of the historical background of the TPS, the Tanzanian sentencing policy, and categories of prisoners/prisons and their impacts. Finally, the chapter provides concluding remarks.

2.2 Historical and Political Background of Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania is a union of two countries, Tanganyika (the mainland) and Zanzibar (the island). Tanzania is located in the Eastern part of Africa, with an area of 945,087 square kilometres (Mushi, 2016). The country is bordered by the Indian Ocean in the East, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the West, and Kenya in the North. It is bordered by Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda in the Northern West, Zambia in the South West, and Malawi and Mozambique in the South (See the map below). The country has an estimated total population of around 51,557,365 with males constituting to 25,101,967, and females, 26,455,398 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2018). Although the country has more than 120 tribes whose members speak different vernacular languages, Kiswahili remains the main and official language that connects all people across the country.

The Tanzania Mainland (previously known as Tanganyika) was part of the German East Africa colonial territory from 1885 until the end of the First World War in 1918 (Mbenna, 2009). German East Africa was comprised of the then Tanganyika, Rwanda, and Burundi. Before the German invasion, Arabs were trading with the indigenous people of East Africa. Some of the Arabs lived along the coastal area and in some parts of the mainland. After the First World War, German East Africa was divided by the League of Nations, and Tanganyika was put under the British as a mandate territory (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mbenna, 2009). Other parts of German East Africa – Rwanda and Burundi – were under Belgium (Mbenna, 2009). Tanganyika gained its independence on the 9th of December 1961 and unified with Zanzibar to form Tanzania on 26th April 1964, immediately after the Zanzibar revolution, which occurred on 12th January 1964. Figure 1 below is a map of the current Tanzania showing the regions and boundaries.



Figure 1. Map of Tanzania-regions

Source: Wikimedia Common, 2015: Creative Commons Licence (CC BY-SA 3.0)

Note: Some names have been updated

2.3 The Tanzanian Vision 2025

The Vision 2025 is a development plan inaugurated in 2000. The purpose is to ensure that Tanzania moves from one of the least developed countries to a middle-

income country by the year 2025 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999). With Vision 2025, it is planned that by 2025 the country will have “a well-educated and learning society” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999, p. 3). It can be argued that developing a learning society can be best achieved if the community has developed a *lifelong learning attitude*. This is due to the belief that it is *lifelong learning* that can maximise the chances of the members of the society to improve their ability to take up available developmental opportunities (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999).

To achieve the expected development, Vision 2025 requires members of the society to have a *developmental mindset*. The Vision considers *education* as a *strategic change agent* that can enable a *developmental mindset* among people. It states:

Education should be treated as a strategic agent for ‘mindset transformation’ and for the creation of a well-educated nation, sufficiently equipped with the knowledge needed to competently and competitively solve the development challenges which face the nation. (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999, p. 19).

By considering education an agent for *mindset transformation*, the Vision 2025 is aligned with Mezirow’s *perspective transformation* (Mezirow, 1997, 2003) (This is discussed in Chapter 3). I hold that the Vision 2025 does not discriminate in terms of kinds of learning; every form of organised and semi-organised education – formal and non-formal education – according to the vision, could be used to transform people’s mindsets to achieve Vision 2025 goal.

It is noted here that the Vision 2025 is about national development, which is a process and can arguably be best achieved through cooperative efforts. I attest that developmental processes involve current (adults) and future (youths) working generations. Therefore, adults, who are the current working generation, cannot be ignored in the vision plans. They are part of the population that requires a transformation of their current mindset to acquiring a developmental mindset that would assist the nation to progress. For this reason, I would argue that the Vision 2025 is consistent in its intentions with the aspiration of Adult and Non-formal Education. However, it can be assumed that Tanzania has yet to focus on prisoners’ reformation (as part of a population) to cultivate a *developmental mindset*. This is because prison education was not given priority in most of the

policies, including this one and in prisons generally; this lack of prioritisation will be highlighted in the following chapters.

2.4 The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP)

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) was carried out in two phases: 2000/2001 to 2009/2010 – NSGRP I (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, 2005), and 2010/2011 to 2014/2015 – NSGRP II (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). As means to achieve the Vision 2025, NSGRP I and II aimed at reducing poverty among Tanzanians. Among other things, the NSGRP focused on Adult and Non-formal Education. Among the goals of the NSGRP I, one was to expand adult education programmes by the year 2003 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000), to ensure universal literacy among women and men as well as to achieve at least 80% adult literacy¹ (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2005). However, achieving 80% literacy rates was never practical; in reality, the “adult illiteracy rate increased from 28% in 2005 to 31% in 2009” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010, p. 11). Halving

The NSGRP II also focused on adult and non-formal education. Among its goals were to encourage enrolment expansion, quality, and relevance in the delivery of Adult, Non-formal, and Continuing Education. The NSGRP II also aimed at reducing the adult illiteracy rate by 50%: from 31% in 2009 to 16% in 2015 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). The strategies used to reduce adult illiteracy included the *Yes I Can* campaign, advocacy, awareness raising, and linking the Integrated Community Based Adult Education (ICBAE) programmes with income generation activities (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). The *Yes I Can* programme – currently in six pilot districts – was adapted from Cuba (Mushi, 2016). The Tanzanian and Cuban Governments collaborate to fight against adult illiteracy. Tanzania adapted Cuba’s *Yes I Can* model – which is successful in Cuba – in its literacy campaign (Bwatwa & Kamwela, 2010). Another strategy was the establishment of the Lifelong Learning Qualification Framework (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010). The introduced Qualification Framework links the school education system, vocational training (VET) system, and the

¹ In Tanzania, literacy is measured through National-wide testing exercises. Refer to Carr-Hill, R. A., Kweka, A. N., Rusimbi, M., & Chengelele, R. (1991)

tertiary education system. From the viewpoint of adult education, NSGRP II has potential relevance as the Qualification Framework qualifies individuals to get back to school/college at any given time and at any level they qualify. The Qualification Framework has opened up the possibility for recognition of adults' prior learning experiences (The Tanzania Commission for Universities, 2010). Hence, it provides the flexibility of learning which is necessary for the expansion of adult education. Furthermore, the *Yes I Can* and ICBAE projects have contributed to the increase of adult literacy from 69% in 2009 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2010) to 77.9% in 2012 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014a). However, the targeted goal of an 84% adult literacy rate has not been achieved.

2.5 Trends within Education

2.5.1 Pre-independence education

Formal education was introduced in Tanzania by religious institutions; first by Arabs (8th century) through Quranic schools and later by Christian missionaries (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mushi, 2009). Most of the Quranic schools were built along the east coast of Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) and in some other parts of the mainland to teach Islam to children and adults. Quran and fundamentals of Islam were the main focus of their teachings. Students were taught reading, writing, as well as numeracy skills in Arabic (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mbenna, 2009; Mushi, 2009, 2016). This promoted an Islamic culture along the coast and other parts of the mainland.

Christian missionaries came to Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) in the mid-1800s and introduced western education (Buchert, 1991; Mbogo, 2015). Among their motives was to transmit the Christian culture, to develop the western economy, as well as to pacify and control the Tanganyikans (Mushi, 2009). The teaching of reading, writing, numeracy and other technical skills went hand in hand with the teaching of Christian religious scriptures. Other than children's education, Christian missionaries also contributed to adult education by developing programmes such as literacy education, elementary teacher training, nursing, agriculture, carpentry, masonry, metal work, tailoring, and cookery (Mushi, 2009).

At the beginning of the colonial-era Quranic and Christian missionary schools were the main sources of workforce development (Mbenna, 2009; Mushi, 2009).

Government schools were not introduced until 1892 when the German Colonial Government introduced Tanga School (Mbenna, 2009; Mushi, 2009). The purpose of introducing a government school was to provide secular education which would not have any religious orientation. In 1895, two more public schools were introduced in Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam (Mbenna, 2009). While Christian schools used vernacular languages, Kiswahili was used as a medium of instruction in the government schools (Mbenna, 2009).

The British Government started to reform the education system immediately after taking over the country from Germany in 1919. In the 1920s, the Phelps-Stokes Commission recommended “Education for Adaptation²” for Africans, to the Colonial Office Advisory Committee (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mushi, 2009). As a result, the 1927 African Education Ordinance came into force in 1928 (Furley & Watson, 1978; Nettelbeck, 1974); agricultural and vocational education were emphasised for Africans (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mushi, 2009). With the 1927 African Education Ordinance, all schools in the country were registered and monitored by the British Government. Schools that met state standards were provided with “a grant-in-aid of up to two-thirds of the salaries paid to its African teachers, and up to £300 for European staff” (Furley & Watson, 1978, p. 140). Schools were supposed to conform to the government syllabus. In 1933, a proper school inspectorate system was introduced. Given these changes, the school system became more formal. However, the education provided was segregated. There were separate schools for Europeans, Indians, Goans, and Africans. The quality of education and facilities were also different; the best was for Europeans, followed by the Indians and Goans. The African schools were at the bottom in the ranking (Mushi, 2009). African schools were very few, they enrolled only a few African children, mostly, children of the colonial government workers and local chiefs.

The first and second World Wars resulted in a severe shortage of a trained workforce in the country. The British government embarked on adult education

² Education that suits African context and traditions.

programmes as a means to deal with the problem (Clatworthy, 1969). In the 1930s children's education in literacy, health education, and vocational aspects such as agriculture, carpentry, masonry and the like went hand in hand with the teaching of adults (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mushi, 2009). In this aspect, Adult Education was used as means for economic production and social control.

2.5.2 Post-independence education

At the time of independence (1961), Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) was in a critical state of poverty, ignorance, and disease. About 85% of the population was illiterate (Mushi, 2009) due to a poor education system. Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, identified three key problems – poverty, ignorance, and disease – the most dangerous enemies of the country. He believed that the three enemies could be easily addressed by educating children, youths, and adults (Mushi, 2009, 2010, 2016). Therefore, education was considered the main engine that would liberate people from poverty, ignorance, and disease.

Considering the situation – high illiteracy, social inequality in education, and low enrolment (Mushi, 2009) – the 1961 Education Act was introduced. The Act came into force in January 1962 replacing the 1927 African Education Ordinance (Furley & Watson, 1978; Mushi, 2009; Nettelbeck, 1974; The United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). The purpose of the 1961 Education Act was to regulate and to abolish racial discrimination in education encouraged by the 1927 Education Ordinance. The 1961 Education Act introduced a single system of education. In order to improve enrolment rates, the government included education expansion within its short-term development plans – the 1961-1964 and 1964-1969 Development Plans (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; Mushi, 2009).

In 1967, Tanzania adopted the “Education for Self-reliance” philosophy which was a result of the Arusha Declaration passed by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; Mushi, 2009). The Arusha Declaration introduced the *Socialism*³ and *Self-Reliance*⁴ ideologies which were considered the mother of the “Education for Self-reliance”, and the curriculum and teaching methodologies were changed to accommodate this philosophy. With

³ An ideal way of life where people live together with no social inequities (upper and lower social classes). Everyone works and receives a just return from the work; no one exploits another.

⁴ An ability to be self-sufficient and less dependent on external aids.

“Education for Self-reliance” the government introduced a new curriculum which focused on the teaching of relevant content to reflect the realities of people’s lives and a change of teaching methodologies [from bookish and theoretical to practical learning]. The teaching processes were to encourage a change of learners’ attitudes, to discourage the individualistic propensities promoted by the previous education system, to promote a more cooperative attitude and to develop enquiring minds (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; Mushi, 2009). With the *Socialism* and *Self-Reliance* ideologies (adopted from the Arusha Declaration), the government established the 1969 Education Act which allowed the nationalisation of all government-assisted voluntary agency schools. Education provision became the sole responsibility of the state (Mushi, 2009), there were no more private institutions. In accordance with this approach, by 1971, the government abolished fees in primary schools.

In 1978, the Government introduced the National Educational Act No. 25 (amended in 1995) to enforce mandatory attendance for every school-aged child (7-13) in primary education. The purpose was to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) (Sabates, Westbrook, & Hernandez-Fernandez, 2012). This was in consideration that education is one of the basic human rights (UN, 1948). With all these efforts, significant achievements were recorded between the 1970s and 1980s. One of the main achievements is that the education system integrated all races; segregation in education no longer existed. More schools were built, and increased primary education enrolment (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014). For instance, primary school enrolment increased from 35.1% in the late 1960s to 98% in 1980 (Bhalalusesa, Sima, & Mlekwa, 2009). In the beginning, the main emphasis was on children’s basic education (primary school education) and later, secondary school education.

As has been observed, these educational changes contributed to increasing educational opportunities for children. However, they did not change the situation of poverty, ignorance, and ill-health of the general adult population. It was obvious that school education alone could not provide an immediate impact on national development. Therefore, adult education was given greater priority (Mushi, 2009, 2016). The government considered adult education “as a means of instilling in people a desire for change, a recognition that change was possible,

and awareness of their responsibility for bringing about change” (Mushi, 2009, p. 102). Through adult education, people were informed that the poverty and sickness that they faced were not the *wills of God*; it was possible to reverse the situation. Considering that the majority of people (adults) were illiterate (85%), the primary focus was to teach them reading, writing, and numeracy (Mushi, 2009, 2010). Hence, literacy was the leading adult education programme in the country (in common with many developing countries).

In the 1970s there was a departure from *traditional literacy*⁵ to *functional literacy*⁶ (Mushi, 2009, 2010). With this move, literacy was embedded into agricultural education, nutrition, health and family life education. With a functional literacy approach, in 1971 the government declared its intention to eradicate illiteracy in the country by 1975. Many educational institutions, especially primary schools, became centres of adult education (Msoroka, 2011; Mushi, 2009). Other adult education classes were conducted under trees, in the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) buildings, in social halls, factories, marketplaces, bars, churches, dispensaries, in the street and village leaders’ houses (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; Mushi, 2009). When I interviewed a retired senior prison staff member (Mbogo) during this study, I found that these adult education activities were also carried out in prisons. Mbogo commented:

Soon after independence, prison education started off very well. As you know, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was very serious about adult education. Having adult education classes in prisons improved literacy levels among Tanzanian prisoners. Also, I remember that the TPS introduced a vocational training college at Kipera prison and another one at Iwambi prison. (Mbogo)

It is noted that there were no specialised teachers to run adult education classes at that time. Teachers who were involved included some primary school teachers, party and government leaders – including Mwalimu Nyerere himself – and other literate persons. As a result of these efforts, illiteracy decreased from 85% in 1961 to 21% in 1980 (Mushi, 2009, 2010) and 9.6% in 1986 (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; Mushi, 2009).

⁵ Literacy education is taught as an end in itself (people are only taught the 3Rs – reading, writing, and numeracy).

⁶ Literacy education is integrated with economic and social concerns of the people.

Adult education – through mass education and functional literacy – was used to explain and impart to adults the principles and objectives of “Ujamaa” (socialism) and “Kujitegemea” (Self-reliance) which were adopted through the Arusha Declaration (Mushi, 2009). Workers’ education, distance learning, and post-literacy programmes were also introduced to enable adults to gain knowledge, skills, and appropriate attitudes which improved industrial and agricultural production. These adult education programmes improved people’s participation in forums and political activities, as well (Mushi, 2009). This is aligned to ‘active citizenship’ – a sub-theme of lifelong learning (Findsen & Formosa, 2011).

In the mid-1980s, a global recession affected the entire world, including Africa, and Tanzania in particular (Muganda, 2004). To cope with the situation, Tanzania had to follow the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Consequently, Tanzania underwent significant political and economic changes. Politically, the country shifted from a single party system to a multiparty democracy. The national economy moved from being state-controlled to a market-controlled economy (Mushi, 2009). With this economic shift, two major transformations occurred within the education sector. First, in 1992 the government repealed Section 30 of the 1978 Act which mandated the government to nationalise private schools (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014). Second, the government introduced the 1995 Tanzania Education and Training Policy, which allowed the private sector to participate in educational provision (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; The United Republic of Tanzania, 1995).

These changes in the education sector contributed to the mushrooming of private primary schools, secondary schools, and universities in Tanzania. A cost-sharing policy was also introduced; parents were supposed to contribute financially to their children’s education. Education was no longer considered as a service; it was seen as an enterprise, driven by the market (Ishumi & Anangisye, 2014; Mushi, 2009). The cost-sharing policy had an adverse impact on the primary school enrolment rates. The primary school Gross Enrolment Rate dropped from 98% in 1980 to 77.7% in 2000 (Mbelle & Katabaro, 2003). By 1997, Tanzania was estimated to have more than two million (2,000,000) school-aged children out of school. The majority of these children were from the poor (who could not afford

the costs associated with schooling) and hard-to-reach communities such as nomadic pastoralists (Bhalalusesa et al., 2009). Economic restructuring negatively affected the education sector; funds for adult education were cut. The country lost its focus on the literacy campaigns and adult education in general. Adult education was no longer a priority in the state's development plans (Mushi, 2016). Attending adult education programmes remained more of "personal interest" than being part of the national agenda. In this respect, adult education seemed to be mainly for "personal development" – a sub-theme of lifelong learning (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). Under the circumstances, the official literacy rates dropped from 90% in 1986 to 84% in 1992 (Mushi, 2010). The most recent census report indicates that the Tanzanian adult literacy rate is 78.1% (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014a), suggesting a consistent drop.

In recognition of the shortfalls within education systems around the world, in 1990, the United Nations – under UNESCO – called for the Jomtien Conference at which the member countries agreed on the *World Declaration on Education for All* (EFA) (UNESCO, 1990). The Jomtien Declaration insisted on the provision of basic education for all people across the globe. The target was to achieve universal access to basic education by the year 2000. EFA was extended by the Dakar Framework for Action, adopted in 2000 (UNESCO, 2000). To ensure that EFA would be achieved, Tanzania had to plan for the best way to accommodate the over two million (2,000,000) out-of-school children (Bhalalusesa et al., 2009). As a result, the Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania (COBET) programme was introduced to serve out-of-school children. Between 1997 and 2001 COBET was introduced in five districts (Kisarawe, Songea Rural, Ngara, Musoma Rural, and Masasi) as a pilot project, and from 2003 as a whole country project (Bhalalusesa et al., 2009). In 2002, school fees were abolished in public primary schools (Davén, 2008) followed by their abolition in public secondary schools in 2015 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2015b). Parents were left with the responsibility to make sure that their children have uniforms and learning materials. However, it is noted here that the problem of out of school children still exists in the country. Reports suggest that 55,302 primary school pupils and 94,986 secondary school students dropped out of school in 2012 (The United

Republic of Tanzania, 2014b). The main reasons were poverty, pregnancy, truancy, early marriages, and illness.

2.6 Adult and Non-formal Education – the Tanzanian Policy Context

In December 2015, I interviewed a representative of the Institute of Adult Education (IAE). One of my questions was about adult education policy in Tanzania. Her response suggested that there was no specific adult education policy; rather, the country used some macro-level more general policies that addressed adult education activities. She said:

We do not have a specific adult education policy. We use several national policies that guide the provision of adult education in the country. They include the Development Vision 2025, the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR) Tanzania, and the Education and Training Policy. These policies provide some proclamations which offer general guides to every educational system within the country, including adult education. (Lulu)

Following this finding, I conducted a documentary analysis of the aforementioned policies and some other related documents. Because I have discussed the Vision 2025, and the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR) Tanzania in Sections 2.3 and 2.4 respectively, I will not re-discuss them here. This section examines the Constitution and the Education and Training Policy. The purpose is to see how these documents support or inhibit adult and non-formal education in the Tanzanian context.

2.6.1 The 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania

Considering that the Constitution is the mother of all laws, regulations, and policies in the country, reviewing it was necessary to see how it lays the framework for Adult and Non-formal Education, as well as prison education. Also, the interest to review the Constitution was catalysed by the TPS's statement that the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania is one of the primary documents that guide the TPS's activities (Magereza, 2016).

I found that the right to education was constitutionally safeguarded for every Tanzanian. Section 11(1) requires the Government to ensure that all citizens realise their right to self-education and welfare at old age, sickness, or disability without prejudice (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1998). Section 11(2) offers

freedom of choice to people on what they would want to study to their highest level. It states “every person has the right to self-education, and every citizen shall be free to pursue an education in a field of his choice up to the highest level according to his merits and ability”(p. 19). Section 11(3) presents the Government’s commitment to providing equal opportunity to education. It states: “the Government shall endeavour to ensure that there are equal and adequate opportunities to all persons to enable them to acquire education and vocational training at all levels of schools and other institutions of learning”(p. 19).

These Constitutional statements alone may not guarantee equal opportunity because access to education is influenced by several factors – financial status, learning environment, attitudes, and parental involvement (Mwanik & Orodho, 2016; Wanjala, 2013) – which are not addressed by the Constitution. For instance, poverty may inhibit children and adults’ attendance in educational programmes; they may not have funds to buy learning materials and food (Preece, 2006). However, it is noted here that having these statements in the Constitution is an indication that the Tanzanian Government recognises the importance of the right to education for everyone. Unlike the South African Constitution (this is discussed in Chapter 4), the Tanzanian Constitution is silent about prison education and prisoners’ rights in general. Nevertheless, it can be argued that with the above general statements, ministries and institutions, including prisons, may develop specific policies, rules, and regulations that would allow and ensure that individuals within their boundaries can benefit from the right to education as stipulated in the Constitution.

2.6.2 The Education and Training Policy

As noted in Section 2.6, the Education and Training Policy was mentioned by the representative of the IAE as among the primary documents that guide adult and non-formal education in Tanzania. This policy addresses all systems of education – pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational education and training (VET), and non-formal education – within the country. Currently, the country uses the new Education and Training Policy (established in 2014). Previously, the country used the 1995 Education and Training Policy. It is suggested that the government embarked on the 2014 Education and Training Policy to respond to global changes (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014c). Because the current

policy was very new at the time of this study, I found it useful to review both, the current and the previous policies. The purpose was to determine what differences existed between the two (the current and former) policies in regard to Adult and Non-formal Education activities.

In the process, I found that both the old and the new Education and Training Policies include proclamations related to adult education, but they are not specific to prison education. In the recent policy, the Tanzanian Government shows its commitment to adult education by promising to create a suitable environment for adult education provision at all levels and in all modes, including Open and Distance Learning. Although the policy did not specify the categories of disadvantaged groups in the Tanzanian society, it included a statement which suggests the Government's commitment to maximise educational provision to all groups equitably (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014c). The same commitment was seen in the former education policy. However, the difference is that in the 1995 policy, the disadvantaged groups were mentioned, but excluded prisoners (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). This suggests that Tanzanian education system has yet to recognise the importance of education to this marginalised group.

A positive feature in the 1995 policy was that Adult and Non-formal Education was singled out in the statements compared to the recent policy. In section 2.3.9 for example, the policy stated: "Non-formal education and training shall be recognised, promoted, strengthened, coordinated and integrated with formal education and training systems" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1995, p. 16); the recent policy makes no such reference. Also, the previous policy called for all educational institutions to become centres of adult learning (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1995), a statement which is not found in the current policy. Missing such statements in the current policy is an indication that Adult Education has been given a lower priority than in the previous policy. One could argue that this is a step back from where the nation previously was in regard to the adult education policy context. The best element in the current policy is that the policy recognises prior learning experiences (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014c). Previously, one's experiences did not count in the higher education enrolment (in terms of transfer for credit); only credentialed qualifications mattered. Embracing

adults' experiences is healthy for the development of adult education (Knowles et al., 2005). It increases the lifelong learning possibilities for adults.

2.7 The Context of the Tanzanian Prison System

The previous section has discussed the policy context regarding adult and non-formal education in Tanzania. This section discusses the context of the Tanzanian prison system. The section covers issues related to historical developments of prison, sentencing policy, and categories of prisoners/prisons in Tanzania. The purpose of this section is to provide readers with a brief understanding of the Tanzanian prison context. I believe that this information may help a reader in understanding the interpretations that I make throughout this thesis.

2.7.1 Historical developments

During the German rule, the Prisons Service was under the control of the Police Force. Under the British, the Prisons Service was established as an independent entity in 1931 (Mboje, 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d). The main focus of prisons during both colonial eras (the German and British) was on prisoners' incarceration. Hard work and segregation were dominant in prisons (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017a; Williams, 1980). People viewed prisons as coercive instruments of the Colonial Governments (Nyoka, 2013; Williams, 1980).

In an effort to deviate from the colonial pattern, in the 1990s, the Tanzania Prisons Service (TPS) developed a new vision to consider humanistic principles in the treatment of offenders (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017a). It has been claimed that the main focus of the current prison system is the rehabilitation of offenders. This is in connection to the United Nations' (UN) vision which emphasises prisoners' rehabilitation as the best approach to prepare them for their return into society (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). This thesis contributes in understanding how far this approach (rehabilitation of offenders) is practical in the Tanzanian context.

Currently, the TPS consists of 126 prisons with more than 33,517 inmates of whom about 51% are on remand. Statistics suggest that of all prisoners, only 1,326 are female inmates (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d). A report shows that 85.7% of the convicted prisoners are of working age, between 15-50

years (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d). The current recorded capacity of all Tanzanian prisons is 29,552 prisoners (Mikongoti, Mlowe, & Wazambi, 2016; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d). Therefore, the current prisons' capacity is exceeded by 3,965 ($33,517 - 29,552 = 3,965$). With more than 47% (most quoted) reoffending rates in Tanzania (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014), it is clear that these inmates need rehabilitation programmes which may reduce their reoffending risks and help them to become productive citizens.

As noted previously, skill deficits – low levels of formal education, illiteracy, and low/no job skills – are the leading offending risks across countries (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012), and Tanzania is no different. In 2008, about 75% of inmates in Isanga Prison (Dodoma) were reported to be illiterate (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014d). To deal with rampant illiteracy and low work skills among prisoners, the UN proposed that education and job training be provided to inmates as part of the rehabilitation methods (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). The assumption is that if prisoners undergo these programmes they may be well prepared to return into society with positive attitudes and skills. They may become economically and socially productive, thus reducing reoffending risks. Considering that the TPS claims to apply rehabilitation approaches, prison education becomes an essential programme in Tanzanian prisons. This claim was among the motivational factors to conduct this study. The study investigated prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context. This research provides a more broad understanding of how the TPS “rehabilitation vision” is currently actually practised through prison education.

2.7.2 Sentencing policy in Tanzania

Despite the claim that the current prison vision considers humanity and focuses on prisoners' rehabilitation (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017a), the Tanzanian penal system is regarded as tough on crime, resulting in longer sentences and corporal punishment (Kinemo, 2002; The United Republic of Tanzania, 1972). It is argued here that the tougher the country is on crime, the more its prisons become punitive centres. Being tough on crime resulted in the Minimum Sentence Act (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1972). Since introduction of this Act,

“many prisoners have been subjected to inhuman and degrading punishments such as death, excessive years of imprisonment or corporal punishment which retards the cardinal point of rehabilitation of prisoners” (Kinemo, 2002, p. 7). Nyoka (2013) argues that the Tanzanian penal system embraces a punitive approach with longer sentences. With the current Tanzanian Penal Code, a person who steals anything with a value exceeding 100 Tanzanian shillings (equivalent to 0.06 New Zealand Dollar – current exchange rate) is liable to imprisonment for seven years (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1981; Section 274). This is different from the laws of New Zealand where an individual who steals anything with a value less than \$500 (equivalent to more than 770,000 Tanzanian Shillings – current exchange rate) is imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months (The New Zealand Government, 1961; Section 223 (d)). These differences in punishment indicate different approaches to crime (conservative/liberal). The Tanzanian sentencing policy seems to be very harsh. With this harsh sentencing policy, the Tanzanian penal system is arguably following a “conservative” approach to imprisonment while New Zealand follows the “liberal” approach (Pollock, 2014). Literature suggests that the Tanzanian government officials support this conservative approach to imprisonment, in the hope that it would bring some positive results. This argument is suggested by Williams (1972) who noted that:

They are not policies which we like”, said the Second Vice-President, Mr Kawawa, “and I am convinced that Prisons Officers do not like them either; to administer corporal punishment is an unpleasant thing for any civilised person to do. But we have to make people recognize that to commit an offence against the nation or any of its citizens, is an evil thing which is a disgrace to the man who does it. (p. 79)

With the most recently quoted reoffending rate (47%) (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014), it can be argued that the conservative approach to imprisonment has not helped Tanzania much to reduce offending and reoffending (Nyoka, 2013). This thesis considers that there is a room for improvement, and therefore it suggests “liberal approaches,” which embrace rehabilitative programmes such as prison education to reduce crime and reoffending problems in Tanzania (Pollock, 2014).

2.7.3 Categories of prisoners/prisons and their impact – the Tanzanian context

Tanzania prisons are of three categories: central (maximum security) prisons, district (medium security) prisons, and agricultural/open (low security) prisons (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017c). There are 12 Central prisons located in the following zones: East (3), West (1), North (3), South (2), Southern Highland (1), Central (1), and Lake Zone (1). District prisons stand at 68 and agricultural prisons are 46, located in various districts (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017c). The majority of central and district prisons were inherited from the colonial regime (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014). Most of these prisons are surrounded by walls and have strict security. On the other hand, most of the agricultural prisons were created after independence. These are located in farm areas; farming being the main activity for prisoners. These prisons are not surrounded by walls, and they do not have as tight a security system as those of the central and district prisons. Several prisons have wings for women prisoners; only one (open) prison is mentioned to be a women-specific prison. Figure 2 below is one of the central prisons in Tanzania.



Figure 2. Ukonga Central Prison - Dar es Salaam

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Although it was not recorded in most of the reviewed documents, a few documents (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014; Nyoka, 2013) and some interviewees of this study suggest that prisoners in the Tanzanian context were not categorised based on their offending risks. Rather, they were

categorised based on their sentence length. Prisoners who were sentenced to 10 years and above were allocated to central (maximum security) prisons; those sentenced between five and 10 years were allocated to district (medium security) prisons, and those sentenced to less than five years were sent to agricultural (low security) prisons. As noted in the previous section, the Tanzanian penal system tends to apply long sentences for the majority of crimes in the hope of teaching people a lesson to avoid crime (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014). This results in overcrowded central and district prisons (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014; Kusupa, 2011), leaving agricultural prisons with more space. For instance, in Ukonga Prison, sometimes, a cell intended for 25 prisoners would accommodate between 60 to 80 prisoners (Kusupa, 2011).

Describing this issue, Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania (2014) argues:

Treatment of offenders based on length of sentences and not on risk management (criminogenic needs) does not guarantee rehabilitation. This creates artificial overcrowding in central prisons. In our prisons, there is no scientific analysis of identifying the risks of offenders; as a result, all are crowded in Central prisons even those with low risks who can work in open farms. (p. 58)

As will be seen in the following chapters, a central prison involved in the present study is also overcrowded. From this point of view, it is suggested here that Tanzania needs to rethink the best way to categorise its prisoners and prisons to rebalance the prison population.

2.7.4 Source of funds

Reports suggest that the Tanzanian prison system is centralised; all 126 prisons operate under the Tanzania Prisons Service (TPS) which is mainly funded by the central government (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2016, 2017b). For instance, for the year 2015/16, the TPS received a total of Tanzanian Shillings 71,034,722,868/= from the central budget (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2016). For the year 2017/18, the TPS was allocated a total of Tanzanian Shillings 205,378,345,000/= (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017b). Information on how this fund is distributed and spent in prisons is not available. There is no evidence for other sources of funds. However, it is noted here that there are some

income generated activities carried out in some prisons, but data are not available. Prisons are reported to be reliant mainly on the central government (Anonymous, 2017; Msuya, 2017). Recently, prison officers have been urged to use the human resource they have (prisoners) to the maximum to improve production, especially in agriculture, so that prisons can fund themselves and thereby reduce reliance on the government (Msuya, 2017).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research context of this study. An overview of the historical and political background of Tanzania, including the trends within the education sector has been addressed. It is clear that various interventions have been made to improve formal (for children) and non-formal (for adults) education. It is suggested here that formal and non-formal education were introduced in Tanzania by foreigners, and efforts to improve them became stronger after independence. It is also suggested that efforts to address the problem of school dropout have been taken; however, it is acknowledged that despite the efforts, school dropout is still a major problem in Tanzania. For that reason, Adult Education seems to be the best option to accommodate the school dropouts in the near future. Therefore, Tanzania requires a sound Adult Education Policy, which currently does not exist. As criminology literature suggests, there is a high possibility that the out of school children have been contributing to the pool of Tanzanian offenders. Although the literature suggests that prison education can reduce recidivism rates (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Nally, Lockwood, Knutson, & Ho, 2012), none of the reviewed policy documents has mentioned prison education. Perhaps, it is now a time for the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) and the TPS to interpret the governmental policies on adult education in the prison context.

This chapter has discussed issues related to historical development, sentencing policy, and how prisoners have been categorised in Tanzania. It is suggested here that there is a contradiction between the focus of the Tanzanian prisons (rehabilitation) as claimed by the TPS and the sentencing policy of the country (“tough on crime” resulting into long sentences and harsh punishment). It is suggested in this chapter that the sentencing policy and poor categorisation of

prisoners have contributed to artificial overcrowding in the central prisons while leaving spaces in agricultural prisons; this needs to be addressed.

Section 2
Literature Review

Chapter Three

Literature Review: Prison and Learning

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided the historical and political backgrounds of Tanzania and the prison context. The current chapter canvasses relevant theoretical perspectives and empirical research. In this chapter, I first examine the philosophical trends of prisons followed by the discussion about theories related to this project. Relevant theories include sociological crime theories (socioeconomic perspectives and labelling), social learning and lifelong learning theories, including an analysis of perspective transformation – a special type of adult learning. In so doing, I argue that prison education has a significant contribution to make to the *rehabilitation* of prisoners. While discussing the empirical findings from related studies, this chapter discusses common practices within prison education, including common educational programmes in prisons, teaching and learning resources, and access to learning opportunities. The concept of *total institution* is also discussed to clarify its connection with prisons and this study generally. The importance of partnerships between prisons and other agencies in the provision of prison education is highlighted. I argue that partnerships have positive impact on the adequacy of provision of prison education. Then, I examine prisoners' motivation to learn, followed by the benefits and barriers to prison education, and a conclusion.

3.2 The Prison – Philosophical Trends

The literature suggests that prisons serve as punishment – which are supposed to deter offenders or other potential offenders, and prevent offenders from committing other offences – or they serve as a rehabilitative measure (Kemp & Johnson, 2003). The history of prisons and their functions can be traced back to ancient times (3000 B.C.E) (JustSpeak, 2014; Materni, 2013; Pollock, 2014; Roberts, 2007; van Ginneken, 2016). Before the 19th century, imprisonment was dominated by a “conservative” philosophy (Pollock, 2014). The “conservative” philosophy to imprisonment assumes that human beings rationally choose to commit crimes, and therefore, they deserve punishment. Consequently, “Prison life should be uncomfortable – even painful – so that rational people will be

deterred from committing a crime. If a short prison term does not work, the next sentence should be longer” (Pollock, 2014, p. 9). With the “conservative” philosophy, prisons are expected to punish offenders for their crime, to teach (deter) offenders and other people (within the society) to avoid crime, and to protect the society from criminals (Kemp & Johnson, 2003; Stohr & Walsh, 2012; The USA Federal Government, 1977). The theory behind this punitive view is that “offenders and potential offenders will fear the punishment mandated by state and federal governments to the extent that they will not engage in criminal acts” (Kemp & Johnson, 2003, p. 11).

The failure of the “conservative” approaches (refer to Section 3.3.2) encouraged scholars and prison authorities to rethink the approaches to imprisonment. Since the 19th century, prisons, especially in developed countries, have been using more “liberal” approaches to imprisonment (Pollock, 2014). These approaches provide the possibility for prisoners to change their behaviours through rehabilitation programmes. These programmes include, but are not limited to, work skills, education, and treatment of drug addiction (Cullen et al., 2011; Kemp & Johnson, 2003; Pollock, 2014; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). These programmes offer relevant skills to prisoners, which are expected to help them break a reoffending cycle. This move has brought us to the fourth function of prisons, “education and rehabilitation”, which is currently highly recommended by liberal societies. It is noted in this thesis that many prisons, especially in developing countries, still prefer the conservative approaches to imprisonment.

3.3 Crime and Recidivism

This study is about prison education. Therefore, prisoners are central to this research. The main argument of this project is that prison education can be used to reduce recidivism among inmates, hence, it is essential to discuss the theoretical background of *crime* and *recidivism*.

3.3.1 Crime

Legally “crimes usually are defined as acts or omissions forbidden by law that can be punished by imprisonment and/or fine” (Schiller, Black, & Murphy, 2012, p. 285). It is noted here that crime is a complex phenomenon; it varies across cultures and time. One activity may be legal in one culture, but is an offence in

another culture. For instance, in 2012 the Colorado and Washington states legalised the use of marijuana for people aged 21 and above (Spaulding & Fernandez, 2013). In contrast, for other USA states and many other countries, including New Zealand and Tanzania, it is illegal.

There are various causes of crime that have been explained by criminologists. The most quoted explanations include biological, psychological, and sociological perspectives (Siegel, 2010, 2012). Because I am not writing on criminology, I will not go into details of those theories, rather in this section, I will focus on the sociological causes. The sociological theories I will explore are the socioeconomic and social learning perspectives. The purpose of exploring these two perspectives is not to suggest that they are comprehensive, but rather, that these explanations are more relevant to this study. Most of the discussion in this project will be linked to low(er) socioeconomic factors for two reasons: firstly, this study is about prison education, and success in education is partly explained by socioeconomic status among people. Second, the majority of studies (Thornberry & Farnworth, 1982; Weatherburn, 2001; Webster & Kingston, 2014) suggest that ‘low socioeconomic status’ is one of the leading factors associated with criminality.

Socio-economic perspectives

Many scholars consider the *low socio-economic* status of individuals to be a leading cause of many reported crimes (Thornberry & Farnworth, 1982). These scholars believe that crime is a social and economic phenomenon. They link criminal behaviours with social structures such as ethnicity, language, and social class (education and socioeconomic levels). It is argued that social inequalities contribute to criminal behaviours (Rivera, 1995; Siegel, 2010, 2012; Weatherburn, 2001; Zahn, 1997). The likelihood of offending becomes higher when individuals are poor and feel that they have nothing to lose, especially the jobless and lowly educated individuals (Rivera, 1995; Thornberry & Farnworth, 1982; Weatherburn, 2001; Webster & Kingston, 2014). Rivera (1995) argues that “crime stems not only from individual failures, but also from social factors: a combination of poverty, economic underdevelopment, displaced unskilled workers, discrimination, and a host of other factors that cause despair and learned helplessness” (p. 159). In America, Lochner and Moretti (2004) reported that

there is a very close link between poor educational background, offending, and incarceration. It is from this point of view that the current study advocates that prison education can help prisoners who have poor educational backgrounds (Aparicio & Ortenzi, 2008; UNESCO, 2007), to succeed and break the offending cycle (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). Education can be an effective way to improve an offender's opportunity for post-release employment (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Graffam & Hardcastle, 2007), and subsequently, can contribute to poverty reduction (Preece, 2006; Van der Veen & Preece, 2011). Education may also be used to teach prisoners appropriate community values and behaviour, which may help them to reintegrate into the community smoothly. Consequently, prison education may reduce criminality.

Social learning perspectives

Social learning scholars assume that criminality is learnt from life experiences (Grusec, 1992). People are not born criminals; it is their interaction with the environment that leads them to criminality (Siegel, 2010, 2012). It is assumed that as long as people interact with experienced offenders, they will learn the techniques, norms, and values of crimes. This view is a critique of the biological theory which assumes that people are born criminals. The social learning theory assumes that usually, people learn from their role models (Astray-Caneda, Busbee, & Fanning, 2011; Siegel, 2010); normally, the role models for prisoners and ex-prisoners are people with similar characteristics – criminals, people with low education, the unemployed, and drug users. One challenge for rehabilitation programmes is to encourage prisoners to improve their educational levels in order to gain employment qualifications and work skills. According to social learning theory, the best way to encourage prisoners to attend educational classes is to provide prisoners and ex-prisoners with role models who have education levels that meet the national norm (Astray-Caneda et al., 2011). Arguably, a mentor who has achieved higher educational qualifications can enhance inmates' prospects for success through increasing self-efficacy. In the social learning perspective, parents are advised to keep their children away from offenders to reduce the possibility of becoming offenders (through socialisation).

This theory influenced prisons, especially in the developed countries, to apply "case management of offenders" programmes to separate high-risk offenders from

the low-risk offenders to reduce negative peer learning (Nyoka, 2013). The arguments of this theory also strengthen the need for organised prison education programmes which could provide inmates with opportunities to gain positive attitudes and skills. This positive intervention may reduce the negative impacts of informal learning in prisons – the common way that inmates learn crime techniques from the hardcore inmates (Cullen et al., 2011; Marsick & Watkins, 2001; Marsick, Watkins, Callahan, & Volpe, 2006).

“Aftercare is an important step in reducing recidivism. Ex-inmates often begin their re-entry into society with good intentions, but as months go by and social support and services dwindle, they tend to relapse into their previous criminal tendencies” (Astray-Caneda et al., 2011, p. 5). To avoid ex-prisoners returning to the same environment that influenced their original criminal behaviour, they (ex-prisoners) could be placed in transition camps and communities as part of rehabilitation programme. This would allow them to pursue an acceptable lifestyle and undertake paid work. The implication is that social learning theory has significance for rehabilitation and reintegration approaches and policies.

3.3.2 Recidivism

According to Carcach and Leverett (1999), *recidivism* refers to “subsequent offending by a person who has been convicted of a prior offence” (p. 2). Recidivism is one of the challenges facing prison systems worldwide. Government policies reflect the views of the majority of people who believe that severe penalties may help to reduce criminality (Faulkner, 2010; Lord Ashcroft, 2011; O’Connor, 2017; Whitaker, 2016). As a result, lengthy sentences are used in many countries in an effort to deter crime (Faulkner, 2010; Nyoka, 2013; Zahn, 1997). In Tanzania, out of 16,503 convicted adult offenders, 9,632 were sentenced to more than four years (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d). However, long sentences and hard work do not necessarily address the underlying behaviour, as some prisoners meet with hardened offenders in prisons and learn more techniques to become more active offenders upon release (Cullen et al., 2011). After the first sentence, some inmates may not care about the price of criminality anymore. The inefficiency of a punitive view of imprisonment is evident in the high recidivism rates among offenders. In the USA, a follow-up study of released prisoners revealed that within three years, 67.5% of the released prisoners were

arrested for a new offence (Langan & Levin, 2002). Similarly, in a study on harsher prison conditions, Chen and Shapiro (2007) concluded that “harsher prison conditions do not reduce the post-release criminal behaviour, and may even increase it” (p. 24). A similar pattern is seen in Tanzania as more than 47% of Tanzanian prisoners have been convicted more than once (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014). It is noted here that the prison congestion and high recidivism rates suit well *the law of unintended consequences* explained by Ivan Illich (Shay, 2012). The law of unintended consequences suggests that some institutions tend to produce outcomes which are not intended. It can be argued that prisons, in this regard, have failed to address the issue of crime; instead, they may contribute to professionalising crime. This is an unintended consequence of prisons.

As mentioned previously, the majority of prisoners have been poorly educated and were previously unemployed (Klein et al., 2004; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014d). These circumstances (low level of education and unemployment) have been reported among the primary sources of recidivism. When prisoners return to their original offending environment they are subjected to the same offending conditions, for instance, being jobless; consequently, they are more likely to end up in reoffending (Cullen et al., 2011; Frederick & Roy, 2003). Therefore, it is argued here that the socioeconomic environment has a significant influence on prisoners’ reoffending behaviour. Consequently, this study calls for the Tanzanian prison system to provide inmates with skills which may help them change, instead of hardening their existing detrimental skills. In this regard, prison education becomes vital.

Labelling theory and recidivism

Apart from the above explanations, labelling and stigmatisation can contribute significantly to reoffending behaviour. “Labelling theory” is sometimes known as “Social reaction theory”. Studies suggest that ex-convicts are often labelled and stigmatised by the community (Frost, 2011; Goffman, 1963). The labelling theory assumes that a “deviant label” attached to an individual, increases the chance for that person to deviate (Chiricos, Barrick, Bales, & Bontrager, 2007; Siegel, 2012). These given social identities (labels) may inhibit ex-offenders from gaining social

support from families and friends throughout their lives, “and create community expectations of deviant behaviour from the individual” (Ascani, 2012, p. 80). It is evident that even prisoners with qualifications face this problem, as often employers are unwilling to employ people with prison records (Schmitt & Warner, 2010). If ex-prisoners cannot earn money by legal means (work), they may have to turn to crime. The ex-convicts may feel that it is pointless attempting to avoid reoffending while society still considers them criminals (Cullen et al., 2011).

3.4 Lifelong Learning Theory

This study is about prison education which is a subset of adult education and lifelong learning. I argue that the provision of prison education is an appropriate intervention to support prisoners to gain lifelong learning opportunities, which may subsequently reduce recidivism. Because of that, the following discussion will explore lifelong learning perspectives. This section provides a theoretical overview and explains how lifelong learning perspectives fit within this study.

Lifelong learning is an essential principle for education and training systems to build a ‘knowledge society’ (Torres, 2002). Scholars have used different phrases to define *lifelong learning*. However, they all agree that *lifelong learning* is an act of learning throughout one’s life – from the cradle to the grave – regardless of the period of life, space, gender, or status (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Jarvis, 2004; Laal, 2011; Torres, 2002). Before *lifelong learning*, the term *lifelong education* was more commonly used, especially after Faure’s report in 1972. *Lifelong education* was regarded as “the continuity of the educational process” (Faure et al., 1972, p. 142) from birth to death. In recent years, *lifelong learning* has become commonly used. Still, some scholars use both terms (lifelong education and lifelong learning) interchangeably (Findsen & Formosa, 2011); but the terms are not synonymous. For that reason, it is worth discussing the terms – learning and education – before delving into the details of *lifelong learning*.

Usually, *learning* involves a knowledge/skill acquisition process; a person acquires, appreciates and applies the principles and concepts learned to life (Oakeshott, 2010). *Education*, on the other hand, is referred to as the transmission of something meaningful, usually linked to the holistic development of an individual (social, emotional, cognitive) through systematic and organised

learning (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). It is noted here that *learning* is a broader concept which is both ‘lifelong’ – from the cradle to the grave – and ‘life-wide’ – occurring across multiple contexts. Therefore, *learning* can occur as a result of any combination of formal, non-formal, and informal learning processes (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). Further, *education* involves systematic and intentional learning which is often related to national and international educational policies (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). In this regard, *education* is limited to organised learning (formal) and is commonly associated with assessment, learning structures, credentials, and policies. With this clarification, it is now a time to discuss lifelong learning more broadly.

Lifelong learning has three dimensions – lifelong, life-wide, and voluntary and self-motivated activity (Government of Ireland, 2000). While the “lifelong” dimension denotes the continuum of learning, from birth to death, the “life-wide” dimension refers to the multiplicity of spaces where learning can occur. The “voluntary and self-motivated” dimension reflects the fact that adult learning is primarily voluntary and is self-motivated. An individual learner is the centre of the learning process and not a provider. Lifelong learning, therefore, is the endless, voluntary, and self-motivated process of seeking knowledge for personal, social, economic, or professional reasons.

Lifelong learning has four key themes: economic development (for a learning economy), personal fulfilment, active citizenship, and social inclusion (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). In economic development, lifelong learning, from this perspective, is assumed to provide individuals with knowledge and skills for mainly vocational purposes which may help them to compete in the labour market. Considering that poverty and unemployment are among the major problems facing societies (Aitchson & Alidou, 2009; Klein et al., 2004), this function has become of considerable concern (Włodkowski, 2008). People engage in learning programmes to gain skills and abilities that can help them to maximise their productivity. It is noted here that maximisation of production through work may lead to economic development of individuals and the society in general. In this aspect, lifelong learning is closely aligned with *Human capital theory* (see its brief description below).

Regarding personal fulfilment and active citizenship, lifelong learning provides individuals with opportunities to achieve their full potential and contribute to their own (personal) and community development (Barr & Griffiths, 2007). Lifelong learning also enables people to participate in political and social activities. Through social inclusion, lifelong learning better positions everyone in the community to learn, especially members of marginalised groups (Ouane, 2011). It potentially can provide a *second chance* to education for people who have been disadvantaged by a formal education system that has discriminated against them based on their gender, ethnicity, social class, disability, geographical location, or by any other cause. Governments often invoke social inclusion as a policy imperative to provide learning opportunities for groups of people previously disenfranchised from mainstream (adult) education provision (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Thompson, 2007). Historically, prisoners have undergone such dislocation from conventional education structures (Devine, 2010). Also, it is argued here that the *social inclusion* function enables “lifelong learning” to include *social justice in education* (see its description below).

Human capital theory

The “human capital” theorists believe that the knowledge that a person gains is a form of “capital”. Therefore, “education” is a productive investment which benefits both individuals and society (Schultz, 1961). This theory assumes the presence of a relationship between workers’ educational advancement, an increase in their productivity, and an increase in earnings. It is argued in this theory that work skills, knowledge, and work attitudes are employees’ assets gained from education and training (Preece, 2006; Schultz, 1961). The higher the education a person gains, the more they become employable, and the more they earn (Msoroka, 2011; Schultz, 1961). For this reason, improving educational levels of individuals may create employment opportunities (for them) and may subsequently result in sustainable socioeconomic development of individuals and the community. Although Forojalla (1993) criticised human capital theory for its failure to recognise other factors (“job satisfaction” and the “reward structure”) which may equally contribute to workers’ productivity, this theory dominates the lifelong learning agenda (Preece, 2006). In lifelong learning, education is regarded as an engine for skills development which is a relevant model for poverty

reduction in the developing countries (Preece, 2006). Therefore, arguments proposed by the human capital theorists are relevant to a prison context because of the previous observation that the majority of prisoners have poor educational backgrounds and they lack work skills (Lochner & Moretti, 2004).

Social justice in education

According to Burke (2010), the term *social justice* was first developed in the 1840s as “a branch of the ordinary concept of justice, analogous to *commutative justice* or *criminal justice*” (p. 97). Currently, social justice is used to describe a fair distribution of resources (wealth), opportunities, and privileges among all, including the powerless and the voiceless within a society (Ferree, 1997; Jost & Kay, 2010; UN, 2006). The term has also been used in education – social justice in education – to mean fair access to education to everyone within society, including the marginalised (Oduaran, 2006). Studies indicate that prisoners are among the marginalised groups who have low access to education (Edwards & Cunningham, 2016; Hawley, Murphy, & Souto-Otero, 2013). For this reason, prison education becomes part of interventions that support *social justice in education*. Accordingly, *social justice* becomes one of the focal points of this thesis, because, as it will be seen in the following sections, prison education may contribute to access to education for the marginalised prisoners.

Lifelong learning – the African perspective

The African continent is vast, with a huge number of nations, tribes, and cultures. Hence, Africa is not a homogeneous continent. However, when it comes to traditional learning, most scholars associate the African perspective of lifelong learning with African indigenous education (Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Preece, 2014). It is noteworthy that traditional African societies, including Tanzania, had no formal schools as those of today. Indigenous education was provided within the community, but outside the four walls. Parents and elders were the main teachers, as there were no trained teachers (Buchert, 1991; Mushi, 2009, 2016). Youth and young adults were taught how to live productively within the community (tribe) (Mushi, 2009, 2016). The primary purpose of education was to preserve and transmit culture and the tribe’s codes of good behaviour (Buchert, 1991; Lekoko & Modise, 2011; Mushi, 2009). African indigenous education was provided orally and dates back to the pre-colonial era. It was “organised and tied

to the levels of responsibility that village communities would associate with the stages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood in terms of knowledge and wisdom required for social cohesion and productivity” (Preece, 2014, p. 69). This age-set learning system ensured lifelong learning among people within the society. Different tribes, communities, or ethnic groups taught values of social cohesion and productivity in accordance with their customs and needs in a lifelong and life-wide perspective. Education was holistic, incorporating both practical and philosophical aspects (Mushi, 2009; Preece, 2014).

Literature suggests that in African indigenous education, learning was a gender-specific; it prepared individuals for a range of social and professional roles such as herbalists (doctors), artisans, and astronomers in societies (Mushi, 2009; Preece, 2014). Including practical knowledge, African indigenous learning also involved an understanding of the community’s history, beliefs, and social protocols. It has also been argued that African indigenous education was embedded in value systems that were more likely to foster the notion of collectivity rather than individualism, which is said to reinforce much of western thought (Preece, 2014). In the African collective cultures, an individual is required to take responsibility for others; individual interests are considered less important than communal interests (Merriam & Kim, 2008; Ntseane, 2007). Hence, whatever a person learns should benefit the society. It can be argued that, in the Tanzanian context, the African collective culture influenced Nyerere’s thinking when he introduced education for self-reliance – through Ujamaa philosophy which was developed from the Arusha Declaration – soon after independence (Mushi, 2009; Nyerere, 1968). Education for self-reliance is discussed in Section 2.5.

It is noted here that globalisation has an impact on the indigenous African cultures, including Tanzanian Ujamaa and Self-reliance. Some of the effects of globalisation have been discussed in Chapter 2 (Refer to Section 2.5.2); however, it is suggested that current policies carried out in Tanzania, including Vision 2025, retain the Ujamaa and self-reliance perspectives (Preece & Haynes, 2009). For instance, although Vision 2025 considers the need for a competitive development mindset among people and the importance of market-led economy, a few legacies of Ujamaa and self-reliance emerge in the phrase “for Tanzania this development

means that the creation of wealth and its distribution in society must be equitable and free from inequalities” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999, p. 3).

3.4.1 The four pillars of education

Since the launch of Delors’ report in the 1990s, education has been associated with four pillars – learning to live together, learning to do, learning to know, and learning to be (Delors, 2013; Delors et al., 1996). UNESCO urges members of the United Nations to incorporate these four pillars into their education systems (Delors et al., 1996). In this project, I view these four as pillars of lifelong learning. Hence, this section discusses how these pillars are connected to prison education.

Learning to live together focuses on helping learners to gain socially accepted ways of life – culture, norms, and morals (Delors et al., 1996). Understanding and living according to the cultural norms and morals of a society may help individuals to avoid conflicts within the community. From a criminal perspective, prisoners are assumed to have failed to live according to social norms; it is, for this reason, they are locked in prisons (Foucault, 1995). I argue that through prison education, prisoners may be educated about the best way to re-integrate into society and live with others accordingly, upon their release. With such knowledge, the rate of recidivism may be reduced.

The second pillar is *learning to do*. “Learning to do” allows learners to engage in experiential learning, especially to gain work skills. Lifelong learning provides learners with competencies to work in different work situations; both in teams and independently (Delors et al., 1996). As previously argued, among the problems that prisoners face is a lack of required job skills and unemployment (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Weatherburn, 2001). Therefore, I would argue that the *learning to do* aspect is critical to prisoners because it allows them to learn vocational skills and acquire qualifications that may help them in after-prison life.

The *learning to know* principle is geared towards developing curiosity among learners. Learners are expected to use the knowledge they gain to seek new information and perspectives (Delors et al., 1996). Therefore, *learning to know* encourages people to become lifelong learners and respond to current global changes, as well as to deal with their environment effectively. Learning to know

may be a catalyst for prisoners' development as it may help them gain new insights for their betterment.

Learning to be entails a humanistic view. It aims at developing learners' sense of efficacy, self-identity, and positive feelings about being a member of society (Delors et al., 1996; Quisumbing & de Leo, 2005). Learning to be is especially difficult to engender in a prison where the environment is oppressive. However, it is argued here that prison education may contribute to the development of sense of efficacy in prisoners who are often considered to have lost their identities and confidence.

These four pillars are relatively important in achieving lifelong learning, and are arguably well postulated by the majority of countries across the world (Delors, 2013). Based on prisoners' educational needs discussed previously, I would argue that the four pillars can be directly linked to prison education. If adequately applied within prison education systems, prison education may become the primary source of inmates' empowerment. Consequently, prison education may contribute to the reduction of recidivism rates among inmates and may also lead to individual and community development. The following subsection discusses, more broadly, the link between lifelong learning and prison education.

3.4.2 Prison education and lifelong learning – The link

Prisons are places where offenders are legally held, away from society. In some prisons, inmates are allowed to engage in prison education as part of rehabilitation programmes. Developed countries such as Australia, Canada, the USA, the UK, and New Zealand agree that prison educational programmes may save the communities from the costs of recidivism and crime (Chavez & Dawe, 2007). Because of that, today's focus of prisons in many countries, including some of the developing countries such as Tanzania, is claimed to be on the inmates' rehabilitation (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017a). With prison education, inmates are deemed to be equipped with knowledge and skills which may be useful in their after-prison life. In this regard, one can assume that the purpose of prison education is to change prisoners' mindsets so that they can adopt socially acceptable behaviours and attitudes (Mezirow, 1997, 2003). Prison education may help prisoners to undertake perspective transformation and become "good citizens" on their release.

As argued in Section 3.4, lifelong learning has four main themes – the learning economy, personal fulfilment, active citizenship, and social inclusion (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). In its relationship to a *learning economy*, lifelong learning is assumed to be a catalyst for economic development (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Ouane, 2011). It provides people with the required capabilities to become highly productive and contribute to personal and community development. In some ways, this theme is connected to the “learning to do” pillar (Delors, 2013; Delors et al., 1996). It is noteworthy that poverty and lack of required work skills are among the leading problems facing prisoners (Dolan & Carr, 2015). Therefore, this economic view of lifelong learning becomes really important to prisoners. Currently, in several countries, especially developed ones, prison policy attempts to equip prisoners with required work skills (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Natale, 2010). In so doing, prisons are working primarily on the *learning economy* theme of lifelong learning.

It is also argued that lifelong learning may enable individuals to achieve their full potential (*personal fulfilment*). In this aspect, lifelong learning may enable people to perform their work roles, build up their self-identities, and become knowledgeable of themselves (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). For this reason, lifelong learning provides individuals with an opportunity to gain more skills in effective social interaction, in strengthening their self-identities and subsequently building their social capital to engage more confidently in social activities (Field, 2003). Enabling personal fulfilment is an important role of prison education because the majority of prisoners had little chance to complete schooling, before their conviction (Clark & Dugdale, 2008; Edwards & Cunningham, 2016; Natale, 2010). Therefore, giving them an opportunity to undertake prison education is a sensible way to enable them to achieve personal potential and required work skills. Prisoners are reported to have low self-esteem and low/no confidence (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015; Franklin, Franklin, & Pratt, 2006) thus prison education may help them gain greater self-esteem and confidence. These are essential tools for social reintegration and for reduction of recidivism rates (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015; The Ministry of Justice, 2013).

In promoting *active citizenship* (Findsen & Formosa, 2011), lifelong learning offers people the required knowledge and skills to enable active participation in

the community. The areas of knowledge may include general education (political education, civic education, health education, etc.), vocational training, literacy education, and tertiary education (Findsen & McCullough, 2007; Manninen et al., 2014). It is clear that an active citizen participates more fully in the social, political, and economic development of the society. From this point of view, I would argue that the acquired skills from prison education programmes may enable ex-prisoners to become active citizens. In some ways, this theme is connected to the “learning to do” and “learning to live together” pillars as well (Delors, 2013; Delors et al., 1996). In this context, I hold that the theme – *active citizenship* – is well connected to prison education because the primary purpose of educational programmes in prisons is to develop active and productive citizens on their release (Dawe, 2007).

In regards to *social inclusion*, lifelong learning provides learning opportunities to everyone in the society, especially the marginalised (Ouane, 2011). Through lifelong learning, the marginalised communities, including those who were segregated by their gender, race, social class, and disabilities gain another chance to learn. With all these avenues, I would argue that prisoners, if brought on board, may benefit from lifelong learning. Therefore, lifelong learning becomes crucial for prisoners and social development.

It is noted in this thesis that *learning is lifelong and life-wide* (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Jarvis, 2004). From this perspective, various countries have been providing prisoners with a chance to access prison education. Programmes such as literacy education, general education, and vocational training are common in some prisons (Klein et al., 2004; Stanley, 2011; UNESCO, 2007). Inmates who have been school dropouts are given a second chance to gain a formal education qualification and those with no work skills have been given an opportunity to develop vocationally. Therefore, some inmates gain the opportunity to learn regardless of their status in the life-course and space; this is the purpose of lifelong learning. To this end, it is noted that a positive shift from prison to the community requires the combination of education, training, and support from both within the prison and in the community (Chavez & Dawe, 2007).

3.5 Rehabilitation Theory and Prison Education – The Link

This research is about prison education. It is noteworthy that a reduction of recidivism is currently thought to depend on rehabilitation programmes within prison systems (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). For being part of rehabilitation programmes, prison education is assumed to have a positive contribution towards reducing recidivism rates (Klein et al., 2004; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). For this reason, this section and the following one will discuss the theoretical underpinnings of prisoners' rehabilitation which have been considered in this study and link them with prison education. The focus is on rehabilitation and perspective transformation theories. This section discusses rehabilitation theory.

According to Campbell (2005), an American criminologist, *rehabilitation* is “the process of helping a person to readapt to society or to restore someone to a former position or rank” (p. 831). In the prison context, rehabilitation is associated with various programmes, including education, which prepare prisoners for reintegration into the community. This concept (rehabilitation) has been used to explain and justify the current changes in prison sentencing as a favoured treatment (Pollock, 2014). Prisoners' rehabilitation techniques have been reviewed and evolved, starting with:

Silence, isolation, labour, and punishment, then moving onto medically based interventions including drugs and psychosurgery. More recently, educational, vocational, and psychologically based programs, as well as specialised services for specific problems, have typically been put forward as means to reform prisoners during their sentence. (Campbell, 2005, p. 831).

In this regard, rehabilitation includes all prison activities/programmes that are intended to influence inmates' behaviour positively. The purpose of rehabilitation is to reduce reoffending behaviour (Workman, n.d.). Currently, programmes such as psychotherapy, literacy education, vocational training, and college education have been linked to prisoners' rehabilitation (Campbell, 2005; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). These programmes equip prisoners with skills that can help them positively handle their after-release lives. These programmes can improve prisoners' motivation, attitudes, awareness, personal, social, and occupational functioning (Workman, n.d.) which have positively impacted on some prisoners' lives (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Davis, Bozick, Steele, Saunders, & Miles, 2013; Davis et al.,

2014). For this reason, I argue that prison education is one of the important aspects of rehabilitation programmes in prisons. Therefore, provision of prison education to inmates is a significant enterprise.

3.6 Perspective Transformation

Perspective transformation is part of the *transformational theory*, which is associated with four major contributors – Paulo Freire, Jack Mezirow, Laurent Daloz, and John Dirkx (Tacey, 2011). However, the concept of perspective transformation is mostly connected to Jack Mezirow’s belief that a person’s habitual behaviours can be modified through active reflection and critical thinking. In adult education, *perspective transformation* can be achieved through learners’ critical thinking and reflection on their previous assumptions, beliefs, and perspectives of life in order to make an informed decision on whether to change or maintain them (Merriam, 2004; Mezirow, 1991, 1997, 2003).

According to Mezirow (2003), learning is a transformative process which embraces Habermas’s difference of two views: *instrumental* and *communicative* learning. *Instrumental learning* helps individuals to deal with their environment. In this view, adult education is seen as a means to cope with socio-cultural needs and demands, including those of the workplace (Dirkx, 1998; Mezirow, 1990). It is argued that *communicative learning* enables individuals to understand the meanings communicated by others “through speech, writing, drama, art, or dance” (Mezirow, 1990, p. 9). Communicative learning is a key to perspective transformation because it enables individuals to assess their prior knowledge, values, and beliefs with the prospects of changing them. Individuals use their prior experience and knowledge to re-think and shape the meaning of their current situation and future actions (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007).

Literature suggests that perspective transformation can occur as a result of a confusing dilemma, which is sometimes associated with painful challenges. These dilemmas encourage individuals to evaluate their current frames of reference and find new options to deal with such dilemmas (Mezirow, 1991). In so doing, individuals consciously adjust the way they see and react to those issues in their lives. They change their belief system and behaviour and form new frames of references (Mezirow, 1990, 1997, 2003). From the perspective transformation

point of view, education is not only the process of acquiring and applying knowledge, skills, values, and beliefs to reflect a real life situation but is also a means of transforming people for the better (Mezirow, 1997, 2003). For this reason, perspective transformation can help adults, including prisoners, to change their previous frames of reference and see the world differently.

One of the key criticisms of Mezirow's perspective transformation is its excessive focus on the individual while ignoring the surrounding social context of that individual (Collard & Law, 1989; Hoggan, Mälkki, & Finnegan, 2017). Although this criticism cannot be ignored, it is also unwise to neglect Mezirow's contribution to adult learning completely. This study, within Tanzanian prisons, did not evaluate teaching and learning processes to determine their connection to perspective transformation. Still, as it is concerned with adult education, Mezirow's perspective transformation is relevant to this study because prisoners have frames of references (prior experiences, concepts, feelings, attitudes, and values) which have contributed to their conviction. Therefore, I would argue that prisoners' rehabilitation depends on the change of their existing frames of references that contributed to their conviction (Mezirow, 1997, 2003). As Kitchenham (2008) argues, "the central element to the perspective transformation is critical self-reflection" (p. 112); this study noted self-reflections from a few inmates and ex-inmates, which are argued in this case to have helped the transformation of their frames of reference. As it will be seen in the following chapters, having acquired relevant skills from prison, two ex-inmates seem to have been changed completely. It is possible that effective perspective transformation may help to reduce recidivism.

3.7 Learning in the Prison Context

Through a review of the literature, this section discusses the prison learning context. It has four subsections, beginning with a discussion of a "total institution" theory, which defines the prison environment. The other subsections cover common educational programmes in the prison context, teaching and learning resources, and access to learning opportunities. The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of what it means to study in prison.

3.7.1 The “total institution”

Total institutions are usually identified as restricted organisations whose members are isolated from the world (Goffman, 1962). Total institutions have two types of members: staff and inmates. A prison is an example of a *total institution*. Such organisations operate under structured daily routines (Goffman, 1962) such as prisoners’ strict time to wake up, time to eat, time to be locked up in cells, timely security check-ups, headcount, etc. Staff members (in this case prison officers) are usually few, but they have contact with the outside world. They are often regarded as superior and righteous, while the prisoners – who are many and have limited interaction with the outside world – often feel inferior, weak, and guilty (Amundsen, Msoroka, & Findsen, 2017; Goffman, 1962). The superiority-inferiority feelings may negatively impact on staff’s attitudes towards inmates, undermine prisoners’ dignity, and lead to prisoners’ marginalisation. For this reason, prisons can have a negative impact on the prisoners’ self-confidence and self-esteem. It is extremely difficult for outsiders to gain access to the *total institution* (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962). Sometimes, prison restrictions block the necessary services for inmates that could help them to grow. For instance, before the 1971 rebellion at Attica Prison, prisoners in New York (USA) were not allowed to hold/own a book (Zahn, 1997). Holding a book in prison was a punishable offence as it was against prison regulations. This restriction was among the causes of the Attica rebellion. The case of Attica Prison is evidence of how difficult it is to study in prison. I argue here that it is not easy to undertake education in most prisons, especially in the prison systems that have yet to embrace liberal approaches to imprisonment. However, prison education remains an important component of prisoners’ rehabilitation, and some prisons embrace it.

3.7.2 Common educational programmes in the prison context

The contexts and systems of prisons are significantly heterogeneous. They differ in management style, policies, and resources. Because of that, some prisons have educational programmes, and others have not (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011; Klein et al., 2004). As noted previously, the majority of prisoners have relatively similar characteristics – poor educational background, no or little work skills or experience, and poverty (Aparicio & Ortenzi, 2008; Stanley, 2011; Webster &

Kingston, 2014). Consequently, prisons with educational programmes across the world tend to offer prisoners relatively similar courses. Prisons in New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Germany, the USA, and Australia tend to offer literacy education, secondary education, tertiary education, and vocational training courses (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Hawley et al., 2013; Klein et al., 2004; Ryan & Jones, 2016).

In most of these developed countries (mentioned above), prison education programmes (secondary education, tertiary education, and vocational training) are linked to normal education systems outside of prison. Such courses in prisons follow comparable curricula and expect prisoners to take similar examinations to those taken by non-prisoner candidates; prisoners are awarded recognised credentials (Klein et al., 2004; Raundrup, 2009). In most of these countries, prisoners' participation in educational programmes is voluntary. However, these countries differ in their approaches to recruiting and encouraging greater prisoner participation in education. For example, while New Zealand, Denmark, and Germany try to offer prison education programmes in all prisons (Devine, 2007; Koudahl, 2009; Subramanian & Shames, 2013), the situation is significantly different in the USA. Prison education is compulsory in 22 states (in the USA), but it is optional in the remaining 28 states (Davis et al., 2013). In the latter states, prison management decides whether to run educational programmes or not. Arguably, this difference is due to the reason that the USA does not have a national policy on prison education and many authorities consider giving prisoners a chance to prison education as being soft on crime (Whitaker, 2016). As a result, states and prisons are left to decide (on their own) how much they invest in prison education. In another context, in Iceland, prisoners who participate in prison education are excused from work and provided with some allowances (Gunnlaugsson & Ragnarsson, 2009).

In the African context, a similar pattern of prison education programmes has been observed. In South Africa, prisoners have been undertaking the Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET), Further Education and Training (FET) which provide prisoners with various work skills, and Higher Education and Training (HET) (Mokwena, 2008; Quan-Baffour & Zawada, 2012; Sithole, 2008). In Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria, some prisoners have access to literacy education,

secondary education, and tertiary education (Adeagbo, Asubiojo, Obadare, & Akindojutimi, 2016; Coughlan, 2014; Joselow, 2014; Serwanjja, 2014; Ssanyu, 2014). In Lesotho, the common programmes include literacy education, basic and continuing education, and vocational training (building, carpentry and joinery, welding, leatherwork, tailoring, horticulture, hairdressing, and poultry) (Setoi, 2012).

The main difference between African and the developed countries is that in Africa, fewer prisons have educational opportunities. Lack of educational opportunities in many African countries is mainly due to a shortage of resources – fiscal, human, and physical (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011; Dissel, 2008; Sarkin, 2008). For that reason, fewer African prisoners have access to prison education (Belghazi, 2014; Sarkin, 2008). As opposed to countries such as New Zealand where an inmate can access study loans to undertake tertiary education (Department of Corrections, n.d.-b), most African countries do not offer such opportunities (Mokwena, 2008). Prisoners who want to undertake tertiary education have to look for their own sources of funds. Few prisoners in Uganda and Kenya have been accessing the African Prisons Project Scholarships which allow them to take Distance Learning courses from the University of London (Coughlan, 2014; Serwanjja, 2014). In this thesis, prison education programmes are among the issues that will be addressed in the following chapters.

3.7.3 Teaching and learning resources

Learners in prisons are faced with the challenge of attaining the demands of two systems – the prison system and the education system – which usually have relatively different objectives. Prisoners may be trying to achieve an educational qualification within the prison system, which in many countries, is primarily intended to lock up and punish them for their mistakes (Pollock, 2014). Because of the primary focus of prisons in many countries (punishment), fewer human, material, and fiscal resources are allocated to prison education (Callan & Gardner, 2007). Consequently, the learning environment in prison is not as good as that of outside prison. However, there is a huge difference between the learning environment in the African prisons and those of the developed countries (Msamada, 2013; Whitaker, 2016).

In the wealthier countries such as New Zealand, Australia, Germany, and Norway, the prison learning environment is much better than that of the African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Dissel, 2008; Sarkin, 2008; Whitaker, 2016). In Australia, for example, Callan and Gardner (2007) report the establishment of well-equipped training workshops in the Queensland prison system. During this study, I visited Waikeria prison (New Zealand) and found well-equipped workshops and classrooms. Prison education teachers in the wealthier countries are experts, either contracted from outside of the prison system or recruited among the prison staff (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Coley & Barton, 2006; de Graaff, 2007; Thomas, 1995). In these (developed) countries, prisons have relatively sufficient budgets for prison educational activities.

Due to underfunding, the majority of prisons in Africa do not have funds for prison education activities (Kalid, 2011; Msamada, 2013; Ngare, 2009; Sarkin, 2008). Consequently, the majority of prisons have inadequate or no educational infrastructures. For instance, most prisons in South Africa, Uganda, and Kenya reported having no proper or sufficient number of classrooms, chairs, and desks. Prisons (in these countries) also have a shortage of books and writing materials (Kyalo, Muiwa, Matuta, & Rutere, 2014; Mokwena, 2008; Serwanjja, 2014). The majority of prisons in Kenya and Uganda recruit non-professional fellow inmates to teach other prisoners (Kyalo et al., 2014; Serwanjja, 2014). I equate this approach with peer teaching (see its description below), which is normally encouraged in adult education programmes due to its presumed advantages (Jarvis, 2004; Velez et al., 2011). I argue that recruiting more non-professional fellow inmates to teach prison education classes is also a reflection of Houle's three level pyramid of adult education leadership (see its description below) (Bierema, 2011; Findsen, 1996; Houle, 1956). Some prisons in Uganda and South Africa have reported recruiting a mixture of teachers – prison staff, prisoners, and experts from outside of prisons (Mokwena, 2008; Serwanjja, 2014). In Tanzania, few studies (Msamada, 2013) have reported about teaching and learning resources. Therefore, it is one of the issues discussed in this thesis.

Peer teaching

Peer teaching is used to refer to a strategy in which teachers give an opportunity to some learners to teach their fellow students (Bradford-Watts, 2011; Ginsberg & Wlodkowski, 2009; Topping, 2005; Velez et al., 2011). Peer teaching is not “necessarily ‘the blind leading the blind’, as some people have claimed, since it can be an approach that capitalises on the resources of the learners themselves” (Jarvis, 2004, p. 165). Bradford-Watts (2011) suggests that where the programmes “feature older, more experienced peers, or those with greater mastery in a subject area (p. 31)”, they may be used to teach younger, less experienced peers, or those who have not yet mastered the skills/content. In a peer-taught class, learners often enjoy the teaching and learning process because they feel that they are equal with their teachers. They do not feel the power gap between them and the teacher, which often exists when taught by experts (Velez et al., 2011; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995). The learning atmosphere typically becomes warm and inclusive. Therefore, students freely interact and actively engage in learning. These advantages make peer teaching relevant and a common practice in adult education. As discussed in the previous section, some African countries have reported using inmate-peers to teach their fellow prisoners. In this thesis, peer teaching is widely discussed because it is a strategy that is often utilised in the selected prisons.

Houle’s three level pyramid of adult education leadership

As noted in subsection 3.7.3, the African teacher recruitment mode in prison education reflects the base of Houle’s three level pyramid of leadership in adult education. According to Houle, the base of the pyramid contains the largest group of volunteer teachers, followed by a smaller group of individuals at the intermediate level. These individuals, at the intermediate level, are employed in other sectors, but they combine adult education activities with other duties they perform within their paid employment (Bierema, 2011; Houle, 1956). To most of these individuals, adult education is a part-time activity. The apex of the pyramid comprises of a small number of individuals who make adult education a career. These people are adult education professionals who dedicate their time and attention to adult education activities (Findsen, 1996). They include programme co-ordinators, professors, training directors, and extension officers. Based on Houle’s pyramid, I would argue that the African prison education depends mainly

on volunteer prisoner-teachers with very few personnel who are involved with prison education as part of their employment. It seems that there are few/no prison education professionals in the African context (Kyalo et al., 2014; Msamada, 2013). Houle’s pyramid is diagrammatically interpreted in figure 3 below.



Figure 3. Houle’s three level pyramid of adult education leadership

Note: This diagram is presented to interpret Houle’s writings

3.7.4 Access to learning opportunities

In New Zealand, Germany, Australia, and Norway, prisoners are usually assessed to determine their learning needs immediately after arriving in prison (Alexinas, 2008). Prisoners with literacy problems are allocated to literacy classes; those in need of secondary education are assigned to the appropriate levels. Prisoners with no/low work skills are registered for the appropriate vocational training courses. The same is applied to drug and alcohol addicted prisoners (Banfield, Barlow, & Gould, 2007; Callan & Gardner, 2007). This process is known as Case Management of Offenders (CMO) (Banfield et al., 2007; Nyoka, 2013). With this mechanism, there is a possibility for many prisoners to have been allocated to some form of education. However, it is noted here that not all prisoners in developed countries access prison education programmes (de Graaff, 2007). In New Zealand, for instance, from the 1980s to early 2010s society was reported to have negative attitudes towards prison education (Devine, 2010; Moriarity, 2014). The Government was more concerned with “programmes designed to improve public safety” (Moriarity, 2014, p. 4) than prison education. The literature

suggests that these negative attitudes towards prison education were influenced by neoliberalism, which is assumed to influence Government policies (Devine, 2007). The neoliberalism policies encourage ‘user-pays’, therefore, reducing government expenditure on social services, including prison education (Small, 2009). Consequently, prisoners’ access to education was reduced (Moriarity, 2014). As will be seen in the following chapter, in New Zealand, prison education has been given more priority in recent years. However, there is concern that prison education focuses too much on work skills and ignores social skills, which would contribute to prisoners’ ability to cope with life on the outside (Cowie, 2015). Perhaps it would be wise to pay stronger attention to social skills in order to help ex-prisoners rejoin the society on a more confident basis.

In Argentina, Law 24.660 requires prisons to guarantee schooling for prisoners with an educational qualification that is lower than the compulsory nine years (Alzúa, Rodriguez, & Villa, 2008). Prisoners are required to provide evidence of their educational qualifications to determine their eligibility. I would argue that the social justice in education ethic has been more observed for prisoners in such countries (Mitra, 2008; Preece, 2006). However, a report from the UK suggests that there are prisons which use the CMO but still prison education is not included in the sentence plan for many prisoners (Braggins & Talbot, 2003). For this reason, it can be argued that using CMO alone does not guarantee access to education for prisoners; prison education requires the will of management.

In the African context, a few countries – South Africa and Namibia – use the Case Management of Offenders (McAree, 2011; Preez, 2003; The Namibian Government, 2005). There is no evidence of the use of CMO in many African countries, including Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, and Botswana. It is evident that CMO does not exist in Tanzanian prisons (Nyoka, 2013). In Zambia, many prisons have reported having inactive ‘Risk Assessment and Case Management Committees’ (The Republic of Zambia, 2014). For this reason, I would argue that prisoners in most African countries join educational courses based on the availability of courses and prisoners’ preferences. There are few mechanisms in place to enable prisoners’ course allocation based on their actual learning needs. Due to a scarcity of learning spaces, learning materials, and irrelevant courses, many prisoners in Africa are left out of the prison education system (Kyalo et al.,

2014; Msamada, 2013; Sarkin, 2008). The current study discusses this issue and examines the strategies employed by the selected prisons to recruit learners into their programmes.

3.8 Partnerships with Other Institutions

Because of the importance of collaboration in prisoners' rehabilitation, The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012) recommends involvement of the wider community. It is argued that

It is imperative that institutional and community-based reintegration services develop cooperative partnerships with other government agencies and community-based organisations to develop seamless interventions that mobilise all available resources to assist and, when necessary, supervise offenders (p. 18).

A similar observation is made by Nyoka (2013). The call for partnership has influenced various prison systems across the world to work with different institutions, including NGOs, governmental organisations, and religious institutions to enhance offenders' rehabilitation. This section, therefore, discusses the status and impact of prison education partnerships in various countries.

In New Zealand, the Department of Corrections has been collaborating with various agencies to provide prison education. One of the prominent examples is the partnership with the Open Polytechnic in providing tertiary education to eligible prisoners (Department of Corrections, n.d.-c). Also, the Department works with Study-Link in facilitating student loans to prisoners who undertake tertiary education (Department of Corrections, n.d.-b). However, the main concern is that not many prisoners can access tertiary education as most of them do not have the required minimum qualifications (George, 2016). For literacy education, the Department contracted Te Wānanga o Aotearoa to deliver an intensive literacy and numeracy programme in prisons across the country, and the Methodist Mission for prisons in Otago (Ryan & Jones, 2016). I would argue that literacy programme accommodates many participants in educational programmes as two-thirds of prisoners do not have adequate literacy skills (George, 2016). In Germany, the prison system has been working with the German Adult Education Association (DVV) to enable online literacy courses for offenders (Eichen, 2014). These interventions have contributed to progressive prison education.

In the USA, in 2013, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD) worked with the Coastline Community College (CCC) to offer Post-Secondary Correctional Education (PSCE) to prisoners (Garcia, 2017). This partnership enabled the introduction of evidence-based assessments to determine offending risks and prisoners' needs which were used to develop appropriate programmes for inmates. The partnership increased higher education opportunities for prisoners, reduced reoffending rates, and improved public safety (Garcia, 2017). In Uganda, the Africans Prisons Project (an NGO) has been involved in providing literacy, post-literacy, vocational, and tertiary education to prisoners, as well as introducing libraries in some prisons (African Prisons Project, 2016; Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011). Studies have shown that community involvement of this kind frequently improves prison education success (Garcia, 2017). In the Tanzanian context, there is scant information about partnerships in prison education. This study will address that gap by discussing the partnerships in prison education and their impacts within the selected prisons.

3.9 Prisoners' Motivation to Learn

There is a difference between adults and children when it comes to participating in educational programmes. For children, it is always a mandatory activity as in many countries, the law and parents force them to attend. But for adults, it is different: education is nearly always an optional engagement (Knowles et al., 2005; Mushi, 2010). Therefore, participation in adult education depends to a significant extent on personal willingness. Because of the importance of understanding the motivational factors involved in adults learning, with a particular focus on prisoners, this section will first acknowledge typological factors, suggested by various scholars, which often influence adults' participation in learning. Then, by reviewing various studies, this section will discuss the factors that influence prisoners' motivation to learn.

Scholars have identified several factors that may motivate an adult to join an educational programme. In an early exploration of motivation, Morstain and Smart (1974, 1977) conducted their study in the USA and through factor analysis, they proposed six factors as the common motivational purposes for adult learning: *social relationships* (desire to make new friends); *external expectations* (obeying authority demand such as work superiors); *social welfare* (learning to serve the

community); *professional advancement* (learning for job requirement skills); *escape from routine activities*; and *cognitive interest*. Houle (1988) suggested *goal orientation*, *activity orientation*, and *learning orientation* as the main triggers for adults' participation in learning. Many other scholars such as Chao (2009) and Aldridge and Hughes (2012) have developed their typologies based on Morstain and Smart's ideas, or from Houle's typologies.

As adults, prisoners' involvement in learning could be influenced by those same factors. However, for some prisoners, the motives may be different from those of the general adult population. In Norway, Roth and Manger (2014) employed a quantitative approach (factor analysis) to identify prisoners' motives for learning. In their study, they found three categories of factors that motivated prisoners to learn. Factor one (Future planning) had seven items: to be better able to cope with life, after release; just to pass an exam or improve a previous grade, and to make it easier to avoid committing crimes after release; to improve self-esteem; to make it easier to get a job after release; so that the educational programme can be a bridge to more education after release; and to learn about a subject. Factor two (social reasons and escapism) had five items: To be part of the social environment at the school; because friends are going to school; to get more free time during the day; to be encouraged by others; and because it is better than working in prison. Factor three (competence building) had three items: To spend time doing something sensible and useful; to satisfy the desire to learn; and to make the serving time easier. I would argue that some items in these factors (e.g. just to pass an exam or improve a previous grade and to improve self-esteem) can be applicable to prisoners and the adult population in general. However, some items, such as *to get more free time during the day*; *prison education is better than working in prison*; and *to make the serving time easier*, are more specific to the prison context.

In Denmark, Koudahl (2009) employed a similar approach (factor analysis) to that used by Roth and Manger (2014). Koudahl's study proposed three factors which are relatively similar to those of Roth and Manger. These are the 'Importance of education for my future' as factor one; 'Situationally-determined and social functions of education' as factor two; and 'Contribution of education to making time in prison meaningful' as factor three. Koudahl's study suggested six items in factor one. They included: to be better able to cope with life after my release; to

make it easier to get a job after I'm released; and to make it easier for me to avoid committing crimes after I am released. Others were: to make this educational programme a bridge to more education after I am released; to pass an exam or improve a previous grade; and to learn about a subject. Factor two comprises of six elements as well: to get more free time during the day; because I had friends going to school; and because I was encouraged to study. Others were: because I wanted to be part of the social environment at the school; because it is better than working in prison; to improve my self-esteem. Finally, factor three had three elements: to spend my time doing something sensible and useful; to satisfy my desire to learn; to make the serving time easier. These elements: 'to get more free time during the day; 'because learning is better than working in prison'; and 'to make the serving time easier', relate to those items mentioned previously that seem specific to prison environment.

A very recent qualitative study in Portugal studied prisoners' motivations for attending higher education (Moreira, Monteiro, & Machado, 2017). The study suggests that prisoners in Portugal are motivated to learn for: personal satisfaction; professional advancement, and the need to acquire an academic diploma which they can use when rejoining the society. Others are expectations for a bright future; a strategy to escape from prison routine; and the desire to become a better citizen. Reflecting upon the above studies and several other sources, it is clear that work-related reasons, the need for furthering education, an avoidance factor, and social reasons are the primary motives for prisoners' engagement in prison education (Behan, 2014; Reuss, 1997). Prisoners' motivation to learn is an important element in understanding their involvement in education, yet, it is understudied in the Tanzanian context. In exploring the practicality of prison education in the selected prisons, this study also discusses prisoners' motivation to learn.

3.10 The Benefits of and Barriers to Prison Education

3.10.1 Benefits of prison education

This section discusses the benefits of prison education as viewed by previous studies. Four main benefits of prison education – reduction of recidivism, increased job opportunities for ex-offenders, increased access to education, and

reduction of reoffending costs – will be discussed. The purpose of this section is to explore and suggest reasons why society should invest in prison education.

Reduction of recidivism rate

The study by Steurer and Smith (2003) is among the prominent academic work that identifies the benefits of prison education. This was a quantitative research project which investigated the impacts of prison education on recidivism and post-release employment. The study compared prison education participants and non-participants in three US states: Maryland, Minnesota, and Ohio. One of its findings was that prison education contributed to a reduction of recidivism rates by 29%. The findings of this study correspond with the findings from Lochner and Moretti (2004) who argued that education reduces crime in the USA. Similarly, Nally et al. (2012) conducted a study on the effects of prison education programmes on post-release recidivism and employment in Indiana. Their findings indicate that only 29.7% of the inmates who undertook prison education reoffended compared to 67.8% of those who did not undertake prison education. Recent American studies claim that prison education can reduce reoffending by 43% (Davis et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2014). In Queensland, Australia, Callan and Gardner (2007) studied the role of vocational education and training (VET) in recidivism. They found that prisoners who underwent VET programmes were much less likely to return to custody. The study found that almost 32% of those who did not undertake VET returned to custody compared to 23% who had an opportunity to attend VET. Therefore, it is clear from the literature that prison education may reduce reoffending rates.

In the African context, there are limited empirical studies that have explored the contribution of prison education to the reduction of recidivism. However, qualitative studies such as Quan-Baffour and Zawada (2012) and that of Kheswa and Lobi (2014) conducted in South Africa, indicate the potential for prison education to reduce reoffending. Quan-Baffour and Zawada's (2012) study suggests that prison education in the two Pretoria correctional facilities promotes: social cohesion; reintegration of ex-offenders into the community as rehabilitated members; and employment skills. It is noted here that promoting these skills is among the important interventions that often help prisoners to break the reoffending cycle (Callan & Gardner, 2007).

Increased job opportunities for the released prisoners

Apart from people with intellectual disabilities, prisoners are reported to be the least likely to obtain and maintain employment compared to all other disadvantaged groups (Graffam, Shinkfield, & Hardcastle, 2008). The main reasons are: having low educational qualifications, low or no job skills, and stigmatisation (Cullen et al., 2011). Studies suggest that prison education can increase the chance for ex-prisoners to secure and maintain a job. In Australia, for instance, VET was observed to provide a high possibility for prisoners to gain a better job and better payment after their release (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Graffam & Hardcastle, 2007). In the USA, ex-prisoners who undertook prison education were reported to have had higher wage earnings than the non-participant ex-inmates (Steurer, Smith, & Tracy, 2001; Steurer & Smith, 2003). Similarly, Nally et al. (2012) found that Indiana's (USA) ex-offenders who underwent prison education were more able to sustain work compared to those who did not undertake prison education.

Although I did not find quantitative studies in the African context, Ngozwana (2017b) reported similar qualitative findings from Lesotho. According to Ngozwana, ex-offenders have used the skills acquired from prison to manage their lives. For example, employing the woodwork skills he acquired in prison, one of the ex-offenders established a woodwork workshop and employed three other people. Quan-Baffour and Zawada (2012) previously reported a similar finding from South Africa. The increase in job opportunities and wages as a result of prison education is in line with the lifelong learning and human capital theories.

Increased access to education

Although "basic education" is the right of every individual (UN, 1948; UNESCO, 1990, 2000), studies suggest that prisoners are one of the marginalised groups that have low access to education. In New Zealand, 63% of prisoners are reported to have a literacy level below Level 1 on the NZQA framework (Edwards & Cunningham, 2016). In the UK, 48% of inmates had reading skills below the level of 11 year-old children (Clark & Dugdale, 2008). In Germany, 14.2% of the offenders were reported to have education lower than a middle-school education level (Subramanian & Shames, 2013).

To deal with poor educational background of offenders, the literature suggests that prison education can be used to increase prisoners' access to education. The USA is one of the countries that have improved prisoners' access to education through prison education programmes. A study by Klein et al. (2004) suggests that about 52% of the prisoners in the USA federal and state prisons were engaged in educational programmes. In other context, Denmark, 24% of Koudahl's (2009) participants were participating in education. Most of the prisoners in Koudahl's research were studying in *preparatory adult education*⁷ programmes. Prison education has also been reported as increasing prisoners' access to education in other Nordic countries (Manger, Eikeland, & Asbjornsen, 2009). These reports suggest that prison education has increased prisoners' chances to access education, an opportunity which they did not have before.

As argued previously, despite the need for prison education there are few educational opportunities in African countries. However, studies show that the few existing programmes provide an opportunity for education to some prisoners. Studies conducted by Msamada (2013) and Mboje (2013) in Tanzania; Joselow (2014) in Kenya; and Quan-Baffour and Zawada (2012) in South Africa are evidence of this intervention. It is argued here that an increase in prisoners' access to education is an appropriate intervention that supports social justice for this marginalised group.

Reduced re-offending costs

It is reported that crime and reoffending increase economic spending of a society (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011) and that investing in prison education may serve the economy of a particular community. Literature from the UK suggests that nearly half of all crimes have been committed by people who had a conviction history (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011). It is estimated that the cost of re-offending (in the UK) is between £9.5 billion and £13 billion a year (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011; The Ministry of Justice, 2015). Natale (2010) suggests that bringing UK's ex-inmates into work can reduce the burden to a taxpayer for about £300 annually. A similar

⁷ Courses provided to adults to improve their basic reading, spelling, and written communication skills, as well as basic mathematics in order to provide them with an access to further education, and skills to participate in all aspects of civil society. Refer to Koudahl, P. (2009).

view was observed by the Department for Business Innovation & Skills (2011). According to the Department for Business Innovation & Skills (2011), providing offenders with general education and vocational skills enables them to contribute a net benefit to the public sector of between £2000 and £28,000 per inmate. Therefore, investing in prison education is a worthwhile enterprise for the UK. In the USA, Lochner and Moretti (2004) argue:

Using our estimates, we calculate the social savings from crime reduction associated with high school completion. Our estimates suggest that a 1-percent increase in male high school graduation rates would save as much as \$1.4 billion, or about \$2,100 per additional male high school graduate. (p. 157)

For this reason, I argue that the discussed cases in this section are evidence that spending in prison education is not a waste of resources. Although studies that explore crime and reoffending costs are scant in the African context, one could assume that crime and reoffending negatively impact the economy of African countries in a similar way. Hence, prison education can contribute to reducing that cost.

3.10.2 Barriers to prison education

Prison education is a subset of adult education. With this understanding, before discussing the barriers to prison education, this section will first discuss the barriers to adult education as suggested by various scholars. Barriers to adult learning are categorised in various ways. Johnstone (1963) is among the earliest scholars to study barriers to adult learning. He proposed the *external/situational* barriers (emerge from outside of an individual) and *internal/dispositional* barriers (grow from within an individual). In this study, I consider Johnstone's typologies as the *first generation* of classification. Johnstone provided a stepping stone to understanding categories of barriers to adult learning. Several other scholars, including Falasca (2011), have been using Johnstone's typologies to explain barriers to adult learning ever since. Other scholars such as Cross (1979), Darkenwald and Merriam (1982), and Chao (2009) have been expanding and/or modifying Johnstone's work. Cross (1979) expanded and modified Johnstone's typology: she developed three clusters of barriers – situational (time, costs, transportation etc.); dispositional (personal attitudes); and institutional (schedules, locations, lack of relevant courses or information). In my project, I consider

Cross's classification as a *second generation* typology. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) established a fourth typology – informational barriers, which is about the lack of awareness of the available educational opportunities – and named the four typologies – situational, institutional, psychological/dispositional, and informational barriers. For this thesis, the four clusters classification by Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) is the *third generation* typologies. It is noted here that, currently, the third generation typology provides the most cited barriers to adult learning (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Findsen & McCullough, 2007; Merriam et al., 2007).

Although there are some differences in the barriers to prison education from those experienced by the general adult population, still, some obstacles may be relatively similar to those of adult population outside of the prison system. This section discusses the barriers to prison education as viewed by previous studies. In this section, I will not concentrate on grouping the barriers as adult education scholars have. I will present the barriers as viewed by prison education scholars. From the literature, five sets of barriers are recorded and discussed in this section. These barriers include shortage of funds, negative attitudes of prison staff, limited information, dispositional barriers, and irrelevant curricula. The section begins by discussing factors related to shortage of funds.

Under funding

Shortage of funds is one of the main problems that has been reported to limit prison education activities. In the USA, Crayton and Neusteter (2008) reported the problem of “reduced funds” for prison education. This problem (in the USA prison education system) was also reported by other scholars such as Erisman and Contardo (2005) and Davis et al. (2013). This literature suggests that the USA Federal Government has reduced funds for prison education activities thus having a negative impact on prison education participation. For instance, by barring prisoners' eligibility to the *Pell grant* in the 1990s, the USA inmates were left with no reliable source of funds to support their college education (Mastrorilli, 2016; Zahn, 1997). Consequently, prisoners' participation in college courses dropped from 14% in 1991 to 7% in 2004 (Phelps, 2011). A similar observation was also reported in Australia where financial constraints limited prisoners' access to Vocational Education and Training opportunities (Callan & Gardner,

2007). In Africa, inadequate funding is a major problem affecting nearly all African prisons (Sarkin, 2008). As a result of inadequate funding, poor infrastructures and a shortage of teaching and learning resources inhibit prison education activities in most African countries (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011; Gumi, 2014; Mokwena, 2008; Msamada, 2013; Sarkin, 2008; Setoi, 2012). Hence, the majority of African prisoners fail to access education.

Negative attitudes of prison staff

The attitudes of prison staff make a significant contribution to prisoners' access to education. In the USA, some prison staff have shown "resentment" towards prisoners being provided with a college education (Erisman & Contardo, 2005). They were not happy because some of them (prison staff) do not have that level of education. Officers' resentment is a problem because sometimes prison officers used to interfere with the teaching and learning processes by locking up some prisoners who were supposed to be in class. At other times, prison officers confiscated inmates' textbooks or disturbed classes without any genuine reason (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Thomas, 1995). In the UK, some prisons restrict prisoners, who were considered to have disciplinary problems, from registering for educational courses (Braggins & Talbot, 2003). Restricting prisoners' registration for behavioural reasons is also an effect of negative attitudes of the prison staff because they fail to consider that it is behaviour problems that brought prisoners into prisons. Likewise, Scurrah (2008) reported that poor attitudes of some prison officers towards prisoners and their learning is a barrier for prisoners' access to education in Risdon prison, Australia. I am of the view that in limiting prisoners from participating in education because of the similar issues that brought them into prisons, or for any other reason, some prison staff do not help the society. Rather, they inhibit the possibility of prisoners' rehabilitation which could facilitate the reduction of recidivism.

Limited information regarding educational opportunities

Limited information (for prisoners) regarding the available educational opportunities in prison is one of the barriers that has been reported by prison education studies. In the USA, studies suggest that prisoners have limited information regarding the existence of prison education. The majority of the USA prisoners were reported to be unaware of the available educational opportunities

in prisons (Crayton & Neusteter, 2008; Davis et al., 2013). Similar findings have also been reported in Australia, Belgium, and the UK.

In Australia, Scurrah (2010) studied barriers to prisoners' learning. One of her findings was the existence of conflicting information among the staff and prisoners on what is the best programme for prisoners. Consequently, prisoners were confused and failed to decide on which programmes to undertake. In the UK, prisoners complained of the unavailability of regular information regarding the courses offered to them (Braggins & Talbot, 2003). Also, UK prisoners complained about the application processes; they were not happy with the processes at all. Braggins and Talbot argue that:

We were told frequently by those in the NIE groups that they had tried to get to classes, but their applications had not borne fruit. Nor did they seem to know whether their application had ever been received by the education department, let alone actioned. There was simply no response. (p. 16).

One may consider this act as an indication of low attention to prison education.

Similarly, in Belgium, Brosens, Donder, Dury, and Verte (2015) found that many prisoners (42.1%) who did not participate in education were not aware of the opportunity to undertake vocational training. It is argued here that the lack of information contributes to poor participation by inmates in prison education. Reflecting on the "limited information" issue, one could assume that prison managements in these countries still do not prioritise prison education to the maximum level. It could also be argued that "limiting information about educational opportunities" is a deliberate strategy to reduce chances for prisoners' access to education. This could be influenced by the negative attitudes of prison staff and a shortage of funds to enable everyone in prison to access educational courses, as previously discussed.

Dispositional barriers

Like other adults in a general population, prisoners have faced some dispositional barriers as well. Dispositional barriers could be assumed to be stronger among the inmates than it is in the general adult population, because these barriers are linked to their personal historical circumstances. Consequently, some prisoners fail to participate in prison education. Hawley et al. (2013) found that most prisoners in the European countries came from disadvantaged backgrounds. Such backgrounds

include previous failure in education and having low self-esteem, which can often hinder their participation in prison education. Similarly, in England and Wales, Czerniawski (2016) agrees with Hawley et al. (2013); he mentioned childhood history, previous educational failure, low self-esteem, and mental health disabilities as the barriers that inhibited some prisoners' participation in education in England and Wales. For this reason, it is argued here that to some extent prisoners' participation in education is negatively influenced by dispositional barriers, as it is for some adults in a general population.

Irrelevant curricula

Before I discuss the issue of irrelevant curricula, I must acknowledge that it is difficult to decide what is a relevant curriculum in the prison context. One could ask: in whose eyes is a particular prison education curriculum relevant? Is it from prison staff's perspectives? Is it from the society and other stakeholders' (NGOs' etc.) perspectives? Or, is it from the perspectives of prisoners themselves? From an adult education perspective, one could assume that a relevant prison education curriculum should be related in part to prisoners' perspectives (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Knowles et al., 2005), because in adult education, the dictum is that the learners' perspectives should take prominence. However, this view can also bring some challenges because there is a possibility that some prisoners can hide their dispositional barriers under this umbrella (irrelevant curricula). While reading prison education studies, I was aware of the challenge of what to include or exclude, but it did not inhibit me from acknowledging the contribution of prison education scholars in the relevance of prison education curriculum. Therefore, this section discusses the issue of irrelevant curricula as a barrier to prison education as viewed by various scholars.

In Australia, Scurrah (2010) has reported the lack of appropriate programmes for some inmates. Scurrah argues that educational programmes were offered to prisoners serving long sentences under minimum security, leaving out those serving short sentences and maximum security prisoners. For this reason, one can argue that Australian prisons have not prepared relevant programmes for short-sentenced and maximum security prisoners. Because a major proportion of prisoners are either short sentenced or under maximum security, the Australian prisons have been leaving out the majority of prisoners from prison education

system (Scurrah, 2010). In the UK, some prisoners are reported to miss education because of the types of their sentences, such as life sentenced prisoners (Braggins & Talbot, 2003). Koudahl (2009) and Koski (2009) reported a similar problem in Denmark and Finland respectively. In Koudahl's study, 600 prisoners (out of a 630 study sample) stated that they did not participate in prison education because their prisons did not offer programmes that suited their interests. Likewise, in Iceland, Gunnlaugsson and Ragnarsson (2009) reported that 9.5% of the 44 inmates who did not participate in educational programmes mentioned lack of suitable programmes as the reason that prevented them from joining the programmes.

In Africa, the lack of relevant curricula is one of the major challenges that face prison education. Because of inadequate funds, prisons fail to develop sufficient and relevant programmes for inmates (Sarkin, 2008). In Lesotho, Ngozwana (2017b) reported complaints from the ex-offenders who were forced to study courses that were not in their interest as there were no relevant courses for them. In Nigeria, many prisons do not have academic programmes; most prisons run only carpentry, bricklaying, and hairdressing (Obioha, 2011). Consequently, some prisoners decided not to participate in educational programmes as they found no relevant courses. In this context, one can argue that a shortage of relevant curricula in prisons limits educational participation for many prisoners.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed relevant theoretical perspectives and empirical literature relevant to prison education. The main argument put forth here is that prison education is a necessary component for prisoner rehabilitation. Issues related to socio-economic status, social learning, labelling, lifelong learning, rehabilitation, and perspective transformation are examined and linked with crime and prison education – a focus of this thesis. Also, the concept of “total institution” is discussed in connection to this study. The chapter has presented the commonly available educational programmes within prisons, teaching and learning resources, and access to learning opportunities. The chapter has discussed the issue of adult motivation to learn in a prison context; understanding prisoners' motivation is necessary when planning for prison education. Also, issues related to benefits and barriers to prison education have been presented. It is argued in this chapter that

partnership with other institutions is important for effective prison education and prisoner rehabilitation at large.

Several issues have emerged in this chapter. First, educational programmes exist in prisons across the world, but there are fewer in developing countries, especially in Africa. Second, in combination with other programmes, prison education is likely to have a pivotal role in reducing recidivism among ex-prisoners. Third, it is evident that investing in prison education has positive impacts on the socio-economic development of people (both the prisoners themselves but also the broader society); this is a human capital view on prison education. Fourth, prison education provides a second chance to education for the marginalised prisoners; this is a social justice view on prison education. Therefore, I argue that it is advisable to provide prison education from both economic and social justice points of view. Lastly, there is scant African literature, including Tanzania, on prison education. Therefore, this study adds value to the African literature, and for Tanzanian, in particular.

Chapter Four

The Prison Education Policy Context

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses part of the subsidiary research question: *What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania?* To provide a wider context, policies that guide prison education activities at national and international contexts will be discussed. Because the chapter is about prison education policy, I begin with the meaning of the term *policy*. It should be noted that this chapter puts emphasis on the international and local (national) prison education policies because I believe that the analysis of these (international and the Tanzanian prison education policy) contexts contributes to the understanding of the findings of this study. Also, the chapter includes a discussion on the conceptual approach for this study, which is developed from the literature and policy documents.

4.2 The Meaning of Policy

Although the word *policy* is common, it has never been easy to explain in layperson's terms: "Perhaps that is why so many people claim to have little or no understanding of policy" (Torjman, 2005, p. 1). Arguably, this resulted in multiple definitions of policy. For Dukeshire and Thurlow (2002), a policy is a statement that explains the goal of a community, institution or government, and its priorities. According to Office of the Auditor General (2003, p. 2), "policy refers to those plans, positions and guidelines of government which influence decisions by government". For this thesis, *prison education policy* refers to statements from which a government or a prison authority/institution commits its resources to achieve a positive result in prison education. In this regard, prison education policies spell out government/institutional intentions, roles, and processes towards prison education. They (prison education policies) provide a structure within which the management and its subordinates can carry out their apportioned prison education tasks.

Policies can be classified into two major groups, *macro* (general) policies and *micro* (specific) policies (Considine, 1994; Office of the Auditor General, 2003).

Macro policies usually lay down the foundations from which micro policies are developed and operate. Macro policies operate nation-wide; they provide government's direction. On the other hand, micro policies are prepared for a particular sector, programme, or institution. Micro-policies commonly reflect macro policies because they are developed to interpret the general policies and heighten the implementation of the macro-policies in a particular sector, programme, or institution. I would argue that the macro and micro policies depend on each other. For instance, the success of the national education and training policy (macro-policy) depends very much on the successful implementation of primary, secondary, tertiary, and non-formal educational related policies (micro-policies). At the same time, the success of these micro educational policies (policies related to primary, secondary, tertiary, and non-formal educational) depends on the national education and training policy. This suggests that the macro and micro policies have a dialectical relationship; they affect each other.

4.3 International Prison Education Policy Contexts

This section provides a synopsis of selected international prison education policy contexts. The section analyses the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, commonly known as *the Nelson Mandela Rules*, prison education policy contexts in selected developed countries, and prison education policy contexts in Africa. The purpose is to develop a broader understanding of prison education policies, before delving into the Tanzanian context. This analysis will become the basis for policy comparison between Tanzanian and international prison education policy contexts in the following chapters.

4.3.1 The United Nations standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners (the Nelson Mandela rules)

The Nelson Mandela Rules were first embraced by the United Nations Congress in 1955. The rules were then revised and adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2016 (UN, 2016). The currently approved document has a total of 122 rules (UN, 2016), while the former had a total of 95 rules (UN, 1977). Because of the current move towards prison education as a means to reduce reoffending (UN, 2016), among other things, both versions of the rules emphasise prison education as a means to achieve that goal. Rule Number 4(2) in the current document states:

“prison administrations and other competent authorities should offer education, vocational training, and work, as well as other forms of assistance that are appropriate” (UN, 2016, p. 8).

Both the former and the current documents have special sections on education and recreation, which comprise rules numbers 104 and 105 in the latest version (UN, 2016) and numbers 77 and 78 in the previous version (UN, 1977). Rules 104(1) and (2) in the current document directly relate to prison education; similarly, numbers 77(1) and (2) in the previous document dealt with the same. These rules (in both documents) attempt to establish the possibility of furthering education for prisoners. They explain the importance of literacy education for inmates, and integration of prison education into the country’s educational systems (UN, 1977, 2016). The current Rule Number 104(1) states:

Provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby, including religious instruction in the countries where this is possible. The education of illiterate prisoners and of young prisoners shall be compulsory and special attention shall be paid to it by the prison administration. (UN, 2016, p. 30)

This Rule is evidence that the international community values prison education. The main reason for this international focus is the fact that education is one of the fundamental human rights advocated by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948), and that a lack of education has significant influence on the rates of crime and recidivism (Braggins & Talbot, 2003; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

Rule Number 104(2) of the current document encourages the integration of educational systems. It states: “So far as practicable, the education of prisoners shall be integrated with the educational system of the country so that after their release they may continue their education without difficulty” (UN, 2016, p. 30). With this rule, I argue that the UN intends to open up doors for lifelong learning, because bridging the gap between the two educational systems may encourage prisoners to continue studying even after their release.

It is argued here that the Nelson Mandela Rules guide the provision of prison education across countries and the UN member states are expected to implement these Rules in their correctional institutions. For that reason, Tanzania is expected to offer prison education to its prisoners, as recommended by the Nelson Mandela

Rules. The subsections below provide an overview of prison education policy contexts in the selected countries.

4.3.2 Prison education policy contexts in selected developed countries

This section provides an overview of prison education policies in the selected developed countries. The countries include Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Germany, New Zealand (which have liberal policies towards imprisonment) and the USA (which have relatively coercive/conservative policies towards imprisonment). These countries were chosen to inform what could be best done for the prison policies that reflect human rights perspectives in education.

The prison education policy context in Iceland

In Iceland, prison education is a nationwide agenda. Prison education is given a high priority because the role of education in prisoners' rehabilitation is recognised. Prisoners are provided with free education, "the costs of prison educational activities are shared by the educational authorities and the Prison and Probation Administration" (Baldursson, 2009, p. 82). Since 2005 prison education has been included in the Icelandic Prison Act (Baldursson, 2009; Gunnlaugsson & Ragnarsson, 2009). Article 19 allows inmates' involvement in prison education to replace work obligation for prisoners; a prisoner who participates in educational activities may be excused from prison work. Article 19 also encourages prisoners to undertake education by insisting that prisons provide allowances to prisoners who join educational programmes. Article 47 of the Icelandic Prison Act allows inmates to attend educational programmes in schools outside of prisons as long as they have served one-third of their sentence (Baldursson, 2009). This analysis suggests that prison education in Iceland has a legal foundation. Prisons have a legal obligation to offer prison education as part of rehabilitation programmes. It can be argued that Iceland has put into practice the prison education aspect of the Nelson Mandela Rules (UN, 2016). Perhaps, prison education could be said to be one of their weapons for improved prisoners' rehabilitation as the statistics indicate a drop in recidivism rates from 40.1% in 2009 to 31.9% in 2013 (Svönudóttir, 2015).

The prison education policy context in Norway

In Norway, the right to education is stipulated in the 1998 Education Act. According to this Act, all Norwegians have:

The right and the obligation to attend compulsory school. Young people who have completed compulsory school or the equivalent have a right, upon application, to three years of full-time upper secondary school (the Education Act, Article 3.1). For programs requiring longer than three years to complete, young people have the right to complete the courses as specified in the curriculum. (Manger, Eikeland, & Diseth, 2009, p. 127)

For adults, Article 4A.1 provides the rights to compulsory education up to upper secondary education to adults above 25 who have not achieved that level of education (Langelid, 2009; Manger, Eikeland, & Diseth, 2009). It is noted here that the rights offered by this Article do not exclude adult prisoners.

The Norwegian 2002 Enforcement of Sentences Act – formerly known as The Penal Implementation Act – is another important law that guides prison education in Norway. This Act provides prisoners with the same rights to services and activities, and the same obligations and responsibilities as those of the general population outside of prison (Langelid, 2009; Manger, Eikeland, & Diseth, 2009). The rights include access to health services, work, and education, which are essential elements in preparing a prisoner for life after-prison. Prisoners in Norway are offered a free education. All costs of prison education are covered by the educational authorities and the Prison and Probation Service (Langelid, 2009). With the Enforcement of Sentences Act, I would argue that Norwegian prisons are compelled to work with other government agencies such as schools and colleges to offer prisoners relevant educational services.

It is clear in this context that the above mentioned two Norwegian laws are the basis for prison education in Norway. It is suggested here that offering educational programmes in the Norwegian prisons is not something a facility (prison) can opt out of; rather it is safeguarded by law. These laws provide an obligation to all prisoners to become involved in programmes which may facilitate their rehabilitation. For this reason, I would argue that Norway has adopted the Nelson Mandela Rules recommendations on the part of prison education.

The prison education policy context in Denmark

In Denmark, three main laws guide the operations of educational activities in prisons. The first law is the Enforcement of Sentences Act of 2001 (Koudahl, 2009; Raundrup, 2009; Rentzmann, 2008). This law establishes the legal

framework for prisoners' treatment. The law, especially Article 38, provides prisoners with the rights and obligation to participate in education and other duties officially assigned by prison authorities, including work (Raundrup, 2009).

The second law is the Adult Education Act of 2000 (Raundrup, 2009). This act offers special consideration to the Prison and Probation Service when it comes to adult education issues. The Act allows education centres in prisons to offer general adult education, subject to the Minister of Education's approval. This law has enabled several prison education centres to become *local adult education centres*, with a similar status to other adult education centres outside of prisons (Raundrup, 2009). The third law is the Act on Preparatory Adult Education of 2005 (Koudahl, 2009; Raundrup, 2009). This law provides prison education centres with a mandate to develop adult education programmes. Also, education centres in Danish prisons are allowed to hold nationally recognised examinations (Raundrup, 2009). It is noted here that in Denmark, "prison education is free of charge" (Koudahl, 2009, p. 42); all costs associated with prison education are covered by the Ministry of Justice.

The prison education policy context in Germany

In Germany, the 1976 (amended in 2013) Prison Act No. 16 aims at enabling prisoners to live a normal and responsible life, free from crime immediately after their release (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2013; Subramanian & Shames, 2013). This Act suggests that the main focuses of imprisonment in Germany are *re-socialisation* and *rehabilitation*. In attaining these objectives, German prisons are compelled to provide prisoners with a similar life, as much as possible, to that of the normal community outside of prisons (Subramanian & Shames, 2013).

The title of the Prison Act itself – Act Concerning the Execution of Prison Sentences and Measures of Rehabilitation and Prevention involving Deprivation of Liberty – explains how serious Germany is in the rehabilitation of its prisoners (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2013). The entire German Prison Act is about rehabilitation of prisoners; education is made a core part of the rehabilitation process. Section 70(1) allows prisoners to possess books (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2013). Section 67 allows prisoners to attend classes, training courses, and to use libraries while in prison. Section 38

provides an opportunity to attend a secondary school, similar to that provided outside of prisons, for all prisoners who did not have the chance to attend secondary education before their convictions. This section also offers inmates an opportunity for vocational training and insists upon the use of working hours for classes.

Section 39 of the Act provides prisoners with a chance to attend vocational training courses outside of prisons, on the condition that the programme teaches and promotes skills that would improve prisoners' livelihood after-release. Section 151 specifies that appropriate specialists should be available to supervise prisoners who will be furthering their education. Section 40 compels prison education programmes to lead to recognised credentials (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2013) – suggesting recognition for the necessity of accreditation of prison education programmes. From this literature, I would argue that the German government considers prison education necessary for prisoners' rehabilitation, and it has put into practice the Nelson Mandela Rules (UN, 2016).

The prison education policy context in New Zealand

Despite the argument in Chapters 2 and 3 that New Zealand uses more liberal approaches to imprisonment, some studies suggest that changes of policies in response to changes in political administration have been hampering prison education (Devine, 2007; Johnston, 2016). Political parties are accused of developing policies that are associated with being “tough” on crime to attract more voters during elections (Johnston, 2016), suggesting that the society upholds the conservative approaches to imprisonment. Arguably, these policies affect the Department of Corrections' approaches to prisoners. As mentioned in Chapter 3, because of these policies, prisoners' access to education decreased over the past years (Moriarity, 2014).

In 2004, the New Zealand Government introduced the Corrections Act. This Act is the primary document that guides prison education activities at the moment (Devine, 2007). Section 78 of this Act allows prisoners to have access to library services as well as to further their education as long as it may reduce their reoffending behaviour, or may enable a prisoner's reintegration into the community (New Zealand Government, 2004). With this law, I can argue that

New Zealand considers the importance of prison education, and has developed a legal framework to adopt the Nelson Mandela Rules.

More than 50% of New Zealand prison population are Maori (Johnston, 2016; Sharpe, 2017), who constitute only 15.4% of the general population. Studies suggest that 28.1% of released New Zealand's prisoners are reimprisoned within 12 months and 36.5% within 24 months of release (Johnston, 2016). The reimprisonment rate is higher for Maori (Sharpe, 2017). Considering that unemployment and poor education are among the main drivers for reoffending (John Howard Society of Ontario, 2009; Lochner & Moretti, 2004), since 2013, New Zealand prisons have been implementing the *reducing reoffending programme* (Department of Corrections, 2013; New Zealand Government, 2013; Office of the Auditor-General, 2013). This programme intends to increase learning opportunities for prisoners. Currently, through Study-Link, eligible prisoners can access student loans to undertake tertiary education like any other student outside of prison (Department of Corrections, n.d.-b). With the *reducing reoffending programme*, the Corrections Department intended to enable 2,950 prisoners to gain education and employment training by the year 2017. It was expected that this increase in learning opportunities would reduce recidivism rates among prisoners by 25% at the end of 2017 (Department of Corrections, 2013; Johnston, 2016; Moriarity, 2014). To this day, the accomplishments of the programme are not known. However, there is an indication that it might have been difficult to attain the intended rates of 25% reduction in reoffending because of the inconsistent records. For instance, in 2013, an 11.4% reduction rate was recorded (New Zealand Government, 2013), and the highest reduction peak (in 2014) was 12.6% (Lewis, Consedine, & Hickey, 2015; Office of the Auditor-General, 2016). With these statistics and the current youth unemployment rates in New Zealand (24%) (Johnson, 2016), it is arguably difficult to have been achieved a 25% reduction of recidivism rates by the end of 2017, as planned. Although these statistics suggest the failure to achieve the target of the *reducing reoffending programme*, the contribution of education to the reduction of recidivism, as seen in these statistics, cannot be ignored (Office of the Auditor-General, 2016). Therefore, I would argue that New Zealand is working hard to

embrace the Nelson Mandela Rules regarding prison education, and its contribution to the reduction of recidivism is noted.

The prison education policy context in the USA

Generally, the USA authorities believe in being *tough on crime* (The National Institute for Literacy, 2002; Whitaker, 2016). They consider prison education as part of being *soft on crime* (Mounk, 2016). As a result, the USA (as a country) does not have a common policy regarding prison education; states have different prison education policies (Davis et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2014; Spangenberg, 2004). For instance, participation in prison education is mandatory for prisoners without a high school diploma or General Education Development (GED) in 24 states within the USA, and it is a must for prisoners below a certain grade level in 15 states (Davis et al., 2014). The state laws in Oklahoma, Oregon, Maryland, and Massachusetts mention literacy education as mandatory for prisoners with low literacy level (Spangenberg, 2004). For the remaining (26) states, prison education is an option.

Funding policies for prison education in the USA have been changing over the years. After the 1971 rebellion in Attica prison, the government introduced the *Pell Educational Grants* which supported college education for prisoners (Zahn, 1997). In 1994 the Congress made an amendment to the Act that denied prisoners the Pell grants (Spangenberg, 2004; Zahn, 1997). Also, the condition set by the 1966 Adult Education Act that forced all states to allocate at least 10% of the federal ABE funds to prison education (Spangenberg, 2004) was changed to a 10% maximum in the 1998 Workforce Investment Act (Spangenberg, 2004; The USA Federal Government, 1998). It is clear that states can now allocate less than 10% of the ABE funds for prison education. These changes in funding policies suggests that the USA has placed a low priority on prison education. Recently, there have been movements to reinstate prisoners' eligibility for the Pell Grants. The notable initiatives include a move in 2015 and again in 2016 to introduce the Restoring Education and Learning (REAL) Act, "which would have reinstated access to Pell Grants for people in prison" (Strait & Eaton, 2017 p. 3). This move was never successful. In 2015, the USA Federal Government funded a \$30 million pilot project called the *Second Chance Pell Pilot*, aimed at providing 12,000

prisoners access to Pell Grants (Strait & Eaton, 2017). This project was backed by President Obama and it is still on course; its achievements are yet to be known.

4.3.3 Prison education policy in the African context

This section provides an overview of prison education policies in the African context. Firstly, two important declarations – The 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa and the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice – will be discussed. Then, I will discuss prison education policies of the five selected African countries.

The 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa

In 1996, members from 47 countries, including 40 African countries, gathered in Kampala for an International Seminar on Prison Conditions in Africa (Penal Reform International, 2008). The participants of this seminar developed several recommendations; I consider three of them to have a direct link with prison education. One of those recommendations states: “the human rights of prisoners should be safeguarded at all times and that non-governmental agencies should have a special role in this respect” (Penal Reform International, 2008, p. 12). This recommendation links with prison education in the sense that education is part of human rights (UN, 1948) and it provides a chance for the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to play a part in safeguarding the rights of prisoners, including education. Therefore, this recommendation opens doors for NGOs to participate in the provision of education in prison context.

The second recommendation that I link with prison education is: “prisoners should be given access to education and skills training to make it easier for them to reintegrate into society after their release” (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006, p. 44). This recommendation openly suggests the provision of education to prisoners to enable their smooth transition into society. The third recommendation requires all the norms of the United Nations and the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the treatment of prisoners to be incorporated into national laws to protect the human rights of prisoners (Penal Reform International, 2008; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). I would argue that implementation of this recommendation would mean incorporating prison education into national laws of African countries, including

Tanzania. With this recommendation, African countries, including Tanzania, have a chance to improve educational activities within the prison context.

The 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice

In 1999, the Penal Reform International (PRI), in collaboration with the Eastern, Southern and Central African Heads of Correctional Services (CESCA), conducted a workshop in Tanzania on good prison practice for the heads of the Correctional Services from the region (Penal Reform International, 2008). This workshop was the next step following the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa. Several principles were agreed upon in this workshop, including two, which have a more explicit link with education for prisoners.

One of those principles is “to promote and implement good prison practice, in conformity with the international standards, and to adjust domestic laws to those standards if this has not yet been done” (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006, p. 50). I relate this principle to prison education because the provision of education to prisoners is one of the international standards stipulated by various international documents, including the Nelson Mandela Rules and the Kampala Declaration (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). Besides, adjusting domestic laws to conform to international standards for good prison practice would mean incorporating prison education into the national legislation as suggested by the 1996 Kampala Declaration, which may have a positive impact on prison education in Africa, and Tanzania in particular.

The second agreed principle is “to respect and protect the rights and dignity of prisoners as well as to ensure compliance with national and international standards” (Penal Reform International, 2008, p. 30). This principle is also relevant to prison education because protecting prisoners’ rights includes protecting their right to education, which is among the basic human rights agreed on by the United Nations (UN, 1948). Therefore, I would argue that the Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice is a relevant policy document for prison education in Africa, and Tanzania in particular.

4.3.4 Prison education policy contexts in selected African countries

This section discusses the prison education policy contexts in selected African countries: South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Kenya, and Uganda. The selection of

these countries is for broader understanding of the African prison education policy context. It is noted here that unlike many developed countries, prison education in the African context is under researched. Studies on prison education are scarce. For that reason, these countries are chosen because of their proximity to Tanzania and having pertinent literature which suggests availability of some liberal prison education policies.

The prison education policy context in South Africa

Many constitutions in the African countries do not spell out issues related to prison education. This is different from the South African Constitution. In South Africa, prison education is explicitly stated in the constitution. Section 35(2) (e) of the Constitution grants prisoners a right to reading materials (The Republic of South Africa, 1996). This suggests that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa considers the need for libraries in prisons, and therefore, lays the foundation for prison education.

Apart from being mentioned in the Constitution, prison education is safeguarded by the South African Correctional Service Act of 1998. This Act guides prison education activities in the South African prisons, and enforces the use of *case-management* in managing prisoners' behaviours in South African prisons (The Republic of South Africa, 1998). According to the Act, every prison is required to have a Case Management Committee, whose task is to assess prisoners' rehabilitation needs, including education (Section 42). Section 41(1) and (2) of the 1998 Correctional Service Act are especially focused on prison education. They state:

- (1) The Department must provide or give access to as full a range of programmes and activities as is practicable to meet the education and training needs of sentenced prisoners.
- (2) Sentenced prisoners who are illiterate or children may be compelled to take part in the educational programmes offered in terms of Subsection (1) (The Republic of South Africa, 1998, p. 42).

With such legal and constitutional recognition of prison education, I would argue that South Africa is among the few African countries which has laid a legal framework for educational activities in prisons. Perhaps one would argue that the South African prison education policy context is influenced by South African

economic strengths which may increase the likelihood of learning resources in prisons, as opposed to many other African countries.

The prison education policy context in Botswana

In Botswana, Section 90 of the Prisons Act No. 28 of 1979 is the main legal framework that guides education in prisons (The Government of Botswana, 2000). This Section 90 has five subsections that focus on training and rehabilitation of prisoners. The Section 90(1), (2), (3) and (4) state:

- (1) The training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be directed towards encouraging and assisting them to lead good and useful lives.
- (2) Every prisoner able to profit from whatever educational and vocational facilities provided at any prison shall be encouraged to do so.
- (3) Special attention shall be given to the education of illiterate prisoners, and where the officer in charge considers it necessary to do so, they shall be taught during the hours normally allocated to work.
- (4) Every prison shall be provided with a library where it is reasonably practicable to do so, and every prisoner shall be permitted to have and exchange books from the library (The Government of Botswana, 2000 Section 90).

Although this Act considers the importance of prison education, these sections provide room for flexibility which may be used by prison officers as a loophole not to offer education to prisoners. For instance, by stating that *literacy education shall be provided to illiterate prisoners as long as an officer in charge considers it necessary to do so*, allows an officer in charge to escape that responsibility, especially those with a punitive mindset. No section in this Act indicates that prison education is a requirement in prisons. However, despite having that loophole, I would argue that by having a special section for prison education in its Prisons Act, Botswana is among the few countries with relatively sound prison education policies in Africa.

The prison education policy context in Lesotho

In Lesotho, prison education is mentioned in the Basutoland Prison Rules of 1957. According to Section 3 of this rule, the purpose of prison education is to establish in prisoners “the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to

lead such a life” (The Government of Lesotho, 1957, p. 421). Sections 60 and 61 of this Act are the main articles that guide prison education. These sections state:

60(1) The Director may determine what facilities shall be allowed at each prison, to enable prisoners who wish to do so, to improve their education by studying or by practising handicrafts in their leisure time.

(2) Those prisoners who are likely to derive benefit from the use of facilities provided under sub-rule (1), shall be encouraged to make use of them.

61. Prisoners may receive books or periodicals from outside the prison, under such conditions as the Director may determine (The Government of Lesotho, 1957, pp. 434-435).

These sections in the Prison Rules suggest that the Lesotho Government has liberal policies regarding prison education. However, these sections provide the director with more power to decide the fate of prisoners’ access to education. For instance, according to Section 60(1), it is the director who decides the educational programme and facilities to be allocated in a particular prison. Likewise, in Section 61 the Director is mandated to determine whether prisoners can receive books and other reading materials from outside prisons, or not. This loophole may be used by directors to escape from committing themselves to prison education, especially for those who do not believe in educating prisoners. For better results, I would argue that the Prison Rules need to be more direct and open on prison education.

The prison education policy context in Kenya

In Kenya, the Prisons Act is a key policy document that guides prison education activities. This Act has sections that provide room for educational activities in prisons. Such Sections are 17 and 63. Section 17(3) provides prisoners with a chance to access educational books and periodicals (The Republic of Kenya, 2012). However, this is not a requirement; the section mentions the issue of access to educational books and periodicals as a privilege. For that reason, prison officers can use Section 17 as an excuse not to offer such services. Section 63 of the Act has special provisions for prison education. This section has four subsections, and three of them (Subsections 1, 2, and 3) are specific to prison education. Below are the three subsections:

(1) The officer in charge shall take all steps that he considers practicable to arrange evening educational classes for the prisoners in his charge, and shall permit prisoners in their leisure time to study by means of courses approved and arranged by him and to practise handicrafts; and special attention shall be paid to the education of illiterate persons.

(2) Whenever possible there shall be a library in each prison, and prisoners shall be permitted to draw books from the library in accordance with such directions as the Commissioner may from time to time make.

(3) The officer in charge may arrange for lectures, concerts and debates for prisoners to take place outside the hours of labour (The Republic of Kenya, 2012, p. 64).

Although Subsection 1 does not force prisons to include study time in their daily routine, it offers a possibility for prisons to introduce evening classes for prisoners. Evening classes, introduction of libraries, lectures, and debate activities mentioned in this Act, become legal recommendations to prisons (not a requirement). The two sections (Sections 17 and 63) in the Kenyan Prisons Act are probably the responses to international policies and declarations (Nelson Mandela Rules, Kampala, and Arusha Declarations) regarding the rights of prisoners and prison education in specific. Despite the good policies, studies suggest that prison education in Kenya still faces a number of challenges including shortage of infrastructure and material resources (refer to Chapter 3) (Kyalo et al., 2014). However, I would argue that inclusion of these sections in the Kenyan Prisons Act is commendable; it may improve prison education activities in Kenya.

The prison education policy context in Uganda

The Ugandan 2006 Prisons Act is the most important document that guides prison activities in the country. According to this Act, the Ugandan Prisons Service has five core functions. Two of them are specific to prisoners' rehabilitation. These are: to facilitate the social rehabilitation and reformation of prisoners through specific training and educational programmes; and to facilitate the re-integration of prisoners into their communities (The Government of Uganda, 2006). These two functions have direct links with this study. They suggest determination of the Ugandan Government to use educational programmes for prisoner rehabilitation.

In Section 57(d) the Ugandan Prisons Act considers access to education as one of the inmates' rights (The Government of Uganda, 2006). This consideration provides Ugandan prisoners, who are in need of education, the right to insist on access. As discussed previously, the Kampala Declaration suggested member countries incorporate the United Nations norms and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the treatment of prisoners into their laws to protect prisoners' rights (Penal Reform International, 2008; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). Therefore, by including prisoner access to education in the Prisons Act, I argue that Uganda has taken efforts to uptake the Nelson Mandela Rules and the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). Perhaps this recognition has contributed to current reports that suggest some Ugandan inmates have access to formal education as well as organised vocational training. This may have also influenced the current reported reoffending rate (32%), which is the lowest in Africa (Candia & Lumu, 2014; Mudoola, 2014). However, literature suggests that several Ugandan prisons do not offer prisoners opportunity to education because they do not have sufficient resources (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011; Kalid, 2011; Serwanjja, 2014). Therefore, I would argue that Uganda has much to do to improve its current prison education situation.

4.4 The Prison Education Policy Context in Tanzania

This study is about prison education in Tanzania; one of its research questions is: *What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education?* The international prison education policy contexts discussed above form the foundation upon which the arguments in this section are reflected. As stated in Chapter 2, Tanzania does not have a specific Adult Education policy; rather, various macro-policies have been used to interpret adult education. These policies are: the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania; the Education and Training Policy; the Tanzania Vision 2025; and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty. Being a subset of adult education, I argue that prison education is connected to these macro-policies. To avoid repetition, I will not re-discuss these policies in this section; rather, I will focus on documents that directly relate to Tanzanian prisons. The purpose is to see how Tanzania interprets the international and national policy documents relating to prison education into

the Tanzanian prison context. This section discusses how the 1967 Prisons Act No. 34 and the 2011 Prison Education Guide interpret prison education activities in Tanzanian prisons.

4.4.1 The 1967 Prisons Act

In Tanzania, prison activities are controlled by the 1967 Prisons Act No. 34. This Act provides a legal framework to guide the management of prisons and prisoners in Tanzania. With this understanding, I found it necessary to review this Act and see how it provides room for prison education as a means for prisoner rehabilitation.

It was found that the Act is very old; its emphasis is on management of prisons, prison staff, and control of prisoners (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). No part of this Act spells out the rights of prisoners. For this reason, I would argue that prisoners are not guaranteed to receive basic human rights such as education. In Part IX of this Act, only facilities for religious worship were mentioned among the privileges to be offered to prisoners. They are not prisoners' rights. Education facilities were not mentioned at all. It is noted here that prisons have four main roles: punishing offenders, deterrence, rehabilitation of offenders, and protecting the society from potential crimes (Kemp & Johnson, 2003). The Tanzania Prisons Act is silent on prison education and rehabilitation, although it was developed after the 1955 United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (UN, 2016). Most content of this Act was probably borrowed from the British Colonial Prisons Act (Nyoka, 2013), which resulted in the TPS being a coercive instrument of the state, and not a rehabilitative one (Nyoka, 2013; Williams, 1980).

Unlike South Africa, Botswana, Kenya, and Uganda (refer to Section 4.3.4), it is suggested here that the Tanzanian Prisons Act does not have a clear focus on prison education. Only Part XI of the Act – Training and Treatment of Prisoners – mentions prisoner training (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). This part has a total of 12 sections (Sections 61 to 73), but only one section (Section 61) mentions training. The section states:

Every prisoner sentenced to imprisonment and detained in prison shall, subject to the provisions of this Act and subject also to any special order of the court, be employed, trained and treated, whether he is in

or is not within the precincts of any prison, in such a manner as the Commissioner may determine. (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967, p. 22)

As seen in the quoted section, it is clear that low emphasis is placed on training. Training is stated in a manner that may arguably be considered a minor aspect of prison activities. This is an indication that Tanzania Prisons Act does not place importance on prison education. With this Act, heads of prisons may not be questioned if they do not offer prison education to offenders as it is not a legal requirement. This is different from the laws of the reviewed African countries (South Africa, Botswana, Kenya, and Uganda) and those of developed countries (New Zealand, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland).

With this Prisons Act, I argue that the TPS mainly follows the conservative (punitive) philosophy to imprisonment, rather than the liberal (rehabilitation) approaches (Kemp & Johnson, 2003; Pollock, 2014). As a result, prisoners have few rights to be treated humanely and limited access to education (as it will be discussed in the following chapters). This contravenes the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa and the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice. As stated earlier, the two declarations require African countries to accommodate all the norms of the United Nations and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the treatment of prisoners in their national laws to protect prisoners' rights (Penal Reform International, 2008; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006).

4.4.2 The Prison Education Guide

In this study, I was also interested to find any relevant document that guides prison education activities in Tanzania. I was able to find a document provided by the Commissioner General for Prisons, which serves as a guide to prison education. This document was first mentioned by one of the interviewees. He said:

I am happy that my persuasion plus the success of that occasion [Adult Education day celebrated in one prison] led to an introduction of the Commissioner General's circular [Prison Education Guide] which recommends all prisons in Tanzania to offer prison education to inmates. (Kapinga; Municipal Adult Education Officer)

This document was introduced in 2011; I thought it was necessary to review it. Given the Tanzanian prison education policy context, this Prison Education Guide

(The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) is arguably the only document which seems to interpret and translate international prison education policy statements into practice. I consider this document as a specific/micro policy on prison education in the Tanzanian context. The Prison Education Guide has two main sections. Section one presents what is expected to be done to improve prison education provision. Section two is about the responsibilities of Prison Education Co-ordinators (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011).

The purpose of introducing this Prison Education Guide was to bring equality among prisons regarding the management of prison education. It was also aimed at improving efficiency of prison education, and to inform society about the contribution of prison education to prisoner rehabilitation (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). It seems that the TPS is aware of the current global movement on prisoners' rehabilitation. In its introductory part, the Prison Education Guide states:

This guide responds to the current situation, where openness and human rights have become the central focus at national and international levels. We believe that the society has the right to be involved and informed of all the programmes that TPS offers to rehabilitate prisoners, including prison education, because prisoners are part of the general society; they come from, and re-join it after rehabilitation. Therefore, the society needs to be involved in prison education programmes without breaching human rights and the Prisons Act. (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011, p. 1)

It is suggested that this Guide was developed in consideration that education is the right of prisoners, and that it can facilitate rehabilitation by improving prisoners' skills and taking away ignorance (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). It is recommended that every prison should be a learning centre which would allow all prisoners to be learners based on their education levels (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). However, this study found that this recommendation is not in practice; not all prisons offer prison education (This will be discussed in the following chapters).

It is noted that the Prison Education Guide addresses five main issues: coordination of prison education, teacher recruitment, the learning environment, collaboration with other stakeholders, and assessment of learners (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). Regarding the coordination of prison education, this

Guide recommends the appointment of prison officers with teacher qualifications to coordinate prison education at regional and prison levels (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). At the time this study was carried out, it was clear that the two Regional Prisons Offices that I visited did not have prison education coordinators.

In relation to teacher recruitment, the Guide recommends appointment of prisoners with teacher qualifications, or those with higher qualifications and good behaviour to teach their fellow prisoners (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). In the present study, inmate-teacher recruitment was observed in most prisons that had educational programmes. The Guide, in this context, promotes peer teaching (Jarvis, 2004).

With regard to the learning environment, the Guide addresses four main issues: learning schedule, curriculum, classrooms, and library. On the part of learning schedule, the Guide recommends that prisons allocate learning time in their daily routine. Regarding the curriculum, the Prison Education Guide recommends the provision of curriculum-based (systematic) education (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011); though, the Guide did not stipulate which curriculum is to be followed. This silence is a problem because prison management may not bother to find relevant curricula (This was observed in most of the prisons in this study).

With respect to classrooms, the Guide recommends prisons have special spaces which may be used as classrooms. These learning spaces (classrooms) are supposed to be properly designed to avoid direct sunlight and wind (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). With this recommendation, I would argue that the Prison Education Guide underlines the importance of providing a comfortable learning environment. This is a commendable observation because it is noted that an uncomfortable classroom design may not support adult learning (Knowles et al., 2005). Regarding libraries, prisons are advised to have special rooms that can be used as libraries (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). This recommendation is in line with the Nelson Mandela Rules which require prisoners to be able to access books (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). However, this study suggests that the actual learning environment is not of the standard recommended by the Prison Education Guide, as will be explored in the discussion section.

Regarding collaboration, the Prison Education Guide recommends involvement of other organisations – governmental, religious, NGOs, and the general society – in prison education (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). It is noted here that this recommendation is consistent with the belief that involvement of the wider society is necessary for prisoner rehabilitation (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). The Prison Education Guide recommends that prison education co-ordinators should communicate with the nearby Education Officers to get information on educational policies, for consultation, and for assistance with learning materials (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). However, the Guide does not specify clearly the responsibilities of the community, the NGOs, religious institutions, and other governmental institutions. Consequently, as it will be discussed in the following chapters, this study suggests poor community involvement in prison life.

With reference to assessment, the Prison Education Guide recommends the use of formative and summative evaluation. It is suggested that the formative evaluation be managed by centres (prisons) while summative evaluation be managed by the nationally recognised institutions such as the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). It is recommended that whenever possible, National Examinations may be conducted in prisons. If not, the candidates should be escorted to the appropriate National Examination Centre in civilian dress. This notional flexibility is commendable as it allows inmates to take nationally recognised examinations wherever possible. It is also argued here that the implementation of this recommendation is one of the ways that could develop links between prison education and the conventional education systems as suggested by the Nelson Mandela Rules (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). However, it is noted that the Prison Education Guide is silent on who would fund inmates' National Examinations. It is argued here that this silence may be an obstacle to prisoners taking recognised examinations. The Guide encourages prisons to submit prison education monthly reports to the TPS. However, this study suggests that prisons did not fulfil this requirement as the TPS did not have proper follow up mechanisms; one participant said that they were not reporting to the TPS regarding prison education activities.

The Prison Education Guide is a useful document; it provides direction for prison education activities in the Tanzanian prisons. With this Guide, one would expect each prison to have developed internal mechanisms to translate the proclamations of this document into practice. The main weakness of this document is that it has no legal basis to enforce its implementation. This Guide is not mentioned anywhere in the Prisons Act. Also, the language used in its conclusion provides a loophole that might be used by the heads of prisons to ignore the Guide. The conclusion states: “This Guide is an initial document; it may be implemented based on the prison context (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011, p. 5).”

Arguably, this statement suggests that prison education is not a requirement in the Tanzanian prison context. Therefore, implementation of this Guide depends on the orientation of the head of a particular prison. If the heads of prisons believe in punishment, it is more than likely to find their prisons have no prison education programmes. Those who believe that education is an essential element for prisoner rehabilitation may embrace the policy, and therefore, educational programmes may be found. The document offers no room for anyone to question its implementation. It is unfortunate that this Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) was introduced 15 years and 13 years after the Kampala and Arusha Declarations respectively, but it still has no legal status as recommended by these declarations. For this reason, I would argue that prisoners’ rights to education in Tanzania are still severely diluted.

4.5 The Conceptual Approach of the Study

Figure 4 below is a diagrammatic summary of how I conceptualised the prison education system in my study.

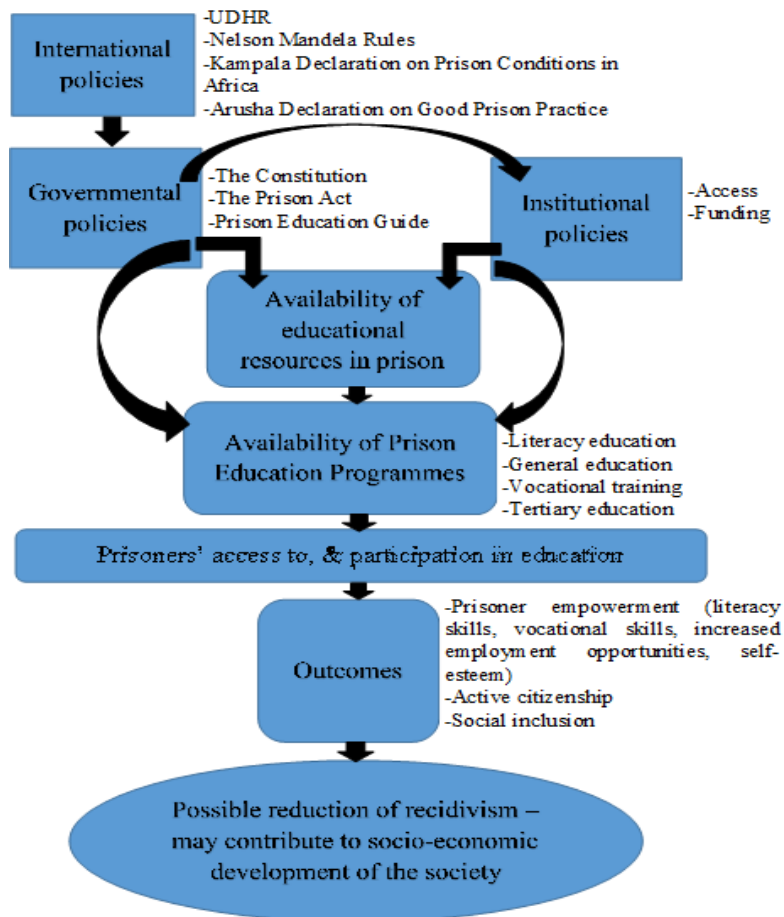


Figure 4. Conceptual approach of the study

This study assumes that policies are keys to the success of prison education. Adequate prison education depends on governmental and institutional policies, which are consistent with international policies. This study is developed on the belief that *international policies* influence *governmental policies* related to prison education, which in turn have an impact on institutional policies. The governmental and institutional policies thereafter influence the allocation of educational resources (fiscal, human, and material resources) in prisons. In association with governmental and institutional policies, the allocated resources in prisons determine the availability of prison education programmes (literacy education, general education, vocational training, and tertiary education). Accordingly, the availability of prison education programmes impacts upon prisoners' access to education. Consequently, prisoners' access to education

affects the development of lifelong inmate-learners. This model suggests that prison education may empower prisoners by increasing their literacy skills, vocational skills (labour market skills), employment opportunities, and self-esteem. The model also suggests that prison education may influence social inclusion and active citizenship among prisoners (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Small, 2009). Subsequently, prison education may be a contributing factor to the reduction of recidivism rates and development of a productive citizen. This model is developed from the pertinent literature adapted for a prison education context.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the international and local (Tanzanian) prison education policy context. The chapter suggests that the Nelson Mandela Rules is the main international document that guides prison education activities across the world. The 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa and the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice are the principal documents that guide prison education activities in the African context. In the Tanzanian context, the 1967 Tanzania Prisons Act Number 34 guides prison activities. However, this chapter suggests that prison education is given a low priority within the 1967 Prisons Act (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). Currently, the 2011 Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) seems to be the main policy document that guides prison education activities in the country. Nevertheless, it is suggested in this chapter that this Prison Education Guide is not a legally binding document; prisons are not legally required to implement it. Consequently, prison education is not considered mandatory for prisoners' rehabilitation. The Prisons Act does not allow prisoners to demand access to education. As a result, some prisoners who have a passion for learning cannot access education; this contradicts the Nelson Mandela Rules, the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa, and the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice. As a result of the literature review (Chapters 3 and 4), a conceptual approach for this study has been developed in this chapter

Section 3
Methodology and Prison Profiles

Chapter Five

Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how the methodological choices of this study fit the project, the research work for which was mainly conducted in five Tanzanian prisons. The purpose is to allow a reader to understand the rationale for the methodology and methodological procedures undertaken to carry out this research project. The chapter begins by explaining the research paradigm adopted for this study, followed by the research approach, and the study design. Then, the chapter discusses the data collection methods employed within this study, selection of cases and participants, and issues of access. Also, the chapter discusses the data analysis procedures, how the discussion of findings is carried out, and issues of validity of the study. Thereafter, the chapter considers ethical issues within this project. Finally, with the help of a diagram, a summary of this chapter is provided.

5.2 Research Paradigm

Choosing a suitable research paradigm is essential for the success of a research project. A paradigm or ‘world view’ (Patton, 1990) is “a basic set of beliefs that guide action” (Creswell, 2007, p. 19). Scholars have categorised research paradigms in different ways. Rossman and Rallis (1998) proposed four research paradigms – interpretivism, constructivism, positivism and functionalism. Lincoln and Guba (2000) suggest positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, constructivism, and a participatory paradigm. For Mackenzie and Knipe (2006), research paradigms include positivist/post-positivist, interpretivist/constructivist, transformative, and pragmatic. According to Merriam (1998), research paradigms are positivist, interpretive, and critical research. Many scholars use interpretivism and constructivism interchangeably and link them with qualitative research, while they associate positivism/post-positivism with quantitative studies (Avramidis & Smith, 1999; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Wahyuni, 2012). The “Pragmatic” paradigm is usually associated with mixed approach studies (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). The purpose of acknowledging these typologies is not to single out the best way to categorise research paradigms, rather, to find the most appropriate

paradigm that would render the most effective approach to meet the focus of this project.

As a result of a thorough analysis, this study opted for the interpretivist research paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm is:

Associated with the philosophical position of idealism, and is used to group together diverse approaches, including social constructionism, phenomenology and hermeneutics; approaches that reject the objectivist view that meaning resides within the world independently of consciousness. (Collins, 2010, p. 38)

Interpretivism focuses on human interpretative aspects in understanding a phenomenon (Avramidis & Smith, 1999; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Snape & Spencer, 2003). Creswell (2007) writes that:

In this worldview, individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of research, then, is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation. (p. 20)

This study has been based on the ontological assumption that “reality is subjective and multiple, as seen by participants in the study” (Creswell, 2007, p. 17). This basic set of premises guided this research project. This study investigated prison education through multiple participants from various prisons and locations who experienced multiple realities and perspectives. In understanding the context of prison education in Tanzania, this study was conducted in its authentic context and relied on participants' (including inmates and ex-inmates) perspectives. Krauss (2005) suggests that “face-to-face interaction is the fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being, understanding not only their words but the meanings of those words as understood and used by the individual”(p. 764). From this perspective, as a researcher, I was involved physically and mentally during individual interviews, group interviews, and observations. In the process, I made meaning from the raw data based on my interpretations of participants' words, feelings, and actions, which enabled me to understand the participants' experiences in prison education.

5.3 A Qualitative Research Approach

As noted in the previous section, in recent years, three research approaches (quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods) have been noted as the main ones. “The first has been available to the social and human scientist for years, the second has emerged primarily during the last three or four decades, and the last is new and still developing in form and substance” (Creswell, 2003, p. 3). Although I considered quantitative and mixed approaches, in this study I chose to employ a qualitative approach because my intention was to explore rich information from insiders’ perspectives. I primarily used an inductive⁸ approach to research as the data regarding participants’ understanding of prison education were gathered from the ground up (Williams, 2007). I believed that the understanding of prison education from insiders’ perspectives would be better achieved through a qualitative approach than it could be with other approaches.

Qualitative research involves analysing and interpreting text, interviews, and observations in order to discover meaningful patterns which describe a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Giardina, 2008; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006; Snape & Spencer, 2003). Generally, Creswell summarises it this way:

Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study. (Creswell, 2007, p. 37)

This type of study does not involve computation; rather it involves interpretation. A qualitative research approach was deemed suitable to this study because it favoured in-depth investigation of prison education through field-work. I accessed raw data on prison education in its natural setting and interpreted it within an *emic*⁹ perspective. My interpretation of the data was based on the meanings that were given by participants (Creswell, 2007; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2005; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). It should be noted that this study did not aim to attain generalizability of the findings. Rather, it aimed at exploring some participants’

⁸ Studies that allow researchers to generate meanings from field data.

⁹ Understanding of the phenomenon of interest from the participants’ perspectives, not a researcher’s.

experiences and their views to determine the adequacy of prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context. All these were considered from the emic perspective, and hence, qualitative data were collected.

5.4 A Case Study Design

In this study, I used a case study design. A case study is one of the designs that is consistent with qualitative research. A case study involves an exploration of a phenomenon through one or multiple cases within a confined setting (Creswell, 2007). According to Merriam (1998), the case is “a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries” (p. 27). A case study must have a specified number of participants (usually small), and be time bound for data collection (Merriam, 1998).

I chose a case study design for this project because it helped me acquire in-depth understanding of prison education, as case studies allow for detailed interpretation of subject-specific data from multiple field-work sources (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2014). Scholars categorise case studies in various ways. According to Creswell (2007), case studies are of three types: a single instrumental case study, multiple case studies, and intrinsic case study. For Yin (2014), case studies are either single or multiple. This study did not aim at finding which typology is the best. Rather, the purpose was to study the categories and decide the best suited for this project. In this research, I employed multiple case studies. As opposed to a single case design, multiple case studies involve more than one site. Yin (2014, p. 57) argues that “the evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust”. As this project investigated the adequacy of prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context, they were better understood by studying them in more than one prison. Therefore, this study intentionally used multiple cases in order to demonstrate different perspectives of prison education within the Tanzanian prison system (Creswell, 2007).

Similar to a single case study, multiple case studies may be holistic or embedded. This means that “a multiple-case study may consist of multiple holistic cases or of multiple embedded cases” (Yin, 2014, p. 62). In this study, relevant data from all participants were treated as a whole (multiple holistic); they are thematically

discussed in Chapters 7, 8, and 9. The data comprehensively described prison education in selected sites within the Tanzanian context (Creswell, 2007).

5.5 Data Collection Methods

Qualitative researchers employ various data collection methods including: observations, individual interviews, focus group interviews, document analysis, and audio-visual materials (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). For better understanding of prison education in Tanzania, this study employed multiple data collection methods: individual interviews, focus group interviews, observations, and documentary analysis. Prior to data collection, I shared the interview guides with my supervisors, the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee, and the Confirmed Enrolment Panel for PhDs. This process helped to detect and improve selected questions/items and identified the irrelevant ones to be omitted. As I carried out the data collection process, I modified some items as the need arose (Creswell, 2007; Gall et al., 2005). All these avenues maximised the ability of the items to capture relevant and adequate information (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993).

Considering that this project was conducted in prisons, which are normally regarded as total institutions (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962), *flexibility* was the key factor that enabled effective data collection (Holloway & Todres, 2003). At some points, I had to change strategies based on the situation at hand. For instance, although I planned to carry out focus group interviews with prison officers, in some prisons, I conducted individual interviews with them as it was not possible to get them altogether due to their work schedules. The following subsections will discuss the selected data collection methods for this study in detail.

5.5.1 Individual interviews

Individual interviews allow a researcher to interact directly with each participant, for a purposeful dialogue (Gall et al., 2005). In the dialogue, the researcher seeks specific information related to the study. Individual interviews were among the preferred instruments for this qualitative project as they enabled me to become the interpreting agent for prison education experiences (Barrett, 2007). A strength of individual interviews is the ability to gain more in-depth information from

interviewees, and that interviewers have greater control over the interview process than in group interviews (Heary & Hennessy, 2006; Morgan, 1997). However, I was aware that individual interviews could enable me to interview only a few individuals. Therefore, I selected a few specific individuals, and those who could not be reached within a group for individual interviews. With individual interviews, I endeavoured to enter into the participants' world and understand their inner meanings of prison education (Patton, 1990). This method gave me an opportunity to observe the non-verbal expressions of the interviewees and for that reason, enabled the collection of first-hand and more in-depth information (Edwards & Holland, 2013). There are at least three ways of data collection using an interview method: informal/unstructured, semi-structured/semi-standardised, and structured/standardised interviews (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003; Patton, 2002).

Because this study needed to obtain rich and deep information, at the same time remaining focused, I employed a semi-structured interview approach. I prepared a series of open-ended questions that focused on the topic area and guided the interview process. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed the use of prompts to encourage participants to consider the question further whenever they faced difficulties or provided only brief responses. The semi-structured interview was useful in this study due to its focus and the flexibility that allowed for probing, phrasing, as well as arrangement of questions (Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Each one-to-one interview took between 60 and 90 minutes. This time-span gave the interviewer and interviewee sufficient time to be immersed in the discussion and hence participants were more open to sharing relevant experiences.

Different individual interview guides (list of questions/topics) were developed. These interview guides were prepared to ensure that all interviews followed a similar line of inquiry (Patton, 2002). These interview guides were used in the collection of information from the prison education co-ordinators, teachers, the retired-senior prison officer, and the IAE representatives. Others were the Adult Education Officer, the VETA tutor, the NGO representative, the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) representative, and an ex-student who shared the examination centre with prisoners. The four ex-inmates were also interviewed individually; this was partly due to not being able to bring them all together for a focus group interview. Because the participants were more familiar with Kiswahili than

English, I used Kiswahili language during the interviews to simplify interaction and provide participants with wider room for self-expression.

This study was mostly carried out in the prisons where I was not permitted to enter with anything other than a notebook and pen. Therefore, I could not use a voice recorder in that context and was reliant on making more extensive field notes from the interviews. I stopped the interviewee whenever necessary for clarification. My field notes were supplemented by a reflective journal in which I kept the records of my daily activities. I organised the collected data after every interview. On a few occasions, I revisited my interviewees for further clarification when it was necessary. With the participants' consent, the interviews outside of prisons were voice-recorded and transcribed by me into text soon after the session. Field notes supplemented the voice-recording. For those who chose not to be recorded, I took field notes as I did in the prisons. The voice recordings and extensive field notes were useful during the data analysis process and thesis writing, as important quotations from participants could be noted.

5.5.2 Focus group interviews (FGI)

A group interview has “focus” when it has “a tightly defined topic for discussion (content) and a specifically defined group of individuals (group composition)” (Gillham, 2005, p. 60). As noted earlier, focus group interviews are said to have a lower ability to capture in-depth information as opposed to individual interviews (Heary & Hennessy, 2006; Morgan, 1997). However, this method was the best option for this study because of its ability to reach more participants (Heary & Hennessy, 2006). Normally, in focus group interviews, researchers provide the discussion topics to participants and allow them to discuss the topics while researchers learn and record issues raised from the discussion (Finch & Lewis, 2003; Fontana & Frey, 2005; Gillham, 2005; Kitzinger, 1995). In the discussion process, group members talk to one another, questioning, and stimulating each other (Kitzinger, 1995; Kumar, 1987). Sometimes these topics are provided to individual participants earlier (it may be a week) before the meeting day (Finch & Lewis, 2003).

Based on the nature of prison environments as total institutions, the focus group interviews were conducted in a different way. It was not practical to provide the discussion topics to prisoners before the interview day. Using a semi-structured

interview format, I interviewed the groups with some probing questions whenever necessary. I had relative control over the discussion; the group members responded and reacted based on the questions asked. Sometimes the questions were asked to group participants randomly and in different ways to seek detailed information.

The literature suggests that the groups need to be large enough to enable a productive conversation, but not so large as to leave out some participants. Ritchie (2003) suggests group interviews “involve several - usually somewhere between four and ten” (p. 37) individuals. The prison environment did not allow the study to maintain a set number of participants throughout the groups in all prisons. In response to the situation at hand (availability of participants), groups of between 3-7 participants were formed. Focus group interviews were used to collect data from prisoners and prison staff because the number of participants for each of these two groups in each prison (3-7) favoured focus group interviews (Ritchie, 2003). In some circumstances, I used focus group interviews to collect data from the teachers. An example of this is when I found them in a reasonable number who were ready to participate in the study. Each group interview lasted between 90 and 120 minutes which was sufficient time for an open conversation with the participants.

Due to tight prison schedules, there were instances when it was difficult to secure time for individual interviews with all targeted participants. Therefore, group interviews enabled the study to reach an acceptable number of inmates, teachers, and prison officers. This method gave the study a social-context which helped this project to explore how the participants think and talk about prison education and “how their ideas are shaped, generated or moderated through conversation with others” (Ritchie, 2003, p. 37).

5.5.3 Documentary analysis

Documentary analysis involves studying documents related to a particular research for more understanding of the topic (Bowen, 2009). In this study, various documents were collected and reviewed. These documents included the Tanzanian Constitution, the Education and Training Policies (see Chapter 2), the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, the Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa, the Arusha Declaration on Good

Prison Practice, the Prisons Act, and the Prison Education Guide (see Chapter 4). Others were reports related to prison education (see Chapter 7), the Tanzania Development Vision 2025, and the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR) Tanzania (see Chapter 2). The purpose of the analysis was to find deeper meaning generated from the documents for a better understanding of prison education. For instance, an analysis of the Nelson Mandela Rules helped me to understand that prison education is an international phenomenon (see Chapter 4).

5.5.4 Observation

Observation provides an opportunity to study directly and record anything deemed significant that happens at the research site during data collection. Angrosino and Mays de Perez (2000) argue that observation is the pillar of social research; even interview-based studies employ observation to study body language and other gestures to make meaningful interpretation of the verbal interviews. Anney (2014) argues that observation helps to identify participants' qualities and abnormal characteristics. In this study, observation supplemented other data collection methods in the field. Through observation, I recorded information and events from prisons that I found relevant for this project. In interview situations, I continuously observed each individual's body language in relation to their responses. I recorded information from the body language that either contradicted/supported the information provided by the participants, or that provided information beyond my questions. I also observed their surroundings and recorded information that I thought could help this study. For instance, I observed and recorded the physical characteristics of the learning environment as well as the teaching and learning materials. This helped me to better understand the study settings and participants. Therefore, I was able to link participants' responses with their body language and the setting. As a result, I was able to collect relatively appropriate data.

Table 1 below provides summary information on the research questions, data collected, participants, and the data collection methods employed.

Table 1. Question, information, source, and methods

Research question	Information	Source	Data collection method
What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania?	-International, national, and institutional prison education policies. - Reflection of prison education policies in practice.	IAE representatives, Prison Education Co-ordinators, Teachers, Inmates, Senior Prison Officer (Retired), Prison officers, OUT representative, & Documents.	Individual Interviews, FGI, Documentary analysis, & Observation.
To what extent are educational programmes available in Tanzanian prisons for inmates?	- Existing educational programmes in prisons. -Participation in prison education. - Teacher recruitment. - Teaching & learning resources.	Prison Education Co-ordinators, Inmates, Ex-inmates, Prison officers, Teachers, IAE representatives, Tutor (VETA), OUT representative, Ex-student, & documents	Individual Interviews, FGI, Observation, & Documentary analysis.
How do current practices reflect the intention and substance of the policies?	-The ability of the programmes to serve the needs of offenders. -Ability of the programmes to pave a lifelong learning path. -Size of the programme. -Availability of reading materials. -Collaborations with other stakeholders. -Available teachers & -Physical infrastructure.	Inmates, Ex-inmates, Prison officers, Prison Education Co-ordinators, Teachers, Senior Prison Officer (Retired), NGO representative, OUT representative, & documents	FGI, Individual Interviews, Observation, & Documentary analysis

5.6 Selection of the Cases

This project aimed at providing an in-depth understanding of prison education in Tanzania. As Yin (2009) suggests, researchers need to be careful in selecting cases; I purposefully selected five prisons with different characteristics. The aim of selecting heterogeneous prisons was to gain different perspectives on Tanzanian prison education (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2009). Purposive sampling, which is relevant for qualitative studies, does not require a specific number of participants or cases for representation. Instead, it is based on the needs of the study. The researcher decides on the appropriate participants who may have the required information and cases (Creswell, 2007). The use of purposive sampling

enabled the selection of *information-rich cases*¹⁰ which allowed this project to investigate the topic deeply (Coyne, 1997; Patton, 1990; Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). In this research, the five cases were chosen to bring a better understanding of prison education activities in the selected prisons. They were not chosen as representative of other prisons in the country (Stake, 2000).

Ideally, the five selected prisons may be considered similar from the viewpoint that they all are prisons in the same country, but in a real sense, they are different from each other. These differences include the type of prison, the gender of prisoners, and availability of educational programmes and resources. Therefore, it was more their differences in these characteristics that led to their selection in this study (Stake, 2000). For ethical reasons, the selected prisons were given pseudonyms to retain their anonymity (Creswell, 2007). The given names are Kipera, Chinangali, Kikuyu, Lubungo, and Uluguru prisons. The profile of each prison will be briefly discussed in Chapter 6.

5.7 Access to the Prisons

The data collection journey for this project started at the University of Waikato (New Zealand) where I was granted ethical clearance by the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee (see Appendix 1). Considering the nature of the research site for this study (prisons) – commonly known as “total institution” (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962) (refer to Chapter 3) – and Tanzanian culture (Amundsen et al., 2017), I asked my chief supervisor to write me a letter of introduction (see Appendix 2). Having all necessary documents, I left Hamilton (New Zealand) for Tanzania in late September 2015.

In early October 2015, I visited the TPS’s head office in Dar es Salaam, where I clarified the intentions of this project and how issues related to confidentiality would be taken care of. As suggested by Monahan and Fisher (2015), I thought this would have cleared any doubts. Then I submitted my application for a research permit to them (TPS). In the application, I included my application letter (see Appendix 10), the letter of introduction from my supervisor, the consent form (see Appendix 15), the ethics approval, and copies of interview guides to be used in the prisons (see Appendices 18, 19, 21, 22, and 23). I was told to return after a

¹⁰ Cases with reasonable and relevant information for the study.

week or two to receive their reply. On the same day, I applied for a research permit to the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) before I travelled back to Morogoro.

Two weeks later, I went back to Dar es Salaam, but found no response letter from the TPS authority waiting for me. I then visited the IAE where I was granted verbal permission to collect data from the institute; the permission letter was provided later (after I had meetings with my participants) (see Appendix 5). I met with my participant at the IAE and made an appointment. While at the IAE, I was informed about one potential participant (within the IAE) who had experience of prison education (see Section 5.8.3). The easier access to the Institute of Adult Education may have been influenced by two reasons: firstly, I knew some of the officers within the IAE; secondly, I was researching prison education, a subset of adult education which is the field of study the Institute works in. For that reason, perhaps they considered me a partial insider (Greene, 2014).

After visiting the TPS head office on three more occasions and at different times with still no response, it was clear to me that the authority was hesitant to give permission. I tried to see the senior TPS officer personally to discuss the matter, but it was not possible. One of the prison officers told me:

My friend, you are wasting your time. You will not get a reply from this office. Why don't you go and find another way in? Go and see the Regional Commissioners in the regions where those prisons are.

This scenario reflects the experiences of Monahan and Fisher (2015) who argued that some secretive organisations tend not to provide “definitive rejections; these sites normally will delay making any decision, saying things like, “Now’s not a good time” or “I’ll have to check with someone else,” or they simply will not respond at all” (p. 722).

Considering that I had lost more than a month already, I discussed the predicament with my supervisors through email. We agreed that I should write to the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee to request changes in terms of how I would get access to the prisons, and a change of particular prisons I had targeted for my research. I decided to change some of the prisons because while in the field, I was informed about prisons with “better programmes” whereas some of my preliminary targets had no programmes. Fortunately, I received the extended

ethics clearance which granted some flexibility to the data gathering process (see Appendix 3).

I submitted my applications for a research permit to the appropriate Regional Commissioner Officers who granted permission (see Appendices 6 & 7). I was then able to begin data gathering in prisons. In some areas, I was even escorted by an Adult Education Officer when I visited prisons. He accompanied me mainly for support, and not for monitoring purposes.

The challenges I faced at the TPS head office suggest that Tanzanian prisons are total institutions (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962); the top-management considered me an outsider. Consequently, they did not accept and trust me (Greene, 2014). The situation I experienced concurs with Reuss (1997), who maintained that researching within a prison context is a very complex activity. The reason is that all the processes – from access, appointments with participants, to data collection – are surrounded by distractions which make the research process especially difficult. Reuss holds that: “The whole range of carefully premeditated methodological strategies and designs may disappear one by one in such a context” (p. 264). However, this Tanzanian study disagrees with the discouraging statement from Reuss’s study which maintains that, due to the challenges of prisons, “Conducting research within a prison context might well be described as an undertaking not to be recommended” (Reuss, 1997, p. 264). The view of the current study is that prison departments, as well as other stakeholders outside of the prison system, especially in developing countries such as Tanzania, need to be informed of what is going on in prisons. This information may help the prison management and the government to rethink their prison policies and strategies for better outcomes. The best way to inform them is through research projects like that of Reuss’s (1997) and this one.

Apart from the challenges involved in tracing them, the participants from outside of the prison system were co-operative. In April 2016, after successful data collection, I came back to Hamilton. During the data analysis, I found some information pointing to the Open University of Tanzania (OUT). The data suggested that the OUT offers some courses to prisoners. I thought that the OUT’s experience of prison education would add value to this project. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that collected and analysed data can enable a qualitative researcher

to decide “what data to collect next and where to find [such data]” (p. 45). From that point of view, I agreed with my supervisors that I would visit the OUT when I went back to Tanzania during my annual leave (December 2016). In November 2016, I initiated communication with the OUT (see Appendix 4). Although I faced a few barriers, I managed to secure a research permit (see Appendix 8) and interviewed their (OUT) representative.

5.8 The Choices of Study Participants and their Perspectives

5.8.1 The study participants

The term ‘participants’ refers to the most relevant group of people to provide the required information for the study (Krishnaswami, 1993; Lewis, 2003). Participants of this study comprised all individuals that I found relevant for the project (Chireshe, 2006; Passer & Smith, 2003). I acknowledge that the success of the current research is in part a result of the shared experiences from inmates, prison education co-ordinators, teachers, prison officers, and representatives of the IAE. Others were a retired-senior prison officer, ex-inmates, a representative of the NGO that deals with prisoners and ex-prisoners welfare, a VETA tutor, an ex-student who shared an examination centre with prisoners, an Adult Education Officer, and a representative from the OUT. I included multiple participants because I wanted to explore different views from various participants who had different experiences of prison education.

5.8.2 Selection procedures

Scholars have grouped participants’ selection procedures into two main categories, “probability” and “non-probability” sampling (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Probability sampling is mostly associated with quantitative studies while non-probability is usually connected with qualitative research (Patton, 1990; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Because this study was qualitative and there was no intention to seek population representation (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Teddlie & Yu, 2007), I employed non-probability selection procedures: purposive, convenience, and snowball techniques.

With purposive sampling, I chose specific participants who were considered essential for this research project (Cohen et al., 2007; Patton, 1990). On some occasions, I used convenience sampling to select participants. The “convenience”

technique allowed me to select participants who were “easily accessible and willing to participate in a study” (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 78). For a few participants, I employed a “snowball technique”. The snowball technique refers to the method of locating key informants by asking other participants where to find those key informants (Patton, 1990; Tongco, 2007).

5.8.3 Participants

In qualitative research, there is no guiding rule on deciding the number of the participants. On this issue, Patton (1990) argues:

There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. (p. 184)

Mostly, the number of participants in qualitative research is small, as opposed to large in quantitative research (Cohen et al., 2007; Merriam, 1998). According to Patton (1990), “the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size” (p. 185). For that reason, and considering that the present study was carried out in “total institutions,” I selected key informants from the potential participants. While table 2 below summarises the participants’ location and selection procedures, the subsections that follow will provide brief information about each group of participants and the selection procedure.

Table 2. Participants' location and selection procedures

Participants	Male	Female	Total	Location	Selection procedure
IAE representatives	1	1	2	Urban	Purposive/snowball
Registered (participant) inmates in educational programmes	12	4	16	Prison	Purposive/convenience
Eligible non-participant inmates	9	3	12	Prison	Purposive/convenience
Prison Education Co-ordinators	3	1	4	Prison	Purposive
Professional Teachers	1	-	1	Prison	Purposive/convenience
Inmate Teachers	4	2	6	Prison	Purposive/convenience
Prison officers	6	3	9	Prison	Convenience
Ex-inmates	4	-	4	Urban	Snowball
Senior prison officer (retired)	1	-	1	Urban	Purposive
Adult Education Officer	1	-	1	Urban	Purposive
NGO representative	1	-	1	Urban	Convenience
Tutor (VETA)	1	-	1	Urban	Purposive/convenience
OUT representative	1	-	1	Urban	Purposive
Ex-student who shared examination centre with prisoners	1	-	1	Rural	Convenience
Total	46	14	60		

Inmates

This research is about prison education. Therefore, inmates were the key participants in this project because their voices represented the voices of the people directly affected by prison education programmes (Mitra, 2011). The study involved participants (registered) in the prison educational programmes and non-participant (unregistered) inmates from male and female prisons who were eligible for educational programmes, but did not enrol. The programme participants (registered) provided information about the programmes, why they joined, how they joined, relevance of the programmes, available resources, and the challenges they faced in learning. The eligible non-participants mainly discussed what prevented them from joining the programme. Their responses contributed to my interpretation of the link between prison education policies and practice. Their responses were also used as indicators of the adequacy/inadequacy of the available educational programmes.

Recruitment procedure

All inmates, programme participants and eligible non-participants, were located in prisons. As mentioned earlier, the Tanzanian prison environment is complex; prisons are not easily accessed and have tight and rigid schedules. For that reason, although I purposefully included inmates in this study, I was very flexible in the recruitment of these prisoners. As the environment was constrained, I relied entirely on the prison education co-ordinators' support to access study participants. A good relationship with co-ordinators was key to effective recruitment of participants. I made appointments with co-ordinators at a relatively suitable prison time and they arranged my meetings with accessible inmates. For this reason, the number of inmate-participants varied between prisons.

Ex-inmates

Ex-inmates are people who spent time in prisons as prisoners. In this study, I was able to interview four ex-inmates. They were chosen because they had experienced prison life. Three of these ex-prisoners participated in educational programmes in one way or another during their sentence – one as a teacher, one as both teacher and a learner, and the last one as a learner. The fourth ex-prisoner did not have access to education during his sentence time. With their experiences, they were in a position to share their understanding of prison education. Those who participated in prison education programmes discussed their experiences regarding the programmes, and how much they thought prison education has helped them since their release. In this project, ex-inmates' experiences were used as indicators of the extent to which prison education was useful for prisoners' reintegration into the community.

Recruitment procedure

In Tanzania, there are no specific places where ex-prisoners can be found. Consequently, I used the snowballing technique to track and find the most conveniently located ex-inmates. I asked my other participants, especially co-ordinators and other prison officers to link me with the ex-inmates. When I reached one ex-inmate I asked him for any other accessible ex-inmates. At one point, I used the internet and social networks to track one of the ex-inmates who turned out to be a former inmate-teacher.

Prison education co-ordinators

These are the co-ordinators of educational activities at prison level. Their responsibilities include “to plan and manage educational activities in prison, and to advise the head of prison regarding prison education activities” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011, p. 3). For this reason, prison education co-ordinators were key prison staff informants for this study. One co-ordinator from each prison with educational programmes was included in this project. Prison education co-ordinators shared their experiences in prison education activities within their prisons.

Recruitment procedure

Because prison education co-ordinators were key informants, I used purposive sampling techniques to recruit them. I arranged with them convenient days, time, and places for our meetings.

Prison officers

Prison officers have regular contact with prisoners because they guard them (prisoners) daily. By having regular contact with prisoners, prison officers have a contribution to nearly everything that an inmate does while in prison. Hence, it was necessary to include prison officers in this study. Prison officers shared their experiences regarding prison education programmes in the Tanzanian prisons.

Recruitment procedure

As stated previously, the Tanzanian prison environment is complex. Therefore, I used a convenience sampling technique to recruit prison officers. I involved only accessible officers. It was not possible to maintain a consistent number of prison officers in all prisons; hence, their sample sizes varied (from two to four) among the prisons.

Teachers

In this study, teachers were of two types: prison officers and volunteer prisoners. Three prisons (Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo) used volunteer prisoners as teachers; one prison (Kipera) used qualified prison officers to teach prisoners. These teachers shared their experiences regarding prison education activities in their prisons, including their qualifications, successes, and challenges that face the programmes. Their views constituted crucial data for this project.

Recruitment procedure

Being a teacher was the main criterion for their selection in this study. For that reason, I used purposive sampling to include these participants. However, it was not possible to involve all teachers in the selected prisons. Therefore, with the assistance of the co-ordinators, I selected the most conveniently located teachers. Teachers who were accessible when I was in a particular prison were selected. For this reason, their number also varied across prisons.

Representatives of the Institute of Adult Education

The Tanzania Institute of Adult Education (IAE) is a public institution established under the Institute of Adult Education Act No. 12 of 1975 with the mandate to run and coordinate all adult and non-formal education activities in the country (UNESCO, 2010). Considering that prison education is a subset of adult and non-formal education, it was wise to examine the contribution of the IAE in prison education. Therefore, I included one representative of the IAE (Lulu) in this study. In the process, Lulu introduced me to another IAE officer (Komba) who turned out to have considerable experience in prison education. For that reason, the two IAE representatives became participants of this study.

Lulu

Lulu is one of the key leaders of the institute. Her involvement in this study provided valuable information related to policies of adult education in Tanzania and involvement of the IAE in prison education. She also introduced me to another key participant from the institute.

Recruitment procedure

Being an individual and located in an established institution, I used purposive sampling to select this participant. After being granted a research permit, I made an appointment to meet this participant at a time suitable to her.

Komba

Komba is a leader of one of the IAE campuses (a different campus from Lulu's). He was recommended by Lulu as he had considerable experience in prison education because he introduced and managed a learning centre in one prison.

Recruitment procedure

As he was recommended by his colleague, a snowball technique was relevant in this case. I called him for an interview appointment.

Retired-senior prison officer (Mbogo)

For better understanding of the subject matter, it was judged wise to include the views from the senior prison authorities. Due to poor co-operation from the TPS head office as explained in Section 5.7., it was not possible to do this. Monahan and Fisher (2015) suggested that if an organisation cannot be accessed, important information “can often still be obtained from interviews with other outsiders who do have access to those sites and can provide their first-hand experiences” (p. 724). From this perspective, I selected Mbogo, a retired senior prison staff member, who provided a relatively similar experience to those of the senior officers in the TPS headquarters. Mbogo worked in one of the senior posts in the TPS before he moved to another African country under the Experts’ Exchange Programme. His rich experience as a senior prison officer in two different African countries made him an important participant in this study.

Recruitment procedure

I did not know about Mbogo until I read his articles (in a newspaper) related to prisons and his Curriculum Vitae (CV) from the internet. His CV suggested that Mbogo was a potential participant for this study. I tracked him down and included him in the study. This is in accord with purposive sampling.

The Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) Tutor (Karim)

The Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) is an institution mandated to run and to co-ordinate vocational education and training (VET) in Tanzania. Karim works with the VETA as a tutor.

Recruitment procedure

I included Karim in this study after discovering that his institution hosts some inmates for VET examinations. I was linked to Karim through someone that I know. Therefore, Karim was purposefully selected and he was conveniently reached.

Adult education officer (Kapinga)

This person works with one of the Tanzanian Municipal's Education Office as an Adult Education Officer. Kapinga has been supporting prison education activities in his area for several years.

Recruitment procedure

Based on his experience, Kapinga was very informative regarding prison education. For this reason, his rich experience on prison education activities could not be left untapped; therefore, I purposefully included him in the study.

Representative of the NGO (Mnyalu)

Mnyalu is an Executive Secretary and founder of the NGO which focuses on prisoners' and ex-prisoners' welfare. He introduced and registered his NGO in 1998.

Recruitment procedure

I did not have information regarding this NGO prior to my visit to the study area. I learned about this NGO on the internet when I was looking for information related to ex-inmates. In the beginning, the purpose was to ask Mnyalu if he could link me with any ex-inmate the NGO works with. When I called him I found that Mnyalu had useful information for this study that he was ready to share. Therefore, I conveniently included him in this study.

Ex-student who shared an examination centre with prisoners (Chidi)

Chidi is a pseudonym given to an ex-student who witnessed prisoners sitting for National Examinations. Chidi is currently a primary school teacher. During his schooling time he had an opportunity to share an examination room with prisoners from Kipera prison.

Recruitment procedure

Chidi was conveniently selected to participate in this study after discovering that he shared an examination room with prisoners during his school time. Although I knew this person, I did not plan to interview him prior to ascertaining that he was knowledgeable. Knowing that he had that experience, I became interested in gaining further information.

An OUT representative

The Open University of Tanzania (OUT) has a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the TPS (Kazinja, 2014) which has enabled a few prisoners to attend OUT courses. This study included the OUT representative whose work is to link OUT with prisons and prisoner-students.

Recruitment procedure

As mentioned earlier, in the beginning, the OUT representative was not part of this study. During the analysis and literature review (mid 2016) I found useful information that linked the OUT with prison education in Tanzania (refer to Section 5.7). Following a discussion with my supervisors, it was considered necessary to interview someone from the OUT so that their experiences and knowledge of prison education could be included in this study. I initiated communication with the OUT and I was able to purposefully select this person. I interviewed him in December 2016 when I was in Tanzania for annual leave.

5.9 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to a critical examination of the collected raw information to determine the characteristics and patterns of relationships among issues related to a particular study (Krishnaswami, 1993). In this study, data analysis was carried out consistently throughout data collection to thesis writing, because the three (data collection, analysis, and writing) are inseparable; rather they are performed simultaneously in the process (Creswell, 2007; McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). Therefore, this section discusses the procedures I observed in the data analysis process of this study.

5.9.1 Getting started

The data from field notes and reflective journals were compiled together to form transcripts. The voice recorder that contained interview data was carefully listened to and transcriptions were made. Writing transcripts from the raw data enabled me to become more familiar with and deeply understand the data (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006). The original versions of the transcriptions were in Kiswahili, as they were from Kiswahili interviews. Considering that the raw data had some information which could reveal the identities of my participants, it was not ethical to give data to a third party to translate the transcripts. Besides, I am culturally

connected to my participants (I am a Kiswahili speaker), which is beneficial, as I was in a good position to understand participants' perspectives and feelings. I also wanted to use this translation activity as an opportunity for me to become immersed in the data. Therefore, I translated the Kiswahili versions of the transcripts into understandable, and grammatically correct English myself.

Different "transcript files" for each category of participants were developed and kept in different folders made for each prison and other categories of participants. The data from the interviews and observation were always compiled and transcribed every evening after data collection. I noted (in my reflective journal) every important and relevant document as soon as I found them. This helped me in further documentary reviews.

5.9.2 Thematic analysis

Inductive content analysis – which was used in this study – is the process through which the researcher immerses her/himself in the data and carefully allows themes and subthemes to organically develop from the data (Creswell, 2003; McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). In this study, the themes and subthemes emerged from the data after thorough analysis and frequent comparisons. As mentioned in Section 5.9 above, data collection, analysis and thesis writing are intertwined processes (Merriam, 1998); therefore, my initial analysis began immediately after my first interview. I organised the collected raw data into various parts and provided them with relevant associated generalised meanings (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). This initial analysis helped me to think about the questions I needed to add/adjust/omit for further data collection, or find further clarification.

The intensive analysis began when I came back to Hamilton from the field, and it went on all through the thesis writing process. I started by printing the transcripts and reading all of the raw data several times while reflecting back to the points that I noted while in the field. This process helped me to develop a general understanding of the whole data (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993; Thomas, 2006). Then, I started highlighting and noting down on the transcript paper margins all the emerging ideas. I examined the sentences, phrases, and sometimes single words that were relevant to my study; Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) call them *relevant-texts*. In the whole process, I was guided by the research questions of this study. While considering the research questions, whenever I read a word, a phrase,

or a sentence, I asked myself: “What is this idea about?,” “What were these people talking about?,” and “What was important in this setting at this time about this small piece of data?” (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993, p. 488). The emerging ideas were then noted down on a separate sheet to make a list of topics. Later, these ideas became the foundation of my coding process (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). With constant comparison (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993; Merriam, 1998), I looked for similar topics and/or with intersecting meaning and marked them with different colours. Then, I grouped together the topics that looked similar to form general themes and named them with the names that captured the categories best (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). Some of the texts were coded into more than one theme, while others were left out, as they were irrelevant for my study (Thomas, 2006). Then, Nvivo10 software was used to organise and group ideas into relevant themes and sub-themes. The transcripts from different cases were uploaded into the software to create sources from which different nodes that reflected my themes and subthemes were generated. With the assistance of the coded hard copy transcripts, I coded the sentences, phrases, and words in the appropriate nodes and sub-nodes (which reflected the themes and sub-themes) in the Nvivo project. This process helped me to group all related ideas into the appropriate themes and sub-themes.

Having initial themes and subthemes, I presented them in a supervisory meeting. Feedback from my supervisors was used to improve the analysis. As Thomas (2006) suggested, the themes and sub-themes remained tentative and I kept on improving them as the process went on, by consistently “studying the transcripts repeatedly and considering possible meanings and how these fitted with developing themes” (p. 239). Eventually, I was left with three major themes (categories) that constitute the three major findings chapters for this study (Chapters 7, 8, and 9). Then, these themes were used to make a narrative of my thesis (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Throughout the process, I worked back and forth between field notes, reflective journal, voice record, and transcriptions to see the coherence of the data. Wherever I found a mismatch, I corrected it based on the raw data. Table 3 below provides examples of how the coding process was carried out.

Table 3. Examples of how general ideas developed from the cases (coding)

Case: Chinangali Prison		
Theme: Perceived benefits from and barriers to prison education		
Sub-theme: Perceived barriers to prison education		
Minor theme	Pseudonyms	Quote
Irrelevant curriculum	Abdul (learner)	I would like to have an opportunity to study secondary school curriculum and take national exams which would give me a chance to have a certificate. I can't get that chance in this prison.
	Matonya (programme non-participant inmate)	I have never attended any education programme at this prison. One of the reasons is that there is no programme of my interest here. I would like to learn electricity, which isn't available in this prison.
Case: Lubungo Prison		
Theme: Learning in prison		
Sub-theme: Participation in prison education		
Minor theme	Pseudonyms	Quote
Access to learning opportunities	Mwakalinga (Co-ordinator)	We give a high priority to long-sentenced prisoners to attend vocational training that requires a long time to complete. Such courses include metalwork and mechanics. This also depends on the willingness of prisoners. Some of them tell me that they want to learn something that will give them specific skills as they want to quit offending behaviour.
	Chonya (learner)	When I got into this prison, I found no opportunity to proceed with secondary education. I opted to learn the English language because I have an interest in it since I was at school. I asked my fellow inmate to teach me the language. This isn't an organised class. I'm the only person in that class, and there are no specific criteria to join.

5.10 Discussion of the Findings

Due to the complex nature of this study and the approach employed, it was not easy for me to decide on the approach for writing my study findings (Baxter & Jack, 2008). It took me a while to read other theses before I could make a decision (Zucker, 2009). Considering that there is no single best way agreed by scholars to report a case study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Merriam, 1998; Zucker, 2009), and that my goal was to discuss the study findings in such a way the readers would easily follow and feel as if they were part of this study, I chose to write the findings thematically. The purpose is to tell a reader a story about my findings based on the themes that surfaced from the analysis in an understandable way. Baxter and Jack

(2008) warn that novice researchers are always confused by the irrelevant attractive data when writing their thesis. To avoid that confusion, I was always considering my research questions to decide between relevant and irrelevant data throughout the thesis writing process.

As stated previously, the three major themes from the data composed the three main findings chapters of this study. In this thesis, the main analysis and discussion are made concurrently in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 so that readers can easily follow the story. Data from policy analysis formed a chapter (Chapter 4) which partly responded to the research question related to policy context. “Spoken words” as evidence have been presented by the use of pseudonyms to represent an actual speaker as explained in Section 5.12.3. Some symbols have been used after the ‘spoken words’ to indicate whether the data are from individual interviews or focus group interview. Table 4 below illustrates symbols used in this thesis.

Table 4. Data reference symbols

Short form	Meaning
Int.	Individual interview
FGI	Focus group interview

5.11 Heightening Validity of the Study

The discussion of validity and reliability in qualitative research came from the traditional concerns within quantitative research. Qualitative researchers have coined terms such as trustworthiness and rigour to explain validity and reliability of qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003; Guba, 1981; Shenton, 2004). Other qualitative scholars still use these concepts, validity and reliability, while focusing more on validity than reliability, as they consider “reliability” is less relevant to qualitative research (Stenbacka, 2001). However, the main concern of all scholars remains the quality of the study findings, rather than the terms used to describe it; this is where I position myself. To ensure quality in this study, I took several steps suggested by qualitative scholars, as seen in the subsections below.

5.11.1 Use of triangulation

Triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods and sources to collect information (Ahmad-Tajuddin, 2014; Anney, 2014; Cohen et al., 2007; Guba, 1981). The purpose of using triangulation in this study was to increase the robustness of evidence (data collected) and understanding of prison education in

Tanzania (Hussein, 2009; Moran-Ellis et al., 2006; Stake, 2000). Triangulation was carried in three ways. First, relevant data were collected through multiple methods – individual interviews, focus group interviews, documentary analysis, and observation. Second, as seen in Sections 5.6 and 5.8, this study collected its data from multiple participants (sources) who shared their experiences regarding prison education, and from multiple prisons. Therefore, the methods and sources complement each other. Third, in writing this thesis, I have tried as much as possible to draw conclusions based on data collected from different sources. Most of the claims reported in this thesis are supported by the findings from different sources (Guba, 1981). In this regard, triangulation has heightened the quality of data in this study, and its subsequent interpretations.

5.11.2 Prolonged engagement in the field

Prolonged engagement in the field refers to the long period of time spent in the field for data collection (Anney, 2014; Cohen et al., 2007; Guba, 1981). The literature does not specifically state the period length (time) to be considered long enough. However, I am a Tanzanian, thus, I am already acculturated to the Tanzanian context that I was studying in terms of prior information and experience. Therefore, the seven months I spent in the field I consider a suitable length fitting this criterion. Arguably, the specified period (seven months) enabled me to immerse myself in the participants' world and hence collect rich and contextual data (Anney, 2014).

5.11.3 Selection of information-rich cases and informants

As noted in Sections 5.6 and 5.8, the selected prisons and participants of this study were based on their ability to actively contribute to the study. My ability to select these cases and participants has helped this study to come up with thick and more relevant data (Stenbacka, 2001).

5.11.4 Thick descriptive data and thorough description

As stated earlier, most of the individual interviews, focus group interviews, and observed data from the prisons were recorded as field notes. Other data from participants outside of prisons were voice-recorded with the consent of the participants. I was allowed to access some documents from which significant information was also recorded. With the consent of the participants, I photocopied

some reports which I could not take away. These reports were good references during thesis writing. These efforts were taken to ensure that appropriate and thick information was collected. In this thesis, detailed descriptions are reported regarding the study context, methodology, and participants. I expect that this approach will provide readers with a chance to understand the whole research process and decide whether the study context is a reflection of their particular cultural/social/political context or not (Guba, 1981; Stenbacka, 2001).

5.11.5 Use of a reflective journal

A reflective journal is a personal record related to a certain work in progress which helps an individual to think critically about that work (Farrah, 2012). The process of writing helps people to clarify their thoughts and identify gaps within the given task. The written records are useful in the reflection and revision of what has been done. As suggested by Anney (2014) and Guba (1981), in this study, I developed a reflective journal and recorded all my daily activities and events while in the field. In this journal, I recorded reflections on data collection plans, tentative interpretations, and the new insights that were not expected. For example, Chinangali prison was not in my plan, but I noted that it had educational programmes when it was mentioned by one prison officer, when I visited the TPS headquarters. This prison was mentioned again during my interview with one of the IAE representatives. After some reflections, I decided it was necessary to include this prison in my study.

5.11.6 Member checks

Member checks refer to the process that allows participants to confirm the accuracy of the recorded data (Ahmad-Tajuddin, 2014; Anney, 2014; Cohen et al., 2007; Guba, 1981). Most of the data in this study were from prisons which were not easily accessed (refer to Section 5.7). Therefore, it was not easy to find the interviewed individuals from prisons, especially prisoners, for member checking. Logistically, sending the transcripts into prisons could mean allowing prison officers to read prisoners' comments. It is noteworthy that the raw data had some information which could have revealed participants' identities. Therefore, this would have contradicted my pledge to protect my participants' confidentiality (Kaiser, 2009; Wiles et al., 2006), as I have explained in Section 5.12.4. However, efforts were made to contact individual participants from outside of prisons for the

same purpose; five participants were contacted. Two of them were contacted during the data collection period (between October 2015 and April 2016), one through email and the other physically. The other three participants were contacted in December 2016, when I was in Tanzania for annual leave. All five participants had no objection to information revealed in the transcripts. Other participants from outside prisons could not check the transcripts as it was difficult to reach them despite my efforts.

5.12 Ethical Considerations

Studies that involve human participants are usually required to adhere to research ethics (Msoroka & Amundsen, 2017; Social Research Association, 2003; WMA, 2008). In this study, I made sure that ethical considerations were integral to the whole research process, from getting access to the cases and individuals, to the thesis writing. The following are the procedures that I observed to ensure that this study adheres to research ethics.

5.12.1 Getting access

This issue is discussed in detail in Section 5.7.

5.12.2 Informed consent

Participants of this study were informed about the purpose and scope of the study. That helped them to make informed decisions to participate voluntarily in this study. I sought their consent to voice-record the conversation during interviews (for those whose voice was recorded). For those who refused, or if the environment did not allow voice-recording, especially in prisons, I took written field notes. I also informed the participants that the data they provided were likely to be used in my doctoral thesis, and that there is the possibility that the anonymised findings will be published and/or presented at conferences and seminars (see Appendices 13, 14, and 17).

5.12.3 Anonymity

In order to protect the identity of my participants, I have used pseudonyms all through this thesis. Neither individuals nor prisons' actual names have been used, except those cited from the literature. In this study, some individuals were chosen

based on their positions in the institutions involved. However, their titles are not openly mentioned in this thesis. Therefore, they cannot be easily identified.

5.12.4 Confidentiality

To ensure confidentiality, both the electronic and hard copies of the raw data are kept in a manner that no other party can have access to them. Although the data will be shared in various ways, including publication, participants' identities will be protected.

5.12.5 Potential harm to participants and privacy

In this study, most interviews were conducted in prison environments, with few individuals outside of prison. Inmates might have felt that their participation in the study could have had a negative impact on their prison life. To ensure that they felt free to contribute and that they were protected, I developed a friendly environment with the co-ordinators who introduced me to inmates and made clear to them the purpose of my visit. Thereafter, I developed a low risk (friendly) environment to the study-participant inmates. With the assistance of co-ordinators, I conducted interviews and focus group interviews with inmates in a space where there was no interference from prison officers. We only had co-ordinators around, but at a distance which could not affect the participants' discussions.

Individual interviews and focus group interviews with prison officers and other participants were also conducted in a discreet environment to ensure that the information shared was kept confidential. In a few cases, I arranged meetings with prison staff outside of the prison environment. Questions to inmates focused only on prison education, and in no way were they asked personal questions related to why they were in prison. This was to ensure that they did not feel intimidated or offended. However, in some cases, inmates themselves revealed why they were in prison. The participants were not forced to answer questions that made them uncomfortable. I tried to ensure that no statement that could possibly bring harm to any of the participants and/or an institution's identity would be published or shared.

5.12.6 Participants' right to decline to participate and right to withdraw

Participation in my study was completely voluntary as per the introduction and information letters (see Appendices 13 and 14) and informed consent forms

(Appendix 17). Therefore, participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any time before data analysis began, without being questioned about their decision. However, none of the participants asked to withdraw.

5.12.7 Cultural and social considerations

Kiswahili is the Tanzanian national language and widely spoken among Tanzanians. English is considered as the language of the literates and elites (Bwenge, 2012). For this reason, Kiswahili was used in all interviews to allow freedom of expression among participants (This is stated earlier).

Further, interviews with inmates gave some of them the impression that they had found someone who could help them with their problems related to learning materials. To deal with this, I informed them that I was not in a position to help them solve their problems. However, on some occasions I brought them some exercise books, pens, pencils, and chalk to help revive some classes which were shut due to lack of writing materials. I also informed them that the study findings would be publicly shared so that potential stakeholders could use them as a basis to support prison education and the circumstances of prisoners upon release. As I faced resistance in prisons to voice-recording the interviews, I used field notes to record the discussions. On a few occasions, I found participants discussing issues raised from the interviews (out of the interview environment). Culturally, this kind of discussion is common in the African communal societies, as long as the two trust each other (Mkhize, 2006; Msoroka & Amundsen, 2017; Onuoha, 2007). Therefore, I did not stop their discussion. By limiting their freedom to discuss the issue, they would have thought that I did not have good intentions for the interviewees. Thus, they would have lost their trust in me, and in my study.

5.13 Summary

This chapter discussed the methodological processes of this project. It is clear in this chapter that my study followed an interpretivist research paradigm and a qualitative approach. Research data were gathered from five prisons, and from a few individuals outside of the prison system through individual interviews, focus group interviews, observations, and documentary analysis. This research project adhered to various research ethics principles. In summary, the methodological choices of this study are diagrammatically recapped in Figure 5 below:

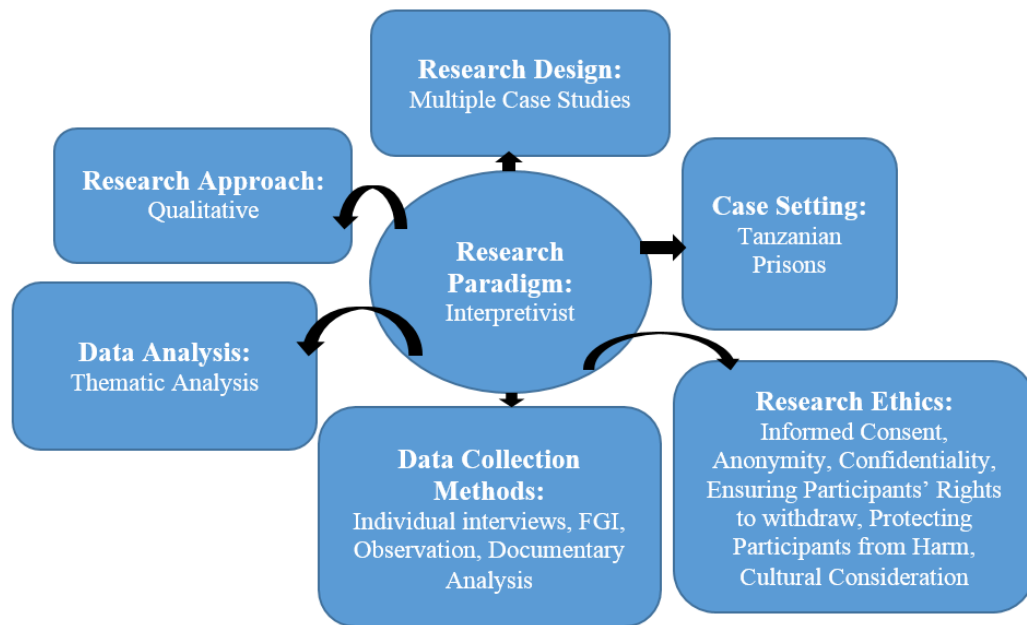


Figure 5. Diagrammatic synopsis of the methodological choices of this study

Chapter Six

Profiles of Selected Prisons and Ex-inmates

6.1 Introduction

This chapter offers brief information (profiles) about the selected prisons and ex-inmates. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with an understanding of the selected prisons and ex-inmates. The chapter is written based on first-hand information gathered from the field, including document analysis. I believe that the information provided in this chapter has a significant role in understanding the discussions in the following chapters (Chapters 7, 8, 9 & 10). Also, the information in this chapter may enable readers to decide whether their contexts are similar to the current prisons or not. The chapter begins with prison profiles, followed by ex-inmate profiles and a conclusion.

6.2 Prison Profiles

This section provides an overview of the selected prisons, including a brief historical background for each prison, type of prison, and prison capacity versus prisoners in custody. Importantly, this section also points out the rationale for selecting these prisons. I believe that this information will provide the reader with a general picture of the selected prisons before embarking on the details of the findings. As has been mentioned in Chapter 5, all the selected prisons and participants of this study are identified by pseudonyms to maintain their anonymity.

6.2.1 Kipera prison

Kipera is an open (low-security) prison; it was established in 1964. Kipera prison holds first time convicted youth offenders, aged between 16 and 21 years (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). Prisoners who are sent to Kipera are all sentenced to two or more years. It is noted here that 53.3% of the unemployed population in Tanzania are youths; also 22.6% of the youths aged 15-24 are illiterate (Restless Development, 2011). For this reason, unemployment and illiteracy may be among the key contributing factors for the youths to engage in criminality (Outwater, Mgaya, Msemu, Helgesson, & Abraham, 2015). As Kipera prison holds youth prisoners, it became an interesting case for this study. Also,

Kipera was an important case to this study as it is among a few prisons in Tanzania that embraces prison education. Because Kipera is the only youth prison in Tanzania, it receives youth prisoners from across the country. The co-ordinator reported:

We don't receive prisoners direct from courts; rather, we receive them from other prisons across Tanzania [after being sorted out]. It is the responsibility of every prison in the country to sort out prisoners who qualify to be posted to this prison. (Kapange; Kipera co-ordinator; Int.)

According to Kapange, it is assumed that most of the first time convicted youth have become criminals "by accident". Therefore, Kipera is tasked to provide them with education and some occupational skills which may help them avoid reoffending; a similar view to this is suggested by the Rules for the Protection of Juveniles (UN, 1990). Kipera prison can hold up to 255 prisoners, but it had only 67 inmates at the time of this study. There is a possibility that budget constraints influenced the low number of prisoners in this prison. One member of staff (from a different prison) commented:

The sorting process that I told you about helps us to identify and allocate first time offending youths to Kipera prison. Two weeks ago, I was talking to one of my colleagues from Kipera prison, and he told me that he had only six learners in his class. This small number of learners at Kipera is caused by budget constraints, because these youth prisoners have to be transferred from other prisons across Tanzania to Kipera, an activity which requires a lot of funds. (Mwakalinga; Lubungo co-ordinator; Int.)

A similar concern was noted by Msugu (a prison officer from Kipera). He commented:

We receive youth prisoners from all prisons across the country. But due to funding problems, most youth prisoners aren't brought here; they find themselves serving their sentences with adults in prisons within their catchments. This contributes to a low number of prisoners in this prison, and in our classes. (Msugu; Prison Staff-teacher; Int.)

For this reason, it is argued here that the low number of prisoners recorded at Kipera during this study does not necessarily suggest that fewer youth engaged in crimes; rather, it is an indication that most youth prisoners carry out their sentences within adult prisons. Therefore, they miss their right to education as suggested by the Rules for the Protection of Juveniles (UN, 1990).

6.2.2 Chinangali prison

Chinangali is one of Tanzanian central (maximum security) prisons, holding male prisoners. Chinangali was established by the British Colonial Government in 1949. This prison has the capacity to hold 784 prisoners, but it had 987 inmates at the time of this study. This over-crowding is arguably influenced by poor categorisation of prisoners (refer to Chapter 2). The prison holds long-sentenced prisoners (above ten years), life sentences, and the death penalty prisoners. It also holds prisoners on remand from the catchment area. This prison was selected for two reasons; first, its criterion for being a central (maximum security) prison; and second, the presence of educational activities. As mentioned in Chapter 5, not all Tanzanian prisons offered prison education. This prison (Chinangali) was highly recommended by prison staff and other stakeholders (outside of prison) involved in this study, suggesting that it had “well” organised educational programmes compared to most prisons in Tanzania.

6.2.3 Kikuyu prison

Kikuyu is a women’s central (maximum security) prison. Kikuyu prison was also built in 1949 by the British colonial government to house female offenders. After independence, this prison became a Central Prison, incorporated with Chinangali prison. The TPS considers Kikuyu a sister prison to Chinangali. Although the TPS treats the two as one prison, this study treats Kikuyu as a separate prison because the two prisons do not share educational resources. Kikuyu prison can hold up to 40 prisoners, but it had 37 prisoners at the time of this study. I included this prison in the study because it is a women’s prison and has educational programmes. Like Chinangali, Kikuyu prison was also highly recommended by prison staff and other (a few) stakeholders outside of prison.

6.2.4 Lubungo prison

Lubungo prison is an open (low security) prison, holding male prisoners. This prison was built by the British colonial government in 1944. Although there were 102 prisoners in custody at the time of this study, Lubungo prison has the capacity for 630 prisoners. This prison holds short sentenced prisoners (fewer than five years), though, I found a few long-sentenced prisoners in this prison. Lubungo prison was of interest to this study because it had unique vocational training programmes (mechanics and metal works) which are not found in many other

prisons in Tanzania. The selection of Lubungu prison enabled me to understand the purpose of vocational training in Tanzanian prisons from a broader perspective.

6.2.5 Uluguru prison

Uluguru is also an open (low security) prison; it holds short sentenced male-prisoners (fewer than five years). The area where this prison is located was a government sisal estate before it was handed over to the TPS as a prison camp, and later a full open prison in 1978. The prison has capacity for 200 prisoners, but it had only 105 prisoners in custody at the time of this study. Unlike the other four prisons, Uluguru prison had no educational programme. Therefore, none of its inmates had access to any kind of educational programme. Having four prisons (Chinangali, Lubungu, Kikuyu, and Kipera) with different experiences in prison education, I was interested to find out the views of prisoners and prison officers from a prison with no educational programme; and hence the inclusion of Uluguru prison.

6.3 Ex-inmate Profiles

Due to their key contribution to this study, it is necessary to provide brief information and profiles of each of the four ex-inmates involved in this study. Also, this section provides rationale of selecting these ex-inmates to this study. The purpose of this section is to give readers an understanding of each of these ex-inmates so that they can link the discussion on the findings with the background of these ex-inmates. It should be noted that all the names used here are pseudonyms.

6.3.1 Bakari

Bakari is an ex-inmate in his early 50s. He was in his mid-20s when convicted in the 1990s. He was sentenced to 50 years in prison. After 20 years in Kajiungeni prison (not one of the case-prison) – 1990 to 2011 – he was released after a successful defence in the Court of Appeal of Tanzania. Before his conviction, Bakari was a literate person having acquired a Certificate in Law. While in prison, Bakari was involved in prison education in two ways, as a learner, and as a teacher. Being a teacher, he was responsible for teaching his fellow inmates and managing their library. As a learner, Bakari made a historical achievement within

the Tanzanian prison system; he was the first prisoner in Tanzania to study at the first-degree level (LLB). Currently, he is managing his own legal aid NGO which assists prisoners. With all his experience in prison education, including his attainment of LLB while in prison, it was deemed wise to include Bakari in this study; he shared his experience as a learner and as a teacher.

6.3.2 Swai

Swai was just a teenager and a secondary school (form two – equivalent to year 10 in New Zealand education system) drop-out at the time of his conviction. He is now in his 20s. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He spent five years in Lubungu prison (one of my case-prisons), from 2007 to 2013, when he was released on parole. While in prison, Swai was able to learn welding skills. He is now an employee of a private company; he is working in the section where car bodies are assembled. Swai was included in this study to share his experience regarding prison education, and how the knowledge he gained helped his transition from prison to a normal life outside of prison.

6.3.3 Kamaliza

Kamaliza is an older ex-inmate; he is now in his 60s. He was sentenced to seven years, between 2001 and 2007. He served his sentence in two different prisons (Mbagala and Kajiungeni) – not among my case-prisons – but spent a longer time in Kajiungeni prison than in Mbagala. Kamaliza is a literate person with a Bachelor's degree in Social Science; the qualification he gained before his conviction. Therefore, he is one of the few members of an educated elite in the country who spent time in prison. At some point during his sentence in Kajiungeni prison, Kamaliza was involved in prison education as a teacher. According to him, he taught English language and Civic Education. Kamaliza was selected in this study to share his experience of prison education from teacher's perspective. At some points, data from Kamaliza were very useful to counterbalance claims from prisoners.

6.3.4 Shomari

Shomari is a primary school leaver. He is now in his mid-30s. He served two years in Uluguru prison (one of my case-prisons) between 2004 and 2006. Shomari served his sentence in a prison which had no educational programmes;

therefore, I selected him to represent the voice from ex-inmates who had no access to prison education. Shomari is currently a petty trader.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided brief information about the selected prisons and the involved ex-offenders. It is clear that the five selected prisons have different historical backgrounds and different characteristics. Some prisons are open (low security), and others are central (maximum security). Although some prisons share similar categorisation – for instance, being open or central prisons – still these prisons differ in terms of prison education experiences, including programmes and resources. The different characteristics that these prisons exhibit, have made them more special and important for my study. Also, the chapter has shown that the ex-offenders involved in this study have different experiences regarding prison education. The experiences that ex-offenders had were more significant for this study; they contributed to the key findings of the project. Arguably, the selected prisons and ex-prisoners have made major contributions to the dynamics of the present study.

Section 4
Discussion

Chapter Seven

Learning in Prison: The Tanzanian Context

7.1 Introduction

This thesis is about prison education in Tanzania. As explained in Chapter 1, this study is centred on one major research question – *Are current policy and practices adequately meeting the needs of prisoners?* – with three subsidiary research questions which helped to address the major research question. The three subsidiary research questions are:

- *What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania?*
- *To what extent are educational programmes available in Tanzanian prisons for inmates? and*
- *How do current practices reflect the intention and substance of the policies?*

In addressing the major research question, collectively, the three chapters – Chapters 7, 8, and 9 – provide information to help address the three subsidiary research questions. It is noteworthy that Chapter 4 has contributed in addressing the first subsidiary research question. This chapter (Chapter 7) discusses the findings regarding *Learning in the Tanzanian prison context*, followed by *Teaching and learning resources* in Chapter 8, and *Perceived benefits from and barriers to prison education* in Chapter 9. The current chapter begins with a coverage of the available provision and status of education programmes in prisons, followed by prisoners' participation in education, prisoners' motivation to learn, and partnership with other institutions. The final part of this chapter is the conclusion section.

7.2 Available Provision and Status of Education Programmes

One of the key areas this study attempted to examine was the existing provision of education programmes within the selected prisons. In the process, I was also able to collect information that explained the “status of those programmes”. This section, therefore, examines the availability and status of prison education

programmes within the selected prisons. The information provided in this section is expected to contribute to an understanding of prison education within Tanzania.

7.2.1 Available provision of education programmes

Few prisons offer prison education

Although the Prison Education Guide recommends that all Tanzanian prisons offer prison education (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), this study found that some prisons had some educational programmes, while others did not. For example, four of the five selected prisons were found to have some educational programmes, while one had none. It is noted here that the ratio of 4:1, as observed in this study, is not an indication that the majority of prisons in Tanzania have prison education programmes. This study focused on prisons with educational programmes; Uluguru Prison – with no educational programmes – was purposefully selected to examine participants' views from a prison with no such programmes in order to enrich the information (refer to Chapters 5 and 6). Based on the responses from prison officers, one would argue that the majority of prisons in Tanzania did not offer prison education. For instance, while I was at the TPS headquarters (Dar es Salaam), one prison officer named only a few specific prisons offering educational programmes which I could visit, provided I gained permission. He cautioned me that not all Tanzanian prisons offered educational programmes. Similar views were portrayed by other prison officers during interviews. One prison officer commented:

No, we don't have any educational programme in this prison. My friend, you need to know that many Tanzanian prisons don't offer educational programmes. But I know a few prisons that offer some educational programmes. These are Kipera, Iwambi, Tabora, Kajiungeni, and Moshi prisons. (Tamimu; Prison Officer; Int.)

This finding suggests an existing gap between policy and practice. As has been discussed in the literature review (Chapter 3), the lack of educational programmes in some prisons is not a new finding. This trend has been reported in the USA (Klein et al., 2004) and other African countries, including Uganda (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011). However, the findings of this study provide a distinctly Tanzanian overview. In the conceptual approach (Chapter 4), I explained that the national and institutional policies have a significant influence on the existence of educational programmes in prisons. From this point of view, I argue that the lack

of educational programmes in many Tanzanian prisons is a reflection of a ‘weak’ prison education policy, which does not have the ability to enforce prison education. The issue of ‘weak’ prison education policy is extensively discussed in Chapter 4. This issue of having a weak prison education policy also seems to have resulted in a disorganised prison education system. One co-ordinator said:

It [having prison education] only depends on how understanding the head of a particular prison is. If you find a leader whose focus is only on punishment enforcement, you can’t have these educational programmes. (Mwakalinga; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Mwakalinga’s statement suggests that heads of prisons who did not advocate for educational programmes believed in a punishment orientation of prison life (Pollock, 2014). This finding concurs with Mohanty’s (2014) arguments that leaders’ attitudes have an impact on the performance orientation of a particular organisation. It should be noted that heads of prisons are appointed from among the prison staff, who were sometimes reported having a negative attitude towards prison education (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Thomas, 1995). Perhaps the attitudes of prison staff have contributed to the current Tanzanian prison education situation. That is why this thesis calls for perspective transformation among Tanzanian prison staff so that they can support prison education (Mezirow, 1991, 1997).

The range of educational programmes in prisons

This thesis notes that there are different ways to categorise adult education programmes. For instance, Hager and Hyland (2003) and Hager (1990) grouped adult education programmes into vocational education and general education typologies. Rubenson and Elfert (2013) and Myers, Conte, and Rubenson (2014) grouped adult education programmes into: foundational learning; higher education; workplace-related learning; other labour market-related learning; and personal/social learning. These typologies provide adult education scholars broad ways of looking into education programmes within the adult education field. In this study, although I was aware of these different approaches, the types of prison education programmes were named based on participants’ views. In this section, therefore, I will present the range of prison education programmes within the selected prisons as viewed by participants.

In the present study, four prisons (Chinangali, Kikuyu, Lubungo and Kipera) were reported to offer educational programmes. In these four prisons, I found that the most common programmes included *literacy education*, *general education*, and *vocational training (VET)*. Literacy education was offered to illiterate inmates to provide them with the three skills of reading, writing, and numeracy. It is noteworthy that in the Tanzanian context, a literate person is someone who can read, write, and count (numeracy) in Kiswahili language. This literacy education was reported at four prisons (Chinangali, Kikuyu, Lubungo and Kipera).

Although literacy education was reported to be offered in these four prisons, I was able to observe classes only at Kikuyu and Chinangali prisons. While at Kipera prison, I was told that all previously illiterate inmates successfully gained literacy skills and were promoted to vocational training classes. While at Lubungo Prison, the co-ordinator said:

Currently, we are focusing more on literacy education. Last year we had four prisoners taking literacy education, and they were all short sentenced prisoners. Currently, we have yet to register the learners in this class. (Mwakalinga; co-ordinator; Int.)

Mwakalinga did not mention the reason for not having students in the literacy education class at that time, but it can be assumed that it was because the interview was carried out very early in the year. I interviewed him in early January 2016, while most of the educational programmes in Tanzania start between January and February. Therefore, perhaps their registration time had not been arranged by that time. However, based on the poorly organised general education that I observed in that prison – only one inmate attended the English language class from his own efforts (refer to Section 7.3) – there is a possibility that little effort was made to provide literacy education.

Literacy education at Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons was conducted under the *Yes I Can* project, where a TV set was used to assist learners in gaining literacy skills. The *Yes I Can* literacy classes in these two prisons were the outcomes of collaboration between these prisons and the District Adult Education Office, which provided them with a TV set and some books. With that collaboration, the two prisons became part of pilot centres that participated in the *Yes I Can* project, a learning model adapted from Cuba (Bwatwa & Kamwela, 2010; Mushi, 2016). Assistance from the District Adult Education Office was an indication that the two

prisons had developed a cooperative partnership with the District Education Office. As argued in the literature review, this kind of collaboration is very much emphasised by the United Nations (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

Vocational training was also found in Kipera, Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo prisons. The courses included carpentry, architecture, painting, brick making, and electronics in Kipera prison; tailoring in Kipera and Kikuyu prisons; mechanics in Kipera and Lubungo prisons; metalwork in Lubungo prison; ceramics in Chinangali prison; and weaving in Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons. Offering these vocational programmes is an indication that Vocational Education and Training (VET) is emphasised in these prisons. This is a reflection of Wlodkowski's (2008) argument that work skills are emphasised in many current adult education activities. With this finding, it is possible to think that these prisons intend to deal with the deficit of work skills among the majority of prisoners as argued in the literature review (Cullen et al., 2011).

General education classes were observed at Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo prisons. The courses that were taught in the general education included entrepreneurship education, civic education, health education, mathematics, Kiswahili language, and legal education. These courses were taught in Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons, while English language was taught in Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo prisons.

The primary education curriculum was taught only at Kipera prison. This programme was intended for the convicted youth who were primary school dropouts. Tertiary education was not found in any of the five case-studies. However, in the process, I found the possibility for inmates to undertake tertiary education through the Open University of Tanzania (OUT). One of my ex-inmate participants undertook the Bachelor of Law (LLB) through OUT's Open and Distance Learning (ODL) programme. The OUT has recently entered into a MoU with the TPS; included among the cooperation areas in the MoU is education for prisoners and prison staff (Kazinja, 2014). Under this agreement, Ukonga prison plays the role of OUT's regional centre, where inmates can undertake tertiary education through ODL. At the time of this study, one prisoner was undertaking a

Bachelor of Law through this provision. If successful, he would be the third LLB graduate prisoner.

The provision of literacy education, the primary school curriculum, and vocational training in these prisons is in line with the observations in chapter 3. I argued in that chapter that the majority of prisoners come into prison illiterate, and with no work skills (Cullen et al., 2011; Frederick & Roy, 2003; Klein et al., 2004; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014d). For this reason, learning opportunities provide prisoners with a “second chance” to learn and gain work skills. I also argue here that prison education, in this context, becomes a means to gain social justice for the marginalised because it widens access to education for prisoners; a chance they never had before (Oduaran, 2006; Preece, 2006).

As discussed in the literature review, offering literacy education, general education, and vocational training in Tanzanian prisons is not a new finding. Prisons in other countries, especially developed countries, have been providing this opportunity to prisoners for decades. In New Zealand, for example, literacy education for prisoners is provided under a Foundations Skills programme (Stanley, 2011). The vocational training courses provided in New Zealand prisons include “motor mechanics, painting and decorating, horticulture, distribution, catering, building and construction, bricklaying and plumbing” (Stanley, 2011, p. 45). As will be discussed in the following sections and chapters, the main differences between the courses provided in Tanzania and those from wealthier countries are in terms of access, resources, and accreditation.

The TPS operates several prisons which specifically deal with agricultural activities. The TPS and the Ministry of Home Affairs claim that, in those prisons, offenders are taught agricultural skills as part of rehabilitation programmes (Mboje, 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2015a, 2017b). However, the findings of this study suggest that agricultural activities in those prisons were considered by prisoners and prison officers (at prison level) to be part of prisoners’ punitive activities and forced labour. Agriculture was not considered as education opportunity by prisoners. This view is perhaps influenced by the way agricultural activities were carried out in those prisons. One participant complained:

The only experience I have from that prison is torture from prison officers and fellow inmate-supervisors. We were assigned very hard farm work under harsh supervision. They whipped us with sticks [as part of supervision] during farm work. (Shomari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

The above quote is from an interview with an ex-inmate from Uluguru prison, explaining his prison farm experience. From Shomari's point of view, his farm work experience could not be considered an educational opportunity; rather, it was a punishment and forced labour. This argument was supported by another participant from a different prison. He said:

We don't work like other prisons. We run this prison like a college. Prisoners are not assigned to hard work like what is happening in other prisons. We don't have big farms here; we only have a garden where we grow vegetables which feed the prisoners themselves. Here prisoners attend classes from morning to 2pm when they get out for lunch and later get locked in their cells. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

It appears that Kapange's prison operates in a different way, suggesting that the way prison farming was carried out in agricultural prisons, such as Uluguru, could not be considered as an educational opportunity. In this study, no prisoner-participant mentioned farming as one of the educational opportunities in prison. Even prison officers from Uluguru prison (one of the agricultural specific prisons) never mentioned agriculture as part of educational opportunities for prisoners. Despite the farming activities they had, they all considered their prison as having no (organised) learning opportunity for prisoners. A similar view was recorded from Lesotho (Ngozwana, 2017a) where a prison staff member considered piggery and poultry projects had no educational value to prisoners. Prisoners performed the "activities as part of their duties assigned to them while serving their sentences" (p. 229).

The finding of this study concurs with that of Kusupa (2011) who reported that prisoners in the Tanzanian agricultural prisons work under harsh supervision. They are brutally caned to make sure that they work hard on farms. This finding suggests that the situation in the agricultural prisons contradicts the United Nations perspectives on discouraging afflictive prison labour (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; UN, 2016). The situation in agricultural prisons, as suggested by the present study, seems to reflect forced labour, which is condemned by the 1930 ILO Forced Labour Convention No. 29 (International

Trade Union Confederation, 2008). This finding suggests that the current prison situation is relatively similar to that of the colonial prisons. The colonial regimes used African prisoners as cheap labour (Sarkin, 2008); Bernault (2003) called it *penal labour*. It is from this perspective that Nyoka (2013) argues “nothing much, in terms of managing prisons, had changed from the colonial pattern” (p. 41); instead of being corrective, as perpetuated by current global movements, brutality and suffering of prisoners still exist in Tanzanian prisons. In the UK, Reuss (1997) reported a comparable case of resistance as that observed in this study. She found that prisoners opted for higher education, opposing prison staff demands to send them to work in the workshops, because they considered workshops beneficial to the prison only, not to them. In Reuss’s study, prisoners did not consider work as an educational opportunity. The difference between Reuss’s findings and mine is that, in the UK prisoners seem to have a choice whether to work in workshops or join a different programme. Tanzanian prisoners do not have a choice; they have to perform the work they are assigned to.

7.2.2 Status of the programmes

This section discusses the status of educational programmes explored in Section 7.2.1. In discussing the status of these programmes, I will focus on whether the courses were *accredited* or *non-credit*. The significance of this examination is that, during the study, the majority of prisoners discussed the issue of credentials. In this study, the accredited programmes were better-organised, followed an established curriculum, and at some point the programmes allowed inmates to sit for nationally recognised examinations and awarded graduates with recognised credentials. The non-credit programmes did not follow any pre-structured curriculum. Inmate-learners did not have a chance to take nationally recognised examinations, and no certificate award was presented to the graduates.

This study found that the majority of courses in prisons were non-credit. All programmes at Kikuyu (literacy, general education, and vocational training), Chinangali (literacy, general education, and vocational training), and Lubungo prisons (literacy, general education, and vocational training) were non-credit. One prison education co-ordinator commented:

Currently, we don’t provide any certificate to our graduates. This is due to the reason that we don’t collaborate with any registered

examination board. Therefore, our learners don't take any recognised examinations. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Arguably, two significant issues can be gleaned from Yahaya's comment. First, the prison lacks collaborative partnerships with key institutions which can contribute to effective educational programmes. As discussed in the literature review, a lack of collaborative partnerships is contrary to the United Nations recommendations (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012); it hinders effective rehabilitation of prisoners. Also, this is an indication of the existing gap between the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) – which recommends prisons have mechanisms that allow prisoners to sit recognised examinations as discussed in Chapter 4 – and practice. Second, Yahaya's comment indicates that prison education provided in this prison was not integrated with educational systems of the country. As discussed in Chapter 4, this contradicts the Nelson Mandela Rule Number 104(2), which emphasises the integration of prison education with educational systems of a particular country (UN, 2016).

In this study, only Kipera prison was found to have accredited programmes. The accredited programmes at Kipera were vocational training courses and the primary education curriculum aligned to adult basic education. The co-ordinator revealed:

Our programmes here are well-organised as we use the Tanzania Institute of Education syllabi for primary school curriculum and a VETA syllabus for vocational training courses. This allows our prisoners to receive recognised credentials. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

In the quote below, an inmate noted that the education they receive at Kipera prison is accredited.

Last year I took class seven national examinations [Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE)], and I passed with an average of "A" Of course, here we are provided with recognised certificates as we take PSLE and VETA examinations. We are also given something like a college leaving certificate provided by the prison. (Shabani; Inmate-learner; FGI)

However, this study found that Kipera prison itself was not registered as a centre where prisoners could sit the VETA and PSLE examinations. Prisoners,

consequently, had to be taken to a nearby primary school [Mlali Primary School] to sit their PSLE. Likewise, VET learners were sent to a nearby VETA centre to take their VETA examinations; successful candidates were then awarded the PSLE and VETA certificates. Interviews with a VETA tutor and Chidi (ex-student from Mlali Primary School) confirmed the collaboration between the prison and the two institutions. My findings, in this aspect, differ from those of Ssanyu (2014) who suggests that Luzira prison, Uganda, has been allowed to host the national primary and secondary school examinations since 2000. Therefore, prisoners do not need to move to other centres to take their national examinations.

A partnership between Kipera prison, the VETA, and Mlali Primary school is an indication that Kipera embraced collaboration as suggested by the United Nations (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012) (This will be discussed later). With this collaborative partnership, which enabled prisoners to take nationally recognised examinations, Kipera becomes a significant example of a prison that implements the Nelson Mandela Rule Number 104(2) that requires integration of prison education with the country's educational systems (UN, 2016). Kipera also becomes an example of a prison that implements the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), which recommends prisons find a way to enable prisoners to take recognised examinations.

An interview with Bakari (ex-inmate) – the only participant in this study who acquired tertiary education while in prison – revealed that the programme he undertook was accredited. His course was provided by the Open University of Tanzania (OUT). Therefore, the primary school curriculum, vocational training programmes (at Kipera prison), and the tertiary education provided by the OUT and taken by Bakari while at Kajiungeni prison (not one of my cases), were the only accredited programmes found by this study.

For that reason, this study strongly suggests that the majority of prison education programmes in the selected prisons were not equivalent to those provided outside of prison, because most of them were not integrated with Tanzanian educational systems (UN, 2016). Most of the programmes did not provide a chance for learners to take nationally recognised examinations as suggested by the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). It is noteworthy that many developed countries have integrated their prison education systems with

countries' education systems as suggested by the Nelson Mandela Rules. For example, Germany's prison education programmes comprise school certificate, whose learning content follows "the curricular requirements of secondary schools" (Eichen, 2014, p. 76).

In Africa, Nigeria is reported to have a mechanism in place to provide an opportunity for inmates to take the Senior Secondary School Examination (NECO) and the Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) (Adeagbo et al., 2016). In Kenya, reports show that inmates have access to accredited education at various levels. For instance, inmates at Kamiti High-Security prison can take the University of London online diploma and degree courses (Coughlan, 2014). Inmates at Naivasha High-Security prison have been reported to follow a similar curriculum and take the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) national examinations (Joselow, 2014). Similarly, reports from Uganda suggest that inmates can take primary and secondary school national examinations, and successful prisoners are awarded the African Prisons Project Scholarship to study a diploma/degree from the University of London through the ODL (Serwanjja, 2014). South African prisons have reported providing Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) similar to that provided outside prisons; inmate-learners write similar examinations and are provided with formal certificates (Mokwena, 2008). However, it is noted here that the cases reported from these African countries are not conclusive; there are many prisons which do not offer such opportunities to prisoners. The findings of the current study suggest that the majority of the Tanzanian prisons, did not have such mechanisms to allow inmates access to recognised credentials.

7.3 Participation in Prison Education

Having discussed the available provision and the status of prison education programmes, the current section discusses participation in prison education. In doing so, the section focuses on access to learning opportunities and participation rates. On the issue of access to learning opportunities, I will examine different approaches employed by prisons in deciding which inmates can access educational opportunities. Regarding participation rates, I will provide descriptive statistics to explain participation rates in each of the selected prison.

Access to learning opportunities

In this study, I found that the prisons that offered education (Chinangali, Kikuyu, Lubungo, and Kipera) did not have formal institutional policies regarding prison education; their prison-learners selection procedures reflected their informal institutional policies. Each prison had its criteria on who could access education. Attending a course at Kipera prison was found to be mandatory for every prisoner. The co-ordinator said:

Basically, all prisoners in this prison attend educational programmes. It is not something that a prisoner can opt out of. As long as they are here they must attend one course, or another. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

This was also confirmed by inmates and a teacher. Once inmates arrive at Kipera prison, they are interviewed to find their levels of education. Illiterate prisoners were allocated to the literacy education class, primary school dropouts (who are literate) were allocated to primary school curriculum classes (starting at class five), and secondary school drop-outs and literate primary school leavers were allocated to VET courses. The type of VET course to be allocated to depends on the interest of the inmate as determined by the authority, and the space available. This policy on inmates' mandatory participation in prison education influenced prisoners' participation rates. The co-ordinator reported:

Currently, we have 67 prisoners in custody. They are all allocated to various educational programmes. Some of them undertake primary school curriculum, and others are in vocational training courses. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Making education compulsory to all inmates, as observed at Kipera prison, is in line with Nelson Mandela Rules (UN, 2016). My discussions with prison officers revealed that Kipera's main responsibility was to provide education and training for first-time offending youths to protect them from re-offending. Therefore, I would argue that Kipera's policy that allowed all prisoners to engage in education was influenced by that responsibility. The establishment of Kipera prison suggests the willingness of the TPS to comply with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules) (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). The Beijing Rules emphasise education and vocational training for young offenders to help them avoid reoffending.

Unlike Kipera prison, in Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo prisons, attending education was not mandatory. In the literacy and general education programmes, inmates had a choice whether to attend or not. At Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons, illiterate inmates were encouraged to join literacy classes. The interested ones joined, but the uninterested ignored the opportunity. No one forced them to join. As pointed out earlier, despite being mentioned by the co-ordinator, no one actually was attending literacy class at Lubungo prison (this has been explained in Section 7.2). In a normal non-prison circumstance, adults usually join an educational programme of their free will (Knowles et al., 2005; Mushi, 2010); however, in a prison context, the Nelson Mandela Rules (UN, 2016) urge that literacy education be mandatory for illiterate inmates. These are contradicting views in relation to prison education, especially, when it comes to literacy education. From an adult education point of view, Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons may be right by not forcing illiterate inmates to attend classes, but from a prison education point of view these prisons may be in the wrong. Based on the prisoners' background as discussed in Chapter 3, I am of the view that prisons might have applied the Nelson Mandela Rule Number 104(1). However, as will be discussed in the following chapters, I argue that these prisons might have failed to enforce the Nelson Mandela Rule 104(1) because of lack of resources, especially lack of funds. Having no properly organised mechanisms to ensure illiterate inmates acquired literacy education is a reflection of poorly organised prison education.

The same differences between these prisons (Lubungo, Chinangali, and Kikuyu) existed in *general education*. Kikuyu and Chinangali prisons were found to have several active general education classes, while Lubungo had only one class with only one learner. At Kikuyu and Chinangali prisons, inmates were encouraged to join general education classes. As in literacy education, the interested inmates took up the offer, and uninterested ones did not. Because Lubungo prison did not offer sufficient general education options, inmates did not have sufficient choices. Chonya, the only inmate in the general education programme said:

When I got into this prison, I found no opportunity to proceed with secondary education. I opted to learn the English language because I have had an interest in it since I was at school. I asked my fellow inmate to teach me the language. This isn't an organised class. I'm the only person in that class, and there are no specific criteria to join. (Chonya; Inmate-learner; Int.)

The above quote implies that Chonya did not find an English class when he arrived, and there was no apparent effort made by the prison to introduce the course. It was only Chonya's efforts and his interest in the English language that facilitated the introduction of that class. Chonya's case is an indication that Lubungo prison did not have well-organised prison education programmes; this signals an inadequate prison education system.

In vocational training, criteria and procedures for learners' recruitment in the three prisons – Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo – were different from those of Kipera prison. As opposed to Kipera prison, where every inmate had an opportunity to participate in vocational training as long as they were literate and completed primary school programme, few inmates in the three prisons – Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo – had a chance to undertake vocational training courses. Although in the beginning one prison education co-ordinator reported that all prisoners at his prison were free to join any educational programme they liked, I later discovered some restrictions around joining vocational training programmes. Apart from one's interest and willingness to join the programme, an inmate's sentence length and behaviour impacted on the possibility of attending vocational training. Above all, one's recruitment was also dependent on the available spaces in a particular workshop. These restrictions were found across the three prisons. One co-ordinator stated:

We allow inmates to attend vocational training based on their interests and willingness. However, we control their number because we cannot allow everyone to join due to limited spaces that we have. Therefore, apart from inmates' interests and willingness, we also consider their sentence length and their behaviour before considering them for vocational training. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Another co-ordinator had a similar observation. He commented:

We give a high priority to long-sentenced prisoners to attend vocational training that requires a long time to complete. Such courses include metalwork and mechanics. This also depends on the willingness of prisoners. Some of them tell me that they want to learn something that will give them specific skills as they want to quit offending behaviour. (Mwakalinga; Co-ordinator; Int.)

The findings suggest that in the three prisons, learners' recruitment in vocational training was discretionary. This limited access to education for the majority of

prisoners (see the following sections); hence, it encouraged social injustice around access to education for the marginalised offenders (Oduaran, 2006).

Furthermore, in this study, it seems that the three prisons (Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Lubungo) have recruited a few already competent prisoners to perform the jobs in the vocational training workshops. For that reason, I argue that there is a possibility that these three prisons used vocational training programmes for profit production, instead of inmates' learning. This focus on production may have influenced a low recruitment of inmates to vocational training programmes. Two scenarios have led to this way of thinking. First, while many other inmates in these prisons had no chance to join vocational training programmes, some inmates were found to have spent three or more years in the workshops producing goods for sale. These prisoners were already highly skilled and not actually "learners" in the workshops. If the programmes were for prisoners' learning, the prisoners who had spent enough time in the workshops would have been removed from the workshops to give a chance to others. Second, despite being a low-security prison – which was required to keep short-sentenced prisoners with fewer than five years sentence (refer to Section 2.7) – Lubungo prison had in custody some prisoners sentenced to more than 15 years and life sentences. These prisoners were working either in the metalwork or mechanics workshops. Perhaps the presence of these long-sentenced prisoners at Lubungo prison was not by accident; they may be allocated to that prison for long-term profit production purposes. This situation is a reflection of business firms that aim for fewer, more effective, and sustainable workers who can reduce hiring costs and maximise production (de Waal, 2007; Borjas, 2016).

This observation is consistent with Mboje (2013) and The United Republic of Tanzania (2015a), who depict that apart from being a custodian of offenders, the Tanzanian prisons were also considered as work (production) centres. Inmates did not work willingly; they were forced to work (Kusupa, 2011). For this reason, it can be argued that the prisons were dressed up as training centres when in fact they were really labour producers. The government's perspective may have contributed to this prison approach, because some government leaders have been insisting on this approach. For example, in March 2017, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs argued that if heads of prisons effectively use prisoners, they would

maximise production, and reduce dependence on the government (Msuya, 2017). He threatened to demote heads of prisons who failed to maximise production in their prisons. In this kind of situation, it is arguably difficult for prison officers to focus on prisoners' training and rehabilitation. This failure to provide inmates with a chance to engage in vocational training contradicts the Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa. This declaration insists on the provision of vocational training to inmates, who arguably lack work skills, to reduce recidivism rates (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006, 2012).

As previously mentioned, there was no tertiary education programme in the selected prisons. Therefore, access to tertiary education cannot be explained in detail. However, it is worth mentioning that having minimum qualifications, Bakari (ex-inmate) was able to apply for the LLB at the Open University of Tanzania. Nevertheless, he complained that it was not easy for him to gain an opportunity as the TPS management was reluctant to allow him. He stated:

It wasn't easy for me to start my education. Mr Suleiman [the former prime minister] intervened in the process, something which helped me to undertake my studies. One day he visited the OUT and found information regarding my application. He ordered the OUT to take me in, and he wanted immediate feedback. That information was reported by mass media; it disturbed the top prison management. It was chaos. As a result, I was also harassed by the prison management. They thought I was a politician who wanted popularity. Actually, I'm not a politician, and I don't like politics. My only aim was to get an education. I told the Commissioner General that my aim was to bring changes in the prison system regarding prison education. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

The reluctance of the TPS to allow Bakari to undertake tertiary education may be an indication of the system which relies on the punitive nature of prisons (Pollock, 2014). The situation may also indicate discontent on the part of the prison management to allow him (Bakari) to undertake a degree, being a level of education that even some of the TPS staff did not have (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Thomas, 1995). This situation is contrary to countries such as New Zealand and the UK which encourage and support inmates to pursue higher education (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011; Department of Corrections, 2009). However, the Tanzanian situation has slightly improved, especially after

Bakari's success and the agreement between the TPS and the OUT. Two more prisoners have studied for bachelor degrees, and one undertook a diploma qualification; this suggests that there is a little shift of mindset among the prison staff. Bakari, in this case, is a living example of a person who never gave up on his dreams (acquiring tertiary education in prison) despite the hardships and poor support from prison authorities at initial stage. He deserves credit for the current achievements of other prisoners who have got a chance to undertake tertiary education; he brought tertiary education for prisoners to the attention of the Government.

Participation rates in prison education

The recruitment criteria and procedures for each prison, discussed in the previous section, had an impact on prisoners' participation rates in prison education. Each prison's (informal) policies on learners' recruitment influenced the number of inmates who attended prison education programmes in a particular prison. The Kipera prison's policy which required all inmates to participate in educational programmes resulted in all 67 inmates accessing prison education. Table 5 below summarises prisoners' participation rates per programme, versus the total number of prisoners in custody (during this study).

Table 5. Registered learners in programmes at Kipera Prison

Number of inmates		Registered learners in programmes			Total # of learners
Prison's capacity	Actual inmates	Literacy education	Primary education	Vocational training	
255	67	-	15	52	67

Source: Interviews at Kipera prison

Because participation in education was mandatory at Kipera prison, there was no report of poor attendance. In other prisons, participation rates were lower than Kipera's. Several issues seem to contribute to such low participation rates. Such contributing factors include a segregative policy on who could have access to vocational training (this is discussed in the previous section) and other factors such as shortage of resources, which will be discussed in later chapters. Table 6 below summarises inmates' participation rates in educational programmes at Chinangali prison.

Table 6. Registered learners in programmes at Chinangali Prison

Number of inmates		Registered learners in programmes			Total # of learners
Prison's capacity	Actual inmates	Literacy education	General education	Vocational training	
744	987	34	146	133	313

Source: Interviews and monthly educational reports at Chinangali prison

At Chinangali prison, reports indicate low attendance rates in the literacy and general education classes. Although it was not possible to find all the attendance reports due to poor record keeping, I was able to find the June, September and October 2015 reports. Table 7 below is a summary of attendance reports at Chinangali prison for these three months.

Table 7. Chinangali Prison – June-Oct 2015 attendance

Month	Programmes		Total
	Literacy education	General education	
June	28	92	120
September	23	90	113
October	26	92	118

Source: Monthly educational reports at Chinangali prison

Table 8 below summarises inmates' participation rates at Kikuyu prison:

Table 8. Registered learners in programmes at Kikuyu Prison

Number of inmates		Registered learners in programmes			Total # of learners
Prison's capacity	Actual inmates	Literacy education	General education	Vocational training	
40	37	8	11	8	27

Source: Interviews and monthly educational reports at Kikuyu Prison

Although I was not able to find all the data related to attendance rates at Kikuyu prison, I found reports for literacy and general education classes for June, September, and October 2015. Table 9 below summarises Kikuyu attendance rates for these three months.

Table 9. Kikuyu Prison – June-Oct 2015 attendance

Month	Programmes		Total
	Literacy education	General education	
June	06	08	14
September	06	08	14
October	07	11	18

Source: Monthly educational reports at Kikuyu Prison

Table 10 below summarises inmates' participation rates at Lubungo prison.

Table 10. Registered learners in programmes at Lubungo Prison

Number of inmates		Registered learners in programmes			Total # of learners
Prison's capacity	Actual inmates	Literacy education	General education	Vocational training	
630	102	-	1	11	12

Source: Interviews at Lubungo prison

It is noted that an ability to attract a comparatively large segment of participants and high attendance rates are among the suggested indicators of adequate adult/prison education programmes (Klein et al., 2004; Lewis & Dunlop, 1991). It is clear that the findings of the current study are inconsistent with the arguments proposed by those scholars. Only a few inmates in the present study had access to educational programmes. Out of 1298 total prisoners found in custody in the five prisons, only 419 (32%) were reported to attend prison education. The situation was worse at Uluguru, Chinangali and Lubungo prisons. This poor participation rate may be explained, in part, by poor prison education policies as argued in Chapter 4. Therefore, it is reasonably fair to argue that the findings of this study strongly suggest that Tanzania has inadequate prison education policies and programmes. Prisons do not offer inmates a wider opportunity to lifelong learning (Findsen & Formosa, 2011).

The Tanzanian prison education system is quite different from those of wealthier countries. German and Norwegian prison systems are examples of successful rehabilitative systems (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2013; Langelid, 2009). Their primary goal is prisoner re-socialisation (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2013). They have reduced the punitive view of their prisons, and focussed on helping prisoners to prepare for their after-release life. Through work and education, many prisoners are provided with necessary skills for their lives (Subramanian & Shames, 2013). For example, German prison laws give education the same priority to that given to work carried out by an inmate. With German prison laws, all prisoners without a school certificate are given a chance to engage in school learning (Eichen, 2014). In Denmark and Norway, prisoners are given a chance to participate in basic education, secondary education, vocational training, and even tertiary education (Koudahl, 2009; Langelid, 2009; Manger, Eikeland, & Diseth, 2009). The

findings of this study suggest that the majority of Tanzanian prisoners did not get this kind of opportunity.

While in prison, prisoners always learn, whether in organised learning (non-formal education) or incidental (informal learning); it is the kind of “negative” informal learning among prisoners that scholars and authorities are concerned about (Nicholson & Higgins, 2017). They link it with the hardening of prisoners (Siegel, 2012). The underlying argument is that there is a possibility for new offenders to be informally mentored by hard-core criminals and to graduate from prison as hard-core offenders (Cullen et al., 2011). If they do not have other options, there is high possibility for prisoners to learn “the norms, values, and behaviours associated with criminal activity” (Siegel, 2012, p. 236) from their fellow hard-core inmates. As mentioned in the literature review, this is associated with inappropriate *social learning* (Smith & Berge, 2009), which is also noted by criminologists (Siegel, 2010, 2012). In this context, I would argue that when there is no or inadequate organised education to help prisoners out of offending behaviour, there is a higher risk for them to reoffend. Though, I am not saying that informal learning does not occur when organised prison education is available. Organised prison education may give prisoners an opportunity to reflect on their attitudes and beliefs, including what they learn informally from their peers, and decide to change (Mezirow, 1991, 1997). Inaccessibility to organised prison education for most prisoners, as found by this study, offers prisoners with more chances to acquire “negative” informal learning, mostly from their peers who are professional criminals (Topping, 2005). Perhaps that is why imprisonment by itself has never been able to minimise crime and re-offending (Cullen et al., 2011), and may explain the current high recidivism rates (47%) in Tanzania (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014). From this point of view, I argue that Tanzania prisons need to embrace prison education for better prisoner outcomes.

7.4 Prisoners’ Motivation to Learn

Although I had some understanding of adults’ and prisoners’ learning motivational factors, I did not go to the field with pre-determined ideas about prisoners’ motivational patterns. I had to suspend my judgement to allow the data to emerge. I compared the findings of this study, related to motivational aspects,

to the findings of other scholars and found that inmates' motivations for learning in my study are aligned to five of the six factors described by pioneers Morstain and Smart (1977). The findings of this Tanzanian study suggest that prisoners were motivated by *occupational/employment factors, the need for furthering education, social relationships, escape/avoidance factors, and desire to help others*. In relation to Morstain and Smart's (1977) motivational purposes (social relationship, professional advancement, cognitive interest, escape from routine activities, external expectations, and social welfare – refer to Chapter 3), *external expectations* is the only category missing from motivations revealed in the current study. Although the society may expect prisons to rehabilitate prisoners (external expectations), in the current study, no prisoner indicated any motive that could be associated with *external expectations*. The next subsections will discuss the findings of this study in relation to prisoners' motivations to learn. Ideas from other scholars will be used to strengthen arguments of this study.

7.4.1 Occupational/employment factors

Occupational/employment factors are associated with *learning to do*, a pillar of education (Delors et al., 1996) – refer to Chapter 3. This factor is in accord with Morstain and Smart's (1977) *professional advancement* factor. According to Wlodkowski (2008), the occupational/employment factor is the leading motivational factor for adult learning. Consequently, most continuing education worldwide is “directed toward upgrading job-related knowledge and skills” (p. 97). In this study, the occupational/employment factors were also the leading motivational purposes for prisoners' learning. Many prisoners complained that prior to their imprisonment, it was difficult for them to find jobs which could help them manage their lives, because they did not have any knowledge or skills. Therefore, the majority of prisoners expected that their participation in prison education could help them gain relevant knowledge and skills for their after-prison lives. The responses were of two types: there were those who expected to use the skills for self-employment, and those who expected to be employed by others (formal employment). The quotes below are examples of responses from those who believed in self-employment:

I believe that entrepreneurship education that I study here will give me the ability to develop my project after release. I expect to use my

weaving and ceramic skills to produce and sell my products once I finish my sentence. (John; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

The course is relevant to me. I'm from a village where we don't have professional builders. Therefore, I expect to be able to use my masonry skills to raise my earnings in the village. (Shabani; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

The quotes below are examples of the responses from those who viewed prison education as a chance for formal employment:

I considered [a chance to study a Bachelor of Law] it useful for my later life [after-released life]. I thought, how would I continue working as a lawyer [after my release] if I didn't have a certificate? (Bakari; ex-inmate; Int.)

My plan is to move on with schooling to a secondary school level. It is my expectation that education will give me employment opportunities after my release. (Chausiku; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

This course is relevant to me. I'm sure it will help me get a job when I get out of this prison. (Kobelo; Inmate-learner; Int.)

As discussed in the literature review, the occupational/employment factor is widely discussed by adult education scholars (Jarvis, 2004; Kaimakami, Panta, Maria, & Kaimakamis, 2008; Merriam et al., 2007). In prison education literature, the findings of this study may be closely connected to Behan (2014), who investigated prison education in Ireland. Behan found that the majority of prisoners who were involved in education did so to improve their work skills to prepare for employment. A similar finding was reported in Portugal by Moreira et al. (2017) and in New Zealand by Moriarity (2014). Both studies (Moreira et al., 2017; Moriarity, 2014) are of the view that some prisoners attend prison education to acquire skills that would enable them to secure employment on their release. Likewise, Gunnlaugsson and Ragnarsson (2009) report that approximately 50% of the prisoners who participated in prison education in Iceland were motivated by the possibility of finding a job on their release. The main difference between the current study and the arguments of the majority of the previous studies is the demarcation of the employment factor. The majority of the studies have focused more on *paid work/jobs* (working for an employer), linking adult learning and prison education with *job advancement* and *achieving higher status in the job*. The findings of the current study go beyond paid work. This study links prison

education with self-employment as well. The difference in perspectives on employment may be associated with the variation of economic structures between Tanzania and developed countries. In Tanzania, most people are engaged in small business entrepreneurship (informal employment); very few have formal employment (Mfaume & Leonard, 2004). In developed countries such as New Zealand, many people are involved in formal employment as the country's economy supports it. Hence, the two populations (the Tanzanian and that from developed countries) may have different perspectives on the issue of employment. I would argue that potential employment (either paid or self-employed) may be the major socio-economic concern of the broader Tanzanian prison society. Therefore, there is a need to expand prison education to cater for the current need (Wlodkowski, 2008). It is noteworthy that acquiring employment skills is one of the expected outcomes proposed in the conceptual approach of this study (Chapter 4).

However, this study notes that sometimes formal employment of ex-offenders is not guaranteed because of the social labelling effect (Ascani, 2012; Siegel, 2012). Most societies, including employers, have a tendency to label and mistrust ex-offenders (Schmitt & Warner, 2010). Hence, it is always hard for ex-prisoners to secure stable employment (Refer to Chapter 3). In the USA, reports suggest that employment rates for ex-prisoners are low compared to the general population (Raphael, 2007; Schmitt & Warner, 2010). Similarly, in Australia, Graffam et al. (2008) reported that ex-prisoners were less likely to secure stable employment than the general workforce. In Africa, reports on ex-offenders' employment are scant. Still, one can assume that the situation might be worse than in wealthier countries. Thus, self-employment is probably the best option for African prisoners upon release.

7.4.2 Furthering one's education

Furthering education was among the issues raised by some inmates, which motivated them to learn. They said that they joined educational programmes with the purpose of improving their educational levels. Below is an example of the comments from inmates:

When I entered this prison, I was informed about the presence of literacy course, but I didn't care. I later found that some people learn

English language and basics of legal education. I wanted to gain English and legal education knowledge, but the only obstacle to joining these classes was literacy skills. How could I study the English language without the ability to read and write? With that reason, I had no choice; I had to join the literacy class. (Paul; Inmate-learner; FGI)

Apart from the need for furthering his education, Paul's comment also shows the importance of literacy education in achieving other relevant knowledge and skills; literacy education is the first step in a sequential process. Another prisoner commented:

I will use the knowledge of English language that I get here to move on with secondary education soon after my release. I'm sure that this knowledge will help me to cope with secondary school education. (Chonya; Inmate-learner; Int.)

These findings suggest that Chonya and Paul were learning primarily for knowledge's sake. In keeping with findings of other scholars, Chonya and Paul's comments are highly connected with Delors et al's. (1996) *learning to know*. One can argue that this motive of furthering their education puts the two inmates (Chonya and Paul) in a better position to become lifelong learners (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Jarvis, 2004). This motive (further education), can be linked to the *cognitive interest* factor discussed by Morstain and Smart (1977). It can also be associated with Houle's (1988) *learning oriented* view. In the learning oriented view, Houle believes that some adults are motivated to learn just for knowledge's sake; they are curious about knowledge itself. In prison education, the findings of the current study concur with Koudahl (2009), who found that the primary learning motive for the youngest prisoners in Denmark was "the possibility of raising their grades and going on to other education upon release from prison" (p. 57). According to Findsen and Formosa (2011), improving people's interest in furthering their educational levels is a key to lifelong learning, and it is usually associated with the creation of the learning society (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999). Arguably, there is a possibility for this type of motivational factor in prison education to contribute modestly to the development of the learning society.

7.4.3 Social relationships

In this study, several offenders mentioned issues related to social relationships as one of their purposes for participating in prison education. For instance, one inmate commented:

My attendance in this class helps me gain new friends. The education I receive gives me social skills, which I hope will help me to live with different people in the society. (Edward; Inmate-learner; FGI)

As discussed in the literature review, Edward's comment is connected to Delors et al.'s. (1996) *learning to live together* idea. This is an important knowledge for social inclusion of marginalised individuals (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). Another inmate said:

The programme also gives me an opportunity to mingle with other inmates. (Sikujua; Inmate-learner; FGI)

Yahaya, one of the co-ordinators, reported that in his prison, there were many death-sentenced prisoners who attend educational classes because they consider classes as good places for socialisation and consolation. These cases are examples of prisoners who had social relationship motivations for joining prison education. For several decades, the social relationship aspect for adults' motivation in participating in educational programmes has been widely discussed. Morstain and Smart (1977) and Boshier (1971) were among the earliest scholars to discuss this view. Others are Merriam et al. (2007), Jarvis (2004), Strong and Harder (2010), and Kaimakami et al. (2008). In their studies, these scholars found that social engagement is one of the main motives for adults to participate in learning. For instance, Jarvis (2004) argued that for many adults, "one of the reasons why they enrol on educational programmes is to meet other people" (p. 73).

In prison education, Roth and Manger (2014) conducted a quantitative study in Norway to examine the correlation between prisoners' educational motives and previous incarceration, sentence length, and sentence served. Although Roth and Manger's study was conducted in a different country, and employed a different methodological approach, one of their findings concurs with the current study. They found that social reasons were among the motives for Norwegian prisoners to learn. The only difference between the current study and Roth and Manger's study is that while the current qualitative study regards "social relationship" as a

separate factor, Roth and Manger (2014) employed factor analysis and put “social reasons” and “escapism” in the same category. In Denmark, Koudahl (2009) employed factor analysis and found that “situational and social functions” were among the reasons that motivated prisoners to participate in prison education. In Koudahl’s study the “social” function was in the same category as “situation”, and this Tanzanian study is in agreement with Koudahl’s study. Both Koudahl’s and the current study suggest that the “social” aspect has a great influence on prisoners’ participation in prison education. Therefore, in most ways, the findings of the current study concur with the arguments provided by the above scholars.

One of the expected outcomes of prison education mentioned in the conceptual approach of this study (Chapter 4) is *social inclusion*. According to Silver (2015), social inclusion refers “to a process of encouraging social interaction between people with different socially relevant attributes or an impersonal institutional mechanism of opening up access to participation in all spheres of social life” (p. 3). Based on Silver’s definition of social inclusion, it is suggested by this study that social relationships, as a motivational aspect, may increase inmates’ opportunities to practice social participation. I argue that the ability to connect with people may put prisoners in a better position to access opportunities within the society, fulfil their social roles, increase their social bonds, and create solidarity upon their release.

7.4.4 Escape/avoidance factor

Escape/avoidance from a prison’s daily routine is another motivational purpose for prisoners’ learning suggested by the findings of this study. As previously mentioned, this escape/avoidance factor is connected to Morstain and Smart’s (1977) study into *escape from routine activities*. Several other adult education scholars, such as Jarvis (2004), Boshier (1971), and Merriam et al. (2007) have discussed “escape” as a separate motivational entity for adult education participation. These authors focused on the boring routines of adults who live a normal life outside of prison. They all suggest that some adult learners tend to join adult education classes as a way to escape from their daily routines. In relation to this research study, two inmates discussed issues associated with a psychological escape. The quotes below are from these two inmates:

I'm happy to get a learning opportunity. I use classroom attendance as a form of refreshment. It helps me to buy time. Otherwise, I would have been using this time thinking of my prison situation, which could break my heart. (Abdul; Inmate-learner; FGI)

Attending class takes away my loneliness and stress caused by being imprisoned. (John; Inmate-learner; FGI)

A comparable viewpoint was presented by Zena:

Most prisoners consider learning [in this prison] unimportant due to lack of certificates. Even the attendees don't take it seriously. They consider classes as places to pass their time and avoid boredom. (Zena; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

Abdul, John, and Zena's comments suggest that attendance in prison education is sometimes influenced by the escape factor. However, the "escape" factor presented here seems to have taken a different path; it is not about escaping prison routines, rather, it is about escaping the loneliness and stress caused by prison life. It is suggested here that being in prison itself causes stress to prisoners. Therefore, attending prison education is, in part, an escape from thinking about their imprisonment situation. The "escape" in this respect can be connected with social relationship factors. A different observation was recorded from two participants outside of prisons. One of them commented:

Prisoners are very surprising. They always look for soft options to buy time for their sentence. Some may become real religion followers while in prison. They always know what they are looking for. For example, during fasting (Ramadhan) season, prisoners know that it is time to get good food for fast-breaking. Therefore, you may find most of the prisoners do fast. It's not that they are good believers of God; this is a soft option for them to get "good" food somehow. They do the same when opting for prison education. Sometimes, attending education class enables them to escape hard prison work. (Mbogo; Retired-Senior Prison Officer; Int.)

A comparable viewpoint was presented by Kamaliza:

Practically, prisoners didn't look for education. Most of the prisoners have lost ambition due to long sentences. They considered prison as the end of their life story. Therefore, they tuned themselves to prison life. Haaaa, Haaaa (laughing) they didn't seek to do serious learning. Many of those who joined educational programmes only looked for the best option to cope with prison life, especially for easy access to food and avoiding hard work. Attending classes brought them closer to the kitchen. (Kamaliza; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Mbogo and Kamaliza's quotes bring an insight that at some points, prison education was used by prisoners to avoid hard work and as a mechanism to access more privileges. These findings concur with other recent international studies on prison education. A Portuguese study by Moreira et al. (2017) found that escape from the prison routine was among the motives that encouraged offenders to participate in education. Similarly, a study of Irish prisons by Behan (2014) concluded that several inmates joined prison education to escape the monotony and boredom of the prison regime. This observation reinforced earlier findings from a study of UK prisons by Reuss (1997) and the USA prisons by Parsons and Langenback (1993). They all reported that some prisoners joined classes to avoid work in prisons. Likewise, although Roth and Manger (2014) put "escapism" in the same category as that of "social reasons", they acknowledged the fact that a sense of psychological escape may play a great role in influencing inmates' participation in prison education as noted in the current study. From this point of view, I argue that an "escape" factor has contributed to prisoners' participation in education in the selected prisons of this study. It is noted that the perspectives on "escape", as seen in this study, "may be unique to prisoner participants" (Parsons & Langenback, 1993, p. 40), because the prison learning context is different from mainstream adult education.

7.4.5 The desire to help others

In this study, *a desire to help fellow inmates* motivated one of the ex-inmates to learn. This factor was raised when Bakari was explaining his historical background to learning. He stated:

In 1998 I became interested in gaining a Bachelor of Law. This idea was sparked from reading judgements and writing appeals for other prisoners, an activity that I carried out for so long. Therefore, I thought it would be better if I applied for a law degree which would help me serve my fellow prisoners better. Later, I realised that studying for the Bachelor of Law would be useful in my life after release. I questioned myself how I would continue working as a lawyer [after my release] if I didn't have a certificate. (Bakari; ex-inmate; Int.)

Bakari's first motive to undertake a Bachelor of Law could be because he believed he had no chance of returning to his society. He was supposed to serve 50 years in prison (refer to Chapter 6). This finding is interesting; it indicates an enhanced

self-concept (Gecas, 1982) which triggered Bakari to take social responsibility. In adult education, I equate Bakari's desire to help others with the *social welfare* factor discussed by several adult education scholars (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Findsen & McCullough, 2007; Morstain & Smart, 1974, 1977) – refer to Chapter 3. Within the *social welfare* factor, these scholars agree that the desire to help others plays a significant role in motivating some adult learners. However, in my readings, I did not find much about this kind of motivation in the prison education literature. Perhaps, this is because most prisoners do not have a sense of social connectedness. For this reason, I argue that Bakari would be among the very few prisoners with such altruism.

7.4.6 Multiplicity of motives

Although the current study has shown five main motives that influenced inmates to undertake education, it was evident that some of the inmates were influenced by multiple factors. Several prisoners mentioned more than one reason that influenced them to learn. The multiplicity of motives shown by inmates is in line with Findsen and McCullough (2007) who found that the majority of older learners in the West of Scotland were influenced to learn by more than one motive. In this prison study, there was also an indication that some of the inmates' motives were changed during the learning process. Bakari (ex-inmate) is an example of those inmates. He was firstly influenced to learn a Bachelor of Law with the desire to help other inmates in writing their appeals professionally, and in the course of his studies, he realised the potential to use the qualification to gain a job outside prison.

7.5 Partnership with Other Institutions

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012) and Nyoka (2013) insist on the importance of wider community participation in the whole process of prisoner rehabilitation. They argue that community participation has a great impact on offender's reintegration and reduces recidivism. This issue of partnership is also recommended by The United Republic of Tanzania (2011). Of the five case institutions, I found that three of them had some partnerships with a few institutions while two seemed to have no partnership with any institution. Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons had a link with the Municipal Education Office.

With that link, these two prisons had benefitted in various forms. One of the co-ordinators commented:

We have got a TV set and some books with assistance from the Municipal Education Office. Apart from the Office of Education, there is no other institution from which we receive sustainable assistance. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

The TV sets helped the two prisons in running literacy education under the *Yes I Can* project (refer to section 7.2.1). Also, the Adult Education Officer prepared a workshop for prison staff from the two prisons; the trained prison staff taught the volunteer inmate-teachers. The kind of partnership which emerged between the Municipal Education Office and the two prisons is a reflection of the TPS recommendations discussed in Chapter 4 (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). As discussed in the previous sections, I found that Kipera prisoners used Mlali Primary School as their examination centre. The co-ordinator said:

We always allow our standard seven learners to sit for the National Primary School Examinations [PSLE]. We use Mlali Primary School as our Examination Centre. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Also, as previously mentioned, this prison (Kipera) had a connection with a nearby VETA college. The co-ordinator commented:

Here [in the prison] we teach prisoners [VET] theory and practice. The theoretical aspect of every field is taught in our classrooms, and the practical part is taught in our workshops as well. We always send our learners to a nearby VETA college for VETA examinations. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

This partnership with the VETA enables successful inmates to be awarded VETA certificates. Sources from both the VETA and Mlali Primary School reaffirmed these partnerships. As argued in the literature review (Garcia, 2017; Ryan & Jones, 2016; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012), the partnerships observed at Kipera have exerted a positive contribution to the success of prison education. They enabled the integration of education provided by Kipera prison with the education provided by the VETA and the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE). Subsequently, Kipera prison implemented the Rule 104(2) of the Nelson Mandela Rules (UN, 2016).

In the interview with one of the representatives of the Institute of Adult Education (IAE), she claimed that the IAE had introduced National Examination Centres in some prisons. She said:

Through the Open and Distance Learning programme, the IAE has been able to reach its targeted population [adult population] in different environments by introducing learning centres in their localities, including prisons. There are prisons which have set up National Examination Centres to avoid disturbances involving the movement of prisoners. (Lulu; IAE; Int.)

Later, I had an opportunity to interview another IAE staff member (Komba) who was the only person involved in the introduction of an IAE learning centre in one of the Tanzanian prisons. In the interview, Komba acknowledged introducing the learning centre in one prison. He also claimed that he was the only Regional Resident Tutor who initiated a prison learning centre. This finding complemented Lulu's claim that the IAE reached some prisoners. In this interview, Komba refuted the claim that he introduced the National Examination Centre in that prison. He insisted that there were no National Examination Centres in prisons. Komba's argument contradicted information provided by Lulu. This contradictory information perhaps suggests that either the first officer tried to exaggerate the real situation, or she was not aware of the real situation on the ground. However, the efforts made by Komba to introduce an IAE learning centre in prison are commendable. It is an indication of partnership in prison education suggested by the literature (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

Apart from the partnerships discussed above, the findings of this study indicate that it is hard for an outsider to work with the Tanzanian prison system. The Tanzanian prison system was found to be highly closed as explained in the concept of a *total institution* in Chapter 3 (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962; Scott, 2010). In this study, some participants from outside of the prison complained that they had faced difficulties in working with prisons. One participant commented:

Working with Tanzanian prisons is very hard; it is nearly impossible to secure permission to work with them. Our NGO assists ex-prisoners. To find these people [ex-prisoners] we need their information from the prisons. It is now difficult for us to find them because we don't have their information. We are not allowed into prisons where we can find prisoners who are about to be released; we work very hard to find

them in the society [outside of prison]. (Mnyalu; NGO representative; Int.)

Mnyalu's complaint is an indication that Tanzanian prisons are not fully involving stakeholders who are willing to participate in prisoners' rehabilitation. As discussed in the literature review, limiting stakeholders' involvement in the rehabilitation of prisoners is contrary to the United Nations propositions (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). It is also against the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) which recommends involvement of various stakeholders including governmental institutions, religious institutions, NGOs, and society in general in the provision of prison education (see Chapter 4). I argue that poor involvement of stakeholders is an indication of inconsistency between policy and practice, within the Tanzanian context (Stonemeier, Trader, Kaloi, & Williams, 2016). Mbogo, a retired senior prison officer, confirmed that his NGO worked with the TPS. However, he agreed that it was difficult for outsiders to work with the Tanzanian prison system because of its closed and rigid system; he called it *the old fashioned prison system*. When I asked him how he had gained access, Mbogo said:

We introduced ourselves as ex-prison department [TPS] senior employees. The system somehow trusts us. (Mbogo; Retired-Senior Prison Officer; int.)

The finding of this study is consistent with Mboje's (2013) report. He reported that Tanzania has registered over 40 Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) whose main focus is on offenders, their families, and prison officers. However, "most of these organisations are not active, and the active ones are mostly confined to material support to inmates" (p. 19) such as soap, mosquito nets, toothpaste, and razor blades. Perhaps, the inactive nature of these organisations may have been influenced by the lack of engagement from the TPS.

Complaints about the closed nature of the Tanzania prison system were raised by Kapinga, the Adult Education Officer who worked with Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons, and Komba (the IAE personnel). Komba, for instance, managed to introduce the learning centre at Iwambi prison (a different prison from those of this project), but he complained that the head of that prison refused to allow inmate-learners to sit their National Examinations. He commented:

As opposed to Songea prisoner – who was allowed by the head of the prison to sit his National Examinations at the Centre outside Songea prison – Iwambi’s head refused. He said that he didn’t have the mandate to allow prisoners to take their examinations outside prison. He directed us to seek permission from the Commissioner General of Prisons (CGP). We wrote to the CGP; unfortunately, he never responded. Consequently, those inmates didn’t sit their examinations. That discouraged the inmates to proceed with the programme and others to join the programme [the programme collapsed]. (Komba; IAE, Int.)

As discussed in Chapter 3, studies have shown that countries that have successful prison education programmes typically involve other institutions and individuals in the provision. For instance, the German prison system has been collaborating with the German Adult Education Association (DVV) in developing and running various prison education courses. Online literacy courses for prisoners is one strategy that has been supported by the DVV since 2004 (Eichen, 2014). As previously discussed (in Chapter 3), the partnership has brought positive impacts on prison education in the USA (Garcia, 2017), and in Uganda (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011). In Uganda, a partnership with the African Prisons Project has enabled the provision of various courses, and the introduction of libraries in some prisons (African Prisons Project, 2016; Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011). Currently, the African Prisons Project is supporting some prisoners from Uganda to partake in law studies through the University of London International Programme (African Prisons Project, 2016).

I argue that the partnership elements found in the three prisons is an indication that the Tanzanian prison system is attempting to adjust to the current movements regarding partnership for prisoners’ rehabilitation (Nyoka, 2013; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). However, there are several indicators that suggest the Tanzanian prisons are closed; qualifying them as *total institutions* (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962; Scott, 2010). These indicators include: the lack of partnerships in the other two prisons; the complaints from participants that prisons are inaccessible; as well as my own experience, as a researcher, in gaining permission for data collection (refer to Chapter 5).

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on learning in the Tanzanian prison context, discussing the availability and status of the educational programmes, participation in prison education, prisoners' motivation to learn, and partnerships between the five prisons and other institutions. It is suggested in this chapter that not all Tanzanian prisons embraced prison education. The chapter has also revealed that the most common educational programmes in Tanzanian prisons include literacy education, general education, and vocational training. Also, it is argued in this chapter that the recruitment process for learners was not the same across the case studies. In one prison (Kipera), education was mandatory while in three prisons (Chinangali, Lubungo, and Kikuyu), inmates were not forced to join, and vocational training courses were for a few in these prisons. One prison (Uluguru) did not have any educational programme. The chapter suggests that with some exceptions, inmates have similar motives for learning to that of the general adult population. Their participation in prison education is mainly influenced by factors such as potential employment, furthering their education, social relationships, the desire to help others (social welfare), and the need to escape from prison's boredom and routines.

Reflecting on the access to learning opportunities, participation rates, and status of the programmes, I would argue that Kipera prison has shown a big difference as compared to other prisons involved in this project. In this prison, education is compulsory to help youth prisoners avoid a criminal career path; all prisoners were involved in education. With scarce financial resource, one would argue that Kipera is the best option to spend money for educational programmes. Kipera provides a ray of hope that authorities recognise the value of education and are taking steps to introduce it into the system. However, the main challenge is that many youth prisoners are reported to spend their sentences in adult prisons (refer to Chapter 6). I would suggest that the TPS should transfer youth prisoners to Kipera prison as soon as they are convicted. Also, it is clear in this chapter that Tanzanian prisons were not receptive enough to outsiders who wanted to contribute to prisoners' rehabilitation.

Chapter Eight

Teaching and Learning Resources: The Tanzanian Context

8.1 Introduction

Having discussed issues related to learning in the Tanzanian prison context in Chapter 7, the current chapter continues to discuss the findings of the present study. This chapter focuses on the issue of *Teaching and learning resources* within the Tanzanian prisons. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the context of resources within prison education in the selected prisons. I hope that this information can contribute to an understanding of the situation of prison education in Tanzania. In this chapter, first I discuss the available educational resources in the prison environment; in particular, issues related to funding, availability of learning resources, and recruitment of teachers are examined. Then, I examine inmates' involvement in course development, followed by a discussion on the suitability of the learning timetable in prisons, and finally, I draw some conclusions.

8.2 Available Resources

The availability and quality of learning resources play a significant role in the quality of adult education programmes (Knowles, 1980; UNESCO, 2004; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995). Because prison education is a subset of adult education, I argue that two factors commonly considered in adult learning (availability and quality of learning resources) can influence the quality of prison education programmes. For this reason, the current section discusses the findings of this study focusing on the available resources. The section mainly examines issues related to funding, availability of learning resources, and recruitment of teachers.

8.2.1 Funding

On the issue of funding, two themes emerged from this study. The first one is tuition fees, and the second one is the budget for prison education. Regarding tuition fees, the findings indicate that prisoners in the selected prisons perceived

they were provided with free education. The quotes below are the examples of prisoners' views:

Education in this prison doesn't cost me. We don't pay fees, and we also don't sit for registered examinations. Therefore, we don't have to pay for exams. Thus, no one pays for my education here. (Paul; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Our education here is costless. We are taught by our fellow inmates who we are not supposed to pay. (Chausiku; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

There are no study costs here; therefore, no one pays for my tuition fees. This is good for me. I don't think I would be able to study if there were any costs. (Kobelo; Inmate-learner; Int.)

Similar findings were observed from Kipera prison – a prison whose inmates take recognised examinations. One of the inmates said:

Our learning costs are covered by the Prison Department itself. We never pay for anything here. I'm satisfied with the situation because I wouldn't study if I had to pay toward it. (Shabani; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

A comparable view was reported by an ex-inmate who studied vocational education while in prison. He commented:

No one paid anything for me because we paid no fees for that course. We were not charged for anything. It wouldn't be possible for me to pay school fees while in prison. This was good as it made it easier for me to study; otherwise, I would have failed to study. (Swai; ex-inmate; Int.)

Considering that Tanzanian prisoners are paid neither stipend, nor for the labour they perform (Nyoka, 2013), it would not be practical to ask prisoners to pay for their education. Tanzania is not the only country that provides free education to its inmates. Reports by Muasya (2013) and Rugut and Osman (2013) from Kenya, and Serwanjja (2014) from Uganda have also indicated that prison education is free in those countries. In South Africa, ABET level one to level four, which is equivalent to Grade nine in the normal South African educational system, is provided free to prisoners. Those who successfully pass the examinations are allowed to join the mainstream and undertake studies up to Grade 12 at no cost (Mokwena, 2008).

As stated previously, one of the ex-inmates in this study (Bakari) undertook tertiary education while in prison. Unlike other prisoners who undertook other

courses, he was supposed to pay for his tuition fees towards an accredited provider (OUT). He said:

Tuition fee was the first obstacle in my studies. Prison management told me that they couldn't allow me to take up studies if I didn't have a sponsor. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

When I asked him how he managed it, he revealed:

I was lucky enough to get a sponsor. He paid for my first and second years of study. He was just a Good Samaritan [a white man] from Nairobi. He volunteered to pay for two consecutive years. This person was one of the leaders in a Pentecostal Denomination and was also involved in the Life Challenge Africa Project. My final year's tuition fee was paid by one of the OUT leaders, but I don't know him/her even today. This person insisted on remaining anonymous forever. I remember that he/she paid Tanzanian Shillings 300,000 [equivalent to about US \$350 according to the exchange rate at the time] for the final year. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

At the moment, the amount of money donated by the OUT leader may be considered a small amount. However, at that time (11 years ago), this was a lot of money, especially for a prisoner such as Bakari, who could not afford it. Arguably, Bakari's case implies that Tanzania had no proper mechanisms in place to finance inmates who have the ability to pursue tertiary education. Current reports suggest that the TPS collaborates with the OUT which may offer scholarships to inmates who want to study tertiary education (Kazinja, 2014). However, this study found that the scholarship mentioned had not yet been set up. An OUT representative commented:

We have a plan to provide scholarships to prisoners who would like to study through OUT. We announced it during Bakari's graduation [in 2007], but we have not secured a source of funding yet for that scholarship. We have sponsored no one among those graduated prisoners. All of them have found their own ways to cover the learning costs. (OUT representative; Int.)

Therefore, despite the commitment made by the OUT in 2007 (10 years ago) to offer a scholarship, no prisoner has ever benefitted from any scholarship from the OUT. After Bakari's graduation, two more prisoners have graduated through the OUT – one with a Bachelor of Law (2009) and the other with a Diploma in Education (Magai, 2016). Another prisoner was studying a Bachelor of Law at the time of this study. All these prisoner-learners, including Bakari, have found their

own source of funds. In this context, a shortage/lack of a source of funding limits prisoners' access (for those who are interested and qualify) to tertiary education. This argument is consistent with a report from Ukonga prison (Head of Ukonga Prison, 2016) which identified five prisoners who were interested and eligible to attend tertiary education, but had no means to finance their education. It is possible that there are other prisoners in the Tanzanian prisons who fail to take up tertiary studies because of the funding problem. This may be influenced by the lack of a proper funding policy for prison education. The Prison Education Guide – a leading policy document for prison education – is silent regarding funding in general and tertiary education in particular (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011).

The Tanzanian funding situation for tertiary education for prisoners is relatively similar to South Africa. Reports have shown that South African inmates who were eligible to pursue education above Grade 12, had to bear the costs on their own (Mokwena, 2008). In Kenya and Uganda, the situation appears better; the African Prisons Project provides scholarships to some prisoners who qualify to study in University of London programmes under the ODL mode (Coughlan, 2014; Serwanjja, 2014). Experience gained from my visit to Waikeria prison (New Zealand) and reports from the Department of Corrections (n.d.-b) suggest that New Zealand has a well-established mechanism to support inmates compared to that of Tanzania and other African countries (refer to Chapters 3 and 4). New Zealand prisons collaborate with the Open Polytechnic to teach vocational training courses which lead to the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) (Education Review, 2013; Ratley, 2015). This collaboration is funded by the New Zealand Government (Ratley, 2015). New Zealand's situation is relatively similar to the UK situation; the UK Government funds the teaching costs, educational materials, and library costs for prison education (Braggins & Talbot, 2003).

Regarding the budget, although four case study prisons – Lubungo, Chinangali, Kipera, and Kikuyu – reported providing free prison education, it was found that these prisons had no budget for prison education. The majority of prison staff complained about the shortage of funds to run the programmes. The quotes below are examples of comments from prison staff:

Our prison doesn't have a budget for prison education purposes. We can't afford to buy chalk, notebooks, pens, and textbooks. Sometimes, we are completely out of chalk to run our classes. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

The main problem is how to get those resources. Our prison doesn't have a budget to buy notebooks, pens, chalk and books. (Shida; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Our main challenge is financial constraints. We need funds to buy books and other teaching and learning materials, including tools for workshops. The problem is that the government usually sets funds for prisoners' meals and medication; it doesn't focus on prisoners' education. I think they forget that the prisoners need education for their rehabilitation, which is the main purpose of this prison. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

These findings strongly suggest that the Tanzanian prison system does not pay enough attention to prison education. The lack of budget for prison education found in this study seems to be intentional; it is arguably a reflection of the Ministerial general budget. For instance, in spite of the claim of the Minister of Home Affairs that the Ministry pays more attention to prisoners' rehabilitation, no funds were allocated for prison education in the current (2017/2018) budget (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017b). For this reason, I would argue that Tanzania (as a nation) does not have a clear policy on funding prison education activities. This is a replication of arguments that I made in the conceptual approach – funding policy on prison education influences the availability of teaching and learning resources.

Budget constraints seem to be not only a challenge to prison education, but also to other adult education programmes outside prisons. It appears to be a common problem across Tanzanian adult education programmes. In an interview that I conducted with Lulu, an officer from the IAE, this issue was also raised. She said:

One of the major challenges faced by adult education in Tanzania is an inadequate budget set for the implementation of adult education activities. (Lulu; IAE, Int.)

A similar problem was reported by Kapinga – an Adult Education Officer. He complained:

As a department, we don't have a budget to run adult education programmes in the district. Therefore, we don't have funds to support prison education. Several times I use my pocket money to support

them [prison education programmes] in buying materials such as chalk, notebooks, pens. But sometimes they find me with no money. In those circumstances, I fail to support them. (Kapinga; AEO; Int.)

Shortage of funds for adult education activities in Tanzania is not a new phenomenon; it has been reported from local to national levels for many years (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2008). For instance, Msoroka (2011) reported the lack of budget for adult education activities as one of the major challenges that faced the Adult Education Department in the Morogoro Municipality. Because of the shortage of funds, the department failed to manage adult education programmes effectively. Mushi (2010) links this problem (under-financing of adult education) with a *low-status* attitude towards adult education by Tanzanian society. For better achievements, Mushi (2016) emphasised the need for a realistic budget to be allocated to adult education. The lack of funds has probably influenced the poor distribution of teaching and learning resources in the Tanzanian prisons as will be observed in the following section. The impacts of lack of funds seem to be more severe in the prison educational programmes because of poor involvement of volunteers from outside of prisons (NGOs, CBOs, and other public institutions) as discussed in Chapter 7.

As discussed in the literature review, the shortage of funds haunts the majority of prisons in the African context, thus impacting on prison education. For instance, Kalid (2011) reported that until 2011, Kirinya Jinja prison (Uganda) had no formal education because there were no funds to run the programmes. Kenya reported a relatively similar problem as the Kenyan Government did not set up a budget for prison education activities (Gumi, 2014; Ngare, 2009). Shortage of funds is also reported to limit prison education activities in Lesotho (Setoi, 2012). The situation is quite different in developed countries such as New Zealand, Australia, and UK. In these countries, the governments set budgets for prison education activities (Braggins & Talbot, 2003; Department of Corrections, n.d.-c; Victorian Ombudsman, 2015). In the USA, prison education is funded by a mixture of sources – federal government, state governments, and individual prisoner’s private sources (Roder, 2009).

8.2.2 Availability of learning resources

Usually, learners' feelings about the learning environment have a significant influence on their participation in education (Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995). With this understanding, Knowles (1980) argues that adults prefer to learn in a suitable climate that gives them a feeling that they are valued. Such a learning environment includes physical and psychological factors. While the physical environment is composed of the classroom set up, which includes available chairs and tables that can contribute to physical comfort, a positive psychological environment is created by "mutual trust and respect, mutual helpfulness, freedom of expression, and acceptance of differences" (Knowles et al., 2005, p. 93). From this point of view, the prison learning environment can have a significant role in (de)motivating prisoners' participation in education.

The findings of this study indicate that the teaching and learning environments vary across the selected prisons. Of the five prisons, only one (Kipera) had classrooms which were furnished with desks. Uluguru prison had neither learning spaces nor books. Kikuyu, Chinangali, and Lubungo prisons had chalkboards placed on walls outside and inside prison cells. These places functioned as learning spaces. The outside spaces were used as classes during the daytime, while the inside ones were used by prisoners in their respective cells to teach one another when they were locked up. The outside learning spaces did not have roofs. The learning environment in these three prisons, and that of Uluguru prison which did not have learning spaces, contradicted the Prison Education Guide which recommended prisons set conducive learning spaces where the hot sun and rain would not interrupt the teaching and learning activities (refer to Chapter 4) (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). The situation in these four prisons is an indication of poor implementation of the Prison Education Guide, suggesting a gap between policy and practice. This finding also contradicts Knowles's (1980) proposition of classrooms that should provide an environment of physical comfort for adult learners.

Reports from Naivasha Maximum Security Prison in Kenya, and Luzira Women's Prison in Uganda identified that these two prisons had dedicated classrooms with "better" equipment for a learning environment. For instance, several classes at Naivasha prison had special rooms furnished with chairs (Joselow, 2014), while

classes at Luzira Women prison were under trees but with chairs (Serwanjja, 2014). Although classrooms and chairs were found at Kipera prison, they were not found at Uluguru, Lubungo, Chinangali, and Kikuyu prisons (Tanzania), indicating learning environments inferior to those of the prisons in Nairobi (Kenya) and Uganda.

With regard to libraries, Chinangali and Kipera prisons were found to have small libraries with a few books. Despite having fewer books, by having a library space, Chinangali and Kipera prisons were consistent with the Prison Education Guide, which recommends prisons have rooms for library service (refer to Chapter 4) (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). The rest of the prisons – Kikuyu, Lubungo, and Uluguru – did not have library spaces; this indicates poor implementation of the Prison Education Guide’s statement. In more advanced societies the issue of e-learning in prisons would be a consideration (Hammerschick, 2010), but in the current Tanzanian context e-learning is barely relevant.

Kikuyu and Chinangali prisons had rooms with TV sets. The TV sets were used to teach literacy classes (refer to Chapter 7). Four prisons – Kikuyu, Lubungo, Chinangali, and Kipera – had workshops for vocational training activities: mechanics (Lubungo and Kipera); tailoring (Kipera and Kikuyu); carpentry, architecture, painting, and electricity (Kipera); ceramic (Chinangali); weaving (Chinangali and Kikuyu); and metalwork (Lubungo). The findings of the current study indicate that shortage of learning material resources was among the major challenges that faced prison education activities in the selected case studies. This challenge was consistently discussed by most participants. The quotes below provide an idea of how extensive this problem is:

Our main challenge is the shortage of resources to run the programmes. Our prison doesn’t have a budget for prison educational purpose. We can’t afford even buying boxes of chalk, notebooks, pens, and textbooks. Sometimes, we completely run out of chalk. At times we turn into beggars; we walk around to seek assistance from people. We sometimes visit the Adult Education officer to ask for chalk. I don’t like begging; sometimes I feel embarrassed. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

The most challenging issue which faces these classes is a shortage of resources. Shortage of chalk, notebooks, pens and textbooks is a

chronic problem. The co-ordinators always come to my office asking for chalk and notebooks. (Kapinga; AEO; Int.)

Apart from a TV set, we don't have anything else that I can be proud of. We don't even have books. Our classes don't have chairs; learners sit on the floor as you have observed. Sometimes I don't have chalk to use in my class. My learners don't have enough notebooks and pens. It is really a problem. (Kidawa; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

The findings of this study contradict the commitments established in the Educational and Training Policy (ETP) (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014c). The ETP advocates for a conducive learning environment for adult education programmes in the country and a commitment to maximise provision of education to all disadvantaged groups (refer to Chapter 2). Although the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), the main prison education policy document in Tanzania, suggests the running of educational activities in prisons, it is silent on how the TPS would fund education for prisoners. However, the document does suggest that co-ordinators look for donors who would support educational activities in the prisons. As observed in this study, donor support was not effective because the prison system is not transparent enough – it is a total institution (Goffman, 1962) – to invite other stakeholders to contribute (refer to Chapter 7). I have argued in the conceptual approach (Chapter 4) that governmental and institutional policies on prison education influence the availability of educational resources in prisons. Shortage of resources in this context, therefore, could be attributed to poor governmental policy – the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) – which, as stated above, is silent about funding.

This study found that the shortage of teaching and learning resources resulted in the closure of two classes (related to general education) at Chinangali prison. The teachers and the co-ordinator reported having neither chalk nor learners' writing materials to run those classes; hence, they decided to close the classes. I had a chance to interview an inmate who was not able to continue with his studies, and he also complained about the learning materials:

Learning was very challenging for me because I didn't have resources. I had no notebooks, no pens. This discouraged me, so I opted out. (Kassim; Programme non-participant inmate; Int.)

Kassim's argument reflects that of several inmates who did not want to join prison education classes because of lack of resources. For that reason, I argue that insufficient learning resources have contributed to weak prison education programmes. An interview with one of the IAE staff (Komba) indicated that a shortage of learning materials extended beyond the cases in this study; it was a problem faced by other Tanzanian prisons. During an interview, Komba shared his experience regarding the prison classroom environment. He said:

The main challenge I witnessed in that prison is a lack of classrooms. They run their classes outside; therefore, lessons were cancelled when it rained. Neither had they chairs nor desks. They used buckets to sit on. They had shortage of chalk, pens, notebooks, and textbooks. (Komba; IAE; Int.)

As mentioned previously, this is contrary to the Educational and Training Policy (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2014c) and the Prison Education Guide statements (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). A deficit of resources is not a unique problem for the Tanzanian prisons; the problem is common in the African context. Several other African countries face relatively similar problems. Sarkin (2008) reported that:

Resource scarcity is one of the most significant challenges facing African prisons today. On a continent with so many social needs, protection of prisoners is far from the top of many priority lists. (p. 32)

The scarcity of resources in African prisons was also reported by Dissel (2008). Muñoz (2009) reported a lack of "libraries; the absence and confiscation of written and educational material" (p. 11) as among the barriers to prison education for many prison systems. Let us take an example of Uganda. Although it is cited as "a successful country" in rehabilitation programmes within Africa, and has reduced its reoffending rates to 32% – the lowest of all African countries (Candia & Lumu, 2014; Mudoola, 2014) – it still faces a scarcity of resources. Out of its 222 prisons, 80% of them were reported to have no educational facilities in the way of classrooms and libraries (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011). In Nairobi (Kenya), Kyalo et al. (2014) reported a deficit of chairs, textbooks, chalk, lab equipment, writing materials, and teaching aids facing prisons. It is noteworthy that in Africa, the problem of shortage of resources goes beyond the prison education. It affects other adult education programmes outside of prisons. In South Africa, Dhlamini and Heeralal (2014) reported unavailability of resources

and poor physical environment as two of the factors that contribute to non-persistence in adult education programmes, outside of prisons. With this view, arguably, it is not surprising to find that Tanzanian prisons have very scarce resources for prison education. As argued in the conceptual approach, prison educational resources influence the availability and quality of prison education provided in a particular correctional facility; hence, the findings of this study concur with that argument. Scarcity of resources in the selected case studies negatively influenced the quality of prison education in those prisons.

8.2.3 Recruitment of teachers

This study found two types of teachers involved in prison education; these were inmate-teachers (prisoner-teachers) and prison officer-teachers. The majority of prisons recruited inmate-teachers. Out of the four prisons that had educational programmes, only Kipera prison recruited prison officer-teachers. At this prison (Kipera), prison officers with suitable qualifications were selected to teach relevant courses. For example, qualified prison staff members with teaching certificates, diplomas, or degrees were appointed to teach in the literacy and primary school curriculum. The co-ordinator said:

We have all sorts of teachers to teach these prisoners. Some teach in the primary school curriculum, and others teach vocational training courses. They are all prison officers. (Kapange; Co-ordinator; Int.)

As mentioned previously, recruitment of teachers at Kipera prison is different from that of Lubungu, Kikuyu, and Chinangali prisons. In the latter three prisons, it was the inmates who taught. Recruitment of prisoners in these three prisons was in accordance with the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), which allowed prisoners to teach their fellow inmates (refer to Chapter 4). As suggested by the Prison Education Guide, the main criterion used to select these inmate-teachers was the possession of higher qualifications and/or greater educational experience than the rest of the inmates in the respective classes. For instance, a literate inmate was assigned to teach illiterate inmates. Those with vocational experience supervised and taught other inmates in vocational training programmes. As reported by one of the co-ordinators:

We recruit inmates to teach their fellow offenders. We use those with higher qualifications than others. Sometimes we use professional teacher-offenders who enter prison. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Similar comments were made by inmate-teachers. The quotes below are examples of the teachers' comments:

To be a teacher in this prison, you need to have one of the two criteria: you need to be either a professional teacher or have higher qualifications than the learners. It depends on the situation; it may be a form four or form six qualification. (Moses; Inmate-teacher; FGI.)

The main criterion to be a teacher in this prison is to possess a higher qualification than the other learners. For example, I'm a form four leaver, and I teach my fellow inmates English language and literacy skills. There was a time when we had a professional teacher in our team. (Zena; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

As mentioned previously, the majority of prisons recruited inmate-teachers to run educational classes. This finding suggests that the majority of teachers in the prisons were volunteers – a similar observation to Houle's pyramid of leadership in adult education (refer to Chapter 3) (Bierema, 2011; Findsen, 1996; Houle, 1956). I equate the selection of inmate-teachers with "peer teaching" (Ginsberg & Wlodkowski, 2009; Velez et al., 2011), which is very much encouraged in adult education classes because of its benefits explained in Chapter 3. There is scant literature on the use of volunteer-prisoners as teachers in prisons, especially in developed countries. Perhaps this is unique to Tanzania and other African countries (Kyalo et al., 2014; Mokwena, 2008; Serwanjja, 2014). However, I argue that the main reason for using inmate-teachers in the Tanzanian context was not to embrace the notion of peer teaching; rather it was due to the scarcity of financial resources (Shortage of funds was discussed in Section 8.2.1). Given the Tanzanian economic situation, peer teaching was found to be a better and cheaper option as it was difficult to outsource prison teachers. This (Tanzanian) situation may also be influenced by the closed nature of the Tanzanian prison system, which may not encourage volunteer teachers from outside of prison (this is discussed in Chapter 7).

Although some inmates seemed to enjoy being taught by their fellow inmates, a few recommended recruiting professionals from outside of prisons. They have the view that inviting professionals from outside may help them get an accredited education. One inmate said:

It would be better to have some teachers from outside so that they can join hands with the available inmate-teachers. This could ensure the

provision of up to date and recognised education because teachers from outside would bring new ideas. (Koba; Programme non-participant inmate; FGI)

The findings of this study indicate that the teachers – prison staff and inmate-teachers – were not trained adult educators. There were no means to ensure that teachers underwent special training to enable them to handle adult-prison classes effectively. Although the prison staff-teachers at Kipera prison were qualified in their fields, they did not have training in adult teaching skills. Only Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons reported having provided a workshop for prison staff (co-ordinators), who then claimed to train their inmate-teachers (training of trainers) – refer to Section 7.5. This “training of trainers” workshop was coordinated by the District Adult Education Office, focusing only on how to teach literacy skills through the *Yes I Can* project; it did not serve any other educational programme. The Adult Education Officer could only tell about the “training of trainers” workshop; whatever training occurred to inmate-teachers was in the four walls of those prisons. No one, including the Adult Education Officer himself, could explain the processes involved in that training. There was no evidence of such professional development to inmate-teachers. Some literature suggest that teaching adults is a profession which requires special training – not everyone can teach adults effectively (Brookfield, 1986; Kamp, 2011). Nevertheless, some hold that the flexibility of allowing non-professionals, as that found in this study, is a potential strength (Findsen, 2009; Merriam & Brockett, 2007). The argument is that the flexibility acknowledges “marginal adult educators” (Findsen, 2009, p. 38) as those found in this study and their students, who in a professionalised adult education field, would not be recognised. Indeed, there is limited chance for those marginalised inmate-teachers to gain professional qualifications. Also, with financial constraints (Mushi, 2010), it would be difficult to find trained adult educators from outside prisons to teach in Tanzanian prisons. Financial constraints could explain why the Prison Education Guide was silent regarding the professional development of inmate-teachers (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011).

It has been reported for decades that Tanzania does not have sufficient adult education teachers (Mushi, 2010). Therefore, the use of inmate-teachers in prisons may also be a reflection of that shortage. This is a different scenario from many

developed countries. In New Zealand, some courses such as horticulture, hospitality training, and bakery, are taught by professional teachers employed by the Department of Corrections. Other programmes such as basic education, secondary education, and correspondence education are provided by professionals contracted from outside of prisons. This argument is based on the experience from my physical visit to Waikeria prison on 1st September 2015, and literature from the Department of Corrections (n.d.-d). In the USA, it has been reported that most prison education teachers are professional teachers recruited from the community and from among the prison staff (Coley & Barton, 2006).

As seen in this section, the majority of teachers in the Tanzanian prison context are inmate-volunteers. Other African countries have also reported the use of volunteer-prisoners as teachers (Joselow, 2014; Sarkin, 2008). Therefore, I can argue that the selection of inmate-volunteers in the present study is a reflection of the African prison education context. Because of underfunding (Sarkin, 2008), most African prisons cannot afford the cost of prison education. Consequently, countries such as Kenya, Uganda, and South Africa were also reported to use volunteer inmate-teachers. For instance, in Naivasha Maximum Prison, Kenya, an inmate (Ernest Bwire) was reported teaching his fellow inmates Physics and English subjects (Joselow, 2014). Kyalo et al. (2014) also reported prison education classes in Nairobi prisons (Kenya) being taught by inmates. Kamiti prison (Kenya) was reported to have 26 teachers; 10 were prison staff, and 16 were volunteer inmates (Gumi, 2014). In Luzira Women's prison, Uganda, the primary school curriculum was reported to be taught by fellow inmates, while the secondary school curriculum was taught by professional teachers from outside (Serwanjja, 2014). The following two subsections will discuss the motivation to teach on the part of volunteer inmate-teachers and prison staff.

Motivation to teach – inmate-teachers

As has been discussed, one of the interesting findings of this study is that three of the prisons in the case studies (Lubungo, Kikuyu, and Chinangali) used volunteer prisoners as teachers. Through interviews, this study found several motives that influenced volunteer-prisoners' participation in teaching. Some of them mentioned *social relationships* as their motivational purpose. The quote below is

an example of an inmate-teacher's view that relates to the motive of social relationships:

I'm a prisoner too; it feels good to teach my fellow inmates. For me, this job helps me to reduce stress. At the same time, it gives me an opportunity to meet people and make new friends. (Moses; inmate-teacher; FGI.)

Other inmate-teachers mentioned issues which were closely associated with the *escape/avoidance* factor that was also mentioned by prison-learners. These teachers considered teaching as an activity which provided them with something better to do and avoided prison boredom. The quotes below are examples of this view:

I'm actually feeling good. This job has given me something to do to reduce my stress. (Kidawa; inmate-teacher; Int.)

To be honest, this job is a consolation for me. (Zena; inmate teacher; Int.)

Also, some inmate-teachers considered teaching advantageous as they felt *academically updated*. Inmate-teachers with this view reported:

I feel good and happy teaching my fellow inmates. Teaching them keeps me academically updated, something which is good for me. (Nuhu; Inmate-teacher; FGI.)

Weaving is my hobby, therefore, teaching other prisoners to weave gives me a chance to practise my skills and keep me up-to-date. (Zena; Inmate teacher; Int.)

The need to remain academically up-to-date mentioned by inmate-teachers suggests that teachers themselves wanted to learn as well. Perhaps an opportunity to teach provided them with that chance. In this respect, being involved in the teaching activity became a learning opportunity as well, an insight which concurs with Freire's (2005) teacher-student and student-teacher dialogical mode of teaching. Inmate-learners and their inmate-teachers remained the sources of learning. As a result, they all learnt in the process. Some other inmate-teachers reported being proud of having a chance to participate in teaching their fellow prisoners. By being given a teaching opportunity, inmate-teachers considered themselves valued by the prison management.

The findings of this study suggest that inmate-teachers' motives to teach were relatively similar to inmate-learners' motivation to learn. Apart from the *feeling of being valued* and *the need to be up-to-date* academically, the rest of the motives appear similar to those of inmate-learners. To my knowledge, there is limited literature that investigates inmate-teachers' motivation to teach. Therefore, this study lays the foundation for other researchers, especially in Africa, to investigate teaching motivation for the volunteer-inmate-teachers.

Motivation to teach – prison officer

As mentioned previously, one of the case-study prisons recruited prison staff to teach. In this case, those prison staff served in the roles of prison staff (guards) as well as teachers. In this study, I had an opportunity to interview one of the prison staff-teachers. During the interview, the staff member mentioned his motivation to teach. He said:

I feel good. As you know, apart from being a prison officer, teaching is my second profession. Therefore, I enjoy teaching because it is part of my responsibilities. Education is an important part of rehabilitation for prisoners; I feel good serving that important role in rehabilitating this young generation. (Msugu; Prison staff-teacher; Int.)

This quote suggests that for Msugu, teaching is a secondary responsibility for him, assigned by the authorities. Therefore, he considered teaching just a part of his responsibilities. This could arguably be taken as one of Msugu's motivational purposes to teach. The finding also suggests that Msugu was motivated by his desire to make a social contribution, which concurs with the findings of Watt et al. (2012) and Jungert, Alm, and Thornberg (2014), who conducted their studies on teaching as a career. They both noted that some teachers were motivated by a desire to contribute to society.

8.3 Inmates' Involvement in Course Development

Prior to the development of any adult educational programme, it is recommended that a needs assessment is conducted (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007). Needs assessment is a systematic process of studying the state of interest, knowledge, learning needs, and attitudes of a particular population (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Knowles, 1975; McCawley, 2009). This is an important process, because it enables proper decisions for the best-fitting programme for a particular group of adults.

As opposed to children, it has been argued that adults have a strong self-concept¹¹ – they feel responsible for their decisions, and for their lives. This strong self-concept leads adults to become potentially more independent and self-directed learners (Brookfield, 1986; Knowles, 1980; Knowles et al., 2005). For this reason, adults usually need to know the importance of learning a particular topic/subject area (Chao, 2009; Knowles, 1980; Knowles et al., 2005). Wlodkowski (2008) argues that adults nearly always like to take responsibility for their learning. For Wlodkowski, “responsibility is the cornerstone of adult motivation” (p. 96). Because of that, scholars such as Mushi (2010), Merriam et al. (2007), Gboku and Lekoko (2007) and Brookfield (1986) insist on the importance of adult learners’ involvement in programme development and setting of the learning objectives. Mushi (2010) argues that adult educators “must get [the] learners’ perspective about what topics are to be covered” (p. 36). This argument suggests the importance of putting learners’ interest to the forefront during needs assessment, prior the development of any adult education programme. However, the findings of this study were contrary to the above recommendations. The findings suggest that prisoners were not involved in any pedagogical decision-making. The quotes below are examples of the inmates’ views on this matter:

Actually, I’m not involved in the selection of what to learn. My teacher is the one who knows and decides what to teach. (Paul; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

I don’t have an opportunity to choose what to learn or set the learning objectives. They all depend on my teacher. (Chausiku; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

I don’t decide the learning outcomes or things to learn. The supervisors [prison staff] always assign me a task to do, and I always do it as I’m told to. (Kobelo; Inmate-learner; Int.)

These findings suggest that learning in the selected prisons was solely dependent on teachers and the priorities of the authorities. This situation is a contradiction of the basic requirement of any adult education programme (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Merriam et al., 2007). However, this finding is not a new phenomenon in the African prison context. A similar finding was reported in Lesotho (Ngozwana, 2017a, 2017b), where inmates and ex-offenders complained that they did not have

¹¹ An individual's thoughts and feelings about himself/herself.

a chance to decide what to learn and how to learn it. Nevertheless, the findings of the current study and that of Ngozwana (Lesotho) differ from Swaziland's situation, where it was reported that prisoners were engaged in educational needs-assessment process (Biswalo, 2011). It is noteworthy that in Swaziland, it was not the Correctional Department which conducted the needs assessment. It was the University of Swaziland, through the Department of Adult Education that conducted the prison education needs assessment. As argued in Chapters 3 and 7, Swaziland's scenario is another indication that community involvement can play a significant role in prison education (Nyoka, 2013; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011).

One of the inmates' responses from the current study brought a contrary perspective from the commonly cited humanistic orientation of most adult educators. His comment suggests that adults do not always have strong self-concept; they sometimes have weak self-concept. He commented:

I don't have an opportunity to plan and decide what to learn. However, even if I had that opportunity, I wouldn't be able to make a proper decision because I know nothing. I don't know anything about academics. (Karim; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

The assumption that adults have a strong self-concept and that they know their learning needs was accelerated in the 1970s (Knowles, 1975). However, Karim's view is a challenge to Knowles's orthodoxy. The quote above suggests that although Karim is an adult, he had weak self-concept, which opposes Knowles's application of the self-concept view to all adults. Karim's comment gives credit to Chao's (2009) claims that Knowles's assumptions are Eurocentric, and do not necessarily apply to other cultures or all contexts.

As discussed in the literature review, in many wealthier countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Germany, and Norway, there are often proper mechanisms in place to assess individual inmates' needs. Authorities assess inmates' reoffending risks, their learning needs, and suitable job skills for every inmate (Department of Corrections, n.d.-a); this is known as *Case Management of Offenders* (Nyoka, 2013). With "positive interaction between prison staff members and inmates" (Nyoka, 2013, p. 52), case management helps to develop appropriate programmes which aim to improve a prisoner's attitudes and skills for rehabilitation. A prisoner's learning needs are assessed as part of a broader

understanding of the rehabilitation needs of offenders. The findings of the current study suggest that such case management of offenders was not practised in the Tanzanian prison system, and no doubt affected the development of adequate programmes for inmates' rehabilitation.

8.4 Learning Timetables

As previously discussed, being *total institutions*, Tanzanian prisons have tight and rigid daily schedules. Despite the tight schedules, in this study, no complaint regarding the learning timetable was recorded. In most prisons, the learning schedule was planned differently from that of other prison activities. I first observed this while interviewing co-ordinators. At Kipera prison – a prison which was run differently from other prisons (refer to Chapter 6) – inmates used their time from 8am to 2pm to attend educational programmes. Other prisons had their own schedules to accommodate time for prison education. The quotes below are examples of how co-ordinators viewed prison education schedule in prisons, other than Kipera:

We don't have conflicts about the learning timetable. Classroom timetable is arranged at times when we don't have other prison activities. Prisoners have never complained about it; I assume that they are satisfied. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

We have an apparent prison schedule which accommodates class timetable and other prison activities. Prison management has set schedules which do not interfere with class schedule. There is no clash at all; we give prisoners enough time for their studies. We even allow them to study in their cells when they are locked up. You may ask them about that to confirm. (Shida; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Similarly, the majority of teachers were satisfied with the time allocated for prison education activities. They viewed the prison education timetable in their prisons as follows:

The class schedule isn't a problem in this prison because we are allowed to run classes when we don't have other prison activities. Those who take vocational courses use much of their time working in the workshop. For them, these are their primary daily activities. (Nuhu; Inmate-teacher; FGI.)

The timetable isn't a problem here. Management in this prison has allowed the running of these classes. We have been allocated special time which doesn't interfere with other prison activities. (Kidawa; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

This finding was backed up by the data from the inmate-learners who complained about the deficit of learning resources but never complained about the learning timetable. They said:

We don't have problems with a class timetable. Usually, our class is scheduled between 8am and 12pm Monday to Friday while on Saturdays and Sundays it is scheduled between 8am and 10am. Other prison activities do not interrupt our classroom timetable. (Chausiku; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Our study time is scheduled outside of other activities. We sometimes study in the morning and sometimes in the afternoon. I sometimes use my time in my cell to study, as we have chalkboards in our dormitories. The chalkboards help us to teach one another. I'm satisfied with the timetable arrangement. (Karim; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

The findings of this study suggest that the learning timetable was convenient for almost everyone in the prisons that had educational programmes. Inmates' satisfaction with their learning timetable was in accordance with the literature in adult education, which emphasises convenient learning timetables for adult learners (Jarvis, 2004). Although this study was conducted in prisons (total institutions), I argue that a programme with a suitable timetable for inmates is likely to encourage offenders' participation (Jarvis, 2004; Merriam et al., 2007).

In a previous UK study, Braggins and Talbot (2003) reported inmates' complaints about the sacrifices they made to attend educational classes. By joining the programmes, prisoners sacrificed time for personal exercise, showers, phone calls, and kit change because of timetable clashes. Inmates who attended educational programmes were identified by their fellow inmates as having an unpleasant smell due to inconsistent showering. This situation discouraged some of the inmates from participating in educational programmes. From this point of view, I would argue that lack of complaints around timetables across participants in the current study is an indication that there were no competing interests in the studied prisons. Also, I am of the view that the presence of learning schedules in the four prisons is in accordance with the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), which recommends the inclusion of learning time in the prison schedule, though not specifying how much time should be spent. However, the situation at Uluguru – the prison which did not set time for prisoners' learning – contradicts the Prison Education Guide. Uluguru's situation is an indication that

the Prison Education Guide was not “a must follow document”; hence, suggesting an existing gap between policy and practice (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011).

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focussed upon the teaching and learning resources in the Tanzanian prisons. One main issue raised in this chapter is that there is no significant difference among the selected prisons when it comes to teaching and learning resources. The case study prisons were facing a critical shortage of resources that inhibited prison education activities. Four of five prisons were found to have no classrooms; three of them conducted their classes outside. Inmates did not have chairs to sit at during the teaching and learning processes; most learners did not have writing materials, nor did they have textbooks. The majority of prisons recruited volunteer prisoners to teach their fellow inmates. These teachers did not have adult teaching skills, as they had never attended any adult teaching course. Only one prison, a youth prison (Kipera), seemed to have relatively better resources as compared to the rest of the prisons. As stated in the previous chapters, Kipera’s case was different. The Government invests in learning resources at Kipera as it is the youth prison. I associated the critical shortage of resources that faced the majority prisons with the lack of funds, because the Tanzanian Government does not provide funds for prison education. There is a need to improve the teaching and learning environments within Tanzanian prisons; the TPS should involve other stakeholders to improve the situation.

Chapter Nine

Perceived Benefits from and Barriers to Prison Education

9.1 Introduction

In an effort to address the major research question of this study – *Are current policy and practices adequately meeting the needs of prisoners?* – with its three subsidiary questions (refer to Chapters 1 and 7), this chapter discusses the perceived benefits from and barriers to prison education. As it was for Chapters 7 and 8, the discussion within this chapter is expected to have major contribution in addressing parts of research questions for this project. This chapter discusses perceived benefits from, and perceived barriers to prison education and presents a conclusion. When discussing the benefits of prison education, this chapter groups the benefits into three main categories: societal benefits, benefits for prisons, and benefits for inmates. Also, based on the arguments put forward in Section 9.3, this chapter groups the barriers to prison education into dispositional and the prison and imprisonment situation.

9.2 Perceived Benefits from Prison Education in Tanzania

Individuals and societies in general expect positive outcomes from educational programmes (Kandiko & Mawer, 2013; Purcell, 2008). By providing education, a society expects positive outcomes for its learners, while learners also expect positive outcomes from their learning. These expectations cut across formal and non-formal education. From this perspective, adult education in varied forms can bring social and personal benefits (Kil, Motschilnig, & Thöne-Geyer, 2012). Apart from personal benefits, adult education can help the prosperity of the learner's family, community and society as a whole.

The positive expectations from prison education programmes are not too different from adult education programmes generally. Prisoners have their expectations of education programmes, and members of society, including prison management, have theirs too. In this study, data related to perceived benefits from prison education were collected. This section discusses those benefits as perceived by multiple stakeholders involved in this study. Reflecting the findings of this study, this section is divided into three sub-sections: perceived societal benefits;

perceived benefits for prison (as an institution); and perceived benefits for inmates. These benefits approximate “relevance” in this context.

9.2.1 Perceived societal benefits

This section discusses societal benefits which refers to the positive outcomes of prison education which can be considered as benefits to the society as a whole.

Becoming inspirational to others

There is an indication in this study that prison education has helped some inmates to become inspirational to other prisoners and prison staff. However, in this case, the evidence is tentative as the main argument is based only on the findings from Bakari and a few prison staff. During the interview with Bakari – the first inmate to undertake tertiary education while in prison – he reported the difficulties he faced with prison staff when he started his studies (refer to Section 9.3.2). By persisting, he was able to graduate with a Bachelor of Law, which made him a symbol of Tanzanian prisoners who “successfully” gained education while in prison. He said:

A Law degree gained me good reputation with the TPS and the government at large. They now invite me to almost every meeting they hold related to rehabilitation. (Bakari; Ex-inmate, Int.)

He said that the TPS use him as a reference to inspire other prisoners and prison staff to consider education for prisoners. Ever since his release, Bakari has been invited by prison management whenever they discuss issues related to rehabilitation. One prison staff said:

Mr Bakari, remains a symbol of inmates who undertook education while in prison and were successful. He is the first graduate prisoner in Tanzanian history. Bakari’s achievements give us [prison staff] a feeling that education can help prisoners. (Mwakalinga; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Also, Bakari has involved himself in activities that encourage current prisoners to learn and avoid offending. He said:

I developed a proposal for my NGO when I was in prison. Together with my fellow ex-inmate who graduated after me (in 2009) with a law degree, we decided to form this NGO. Our target is to provide legal aid and counselling to inmates, conducting research regarding problems experienced by inmates, and establishing education for inmates. These are the core activities that we currently do. We also

have a plan to introduce special camps [transitional camps] which will hold released inmates for sometime as a transition towards reintegration into the society. Our NGO has entered an MoU with OUT in working with prisoners. That's why I was given an office in the OUT headquarters. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

He further said:

I have been conducting a series of counselling sessions for prisoners to help them realise the possibility of changing into good citizens. Even hard-core criminals listen and respect me. I am helping them to realise the importance of changing their behaviour. I always urge them to think of why they are in prison and for how much longer they can continue to commit crimes. I am encouraging them to consider that they are approaching old age and they don't have the knowledge to cope with the changing world. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Inspired by Bakari, a third inmate was pursuing a Bachelor of Law (in one of Dar es Salaam's prisons) at the time of this study. Bakari's involvement in inmates' welfare is a commendable social contribution. It appears that the education he received in prison enabled him to identify the risks that inmates face, and therefore he assumed the social responsibility to help them (Manninen et al., 2014). It seems that Bakari acquired a sense of purpose in life (Kil et al., 2012), which is arguably a result of undertaking a perspective transformation (refer to Chapter 3) (Mezirow, 1991, 1997, 2003).

The findings related to inspirational (ex)prisoners are not very common in the prison education literature. Most prison education literature focuses on the impact of prison education on reducing recidivism rates and contributing to post-release employment (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Davis et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2014; Klein et al., 2004). I found only one study from Lesotho that discusses the inspirational aspect; ex-prisoners who underwent prison education inspired inmates through their NGO that assists incarcerated and released prisoners (Ngozwana, 2017b). Although the general activities of that NGO are not clearly stated in Ngozwana's study, it is clear that their NGO tries to integrate ex-inmates into the society. Bakari's activities to inspire other inmates suggest that he has become an *active citizen*, which is mentioned among the benefits of adult education discussed in Chapter 3 (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Jarvis, 2004, 2007; Manninen et al., 2014). Also, this finding is consistent with the arguments presented in the conceptual approach (Chapter 4) – enabling *active citizens* is a

possible outcome of prison education. For this reason, I would argue that there is a possibility to use more educated ex-offenders to influence the behaviour of current inmates. Perhaps this may have a better outcome than the use of authority figures as prisoners might listen more empathetically to their peers with similar experiences as with Bakari. However, this is a tentative finding; further studies are required on this issue.

Increased access to education

In this study, I found a total of 419 offenders who attended educational programmes in the five selected prisons (refer to Chapter 7). Although their number is relatively small (only 32% of all inmates in the selected prisons), it cannot be ignored that prison education has allowed these prisoners to access some forms of education, a chance many of them missed before. During the interview, one of the teachers proudly said:

Since the introduction of the *Yes I Can* programme, we have enabled over 100 offenders to acquire the 3Rs (reading, writing, and numeracy) skills. (Moses; Inmate-teacher; FGI)

Prison education appears to have increased the opportunity to access education for inmates who missed a chance to go to school. This finding concurs with other prison education studies discussed in Chapter 3 (Klein et al., 2004; Koudahl, 2009; Manger, Eikeland, & Asbjornsen, 2009), suggesting the possibility of prison education increasing access to formal learning. The finding is consistent with the conceptual approach of this study presented in Chapter 4. I argued in that conceptual approach that there is a possibility for prison education to empower prisoners by providing them with literacy and vocational skills. By providing offenders with a “second chance” to formal learning, prison education has played a *social inclusion* role of lifelong learning (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Torres, 2002) (refer to Chapter 3). It is noted that social inclusion is one of the expected outcomes of prison education in the conceptual approach of this study. Increased access, especially to basic education such as that found in this study, is a commendable strategy to help achieve social justice in education for prisoners (Oduaran, 2006). Moreover, prison education, in this aspect, helps to achieve Education for All (EFA) and Universal Primary Education (UPE), which have for decades been significant global movements (UNESCO, 1990, 2000). Therefore, I

can argue that prison education, as found in this study, has played both roles: expansion of access to education and contributing to the social justice role; greater access to education is an example of social justice in action.

Potential for successful inmates' reintegration into the community

As previously mentioned, the primary concern of the majority of prison education scholars and authorities is the reduction of recidivism rates among offenders. Reduction of recidivism rates can only be achieved if an ex-offender experiences a smooth reintegration into society (John Howard Society of Alberta, 2012; Sharpe & Curwen, 2012; Stanley, 2011). In this study, interviews with two ex-offenders who accessed prison education suggest that they had a relatively smooth transition back into the society. One of them (Swai) confidently claimed:

Mr Msoroka [Mohamed], you should know that you are now talking to a rehabilitee. I have changed, my friend; I don't expect to go back to prison. With my skills, I'm now making good money. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

He further narrated:

I came back to my home place [Moshi] immediately after my release. You know how people look at you when you get out of prison; they looked at me in a negative way. They lost their trust in me. You know what? I didn't care. I wanted to prove them wrong. With my metalwork skills, I was able to find a job in a private company in the same year [2013]. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Swai's observations explain the stigma resulting from the labelling effect that ex-prisoners experience when rejoining the society (Ascani, 2012). Studies suggest that an ex-prisoner's acceptance of social stigma usually results in reoffending (Cullen et al., 2011) – this is discussed in Chapter 3. However, in the present study, Swai seemed to be comfortably settled in the community as the quote below indicates:

I now use the skills I gained from prison to manage my life. Long-term, my intention is to start my [private] welding office. Now, I'm making some savings which I hope will help me come up with my office. I wouldn't have that plan if I did not have these skills. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Swai's claims suggest that he was able to cope with post-release challenges, including stigmatization from the society. From this point of view, I would argue that Swai has successfully reintegrated into his community. A similar finding was

observed during an interview with Bakari, who also seemed to be comfortably settled in his community. Bakari said:

Soon after my release, I secured a job in one private company. In that company, I worked as a legal officer. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Bakari is a remarkable example, but it is noted here that the TPS did not provide his education. It took high level interference and external funding to make it happen (refer to Sections 7.3 and 8.2). During this study, I found Bakari in a “well-equipped office”. He appreciated that the education he undertook while in prison facilitated his smooth re-integration into the society. His comments suggest that it might have been difficult for him to adjust back into the society immediately after his release if it had not been for the support of his LLB he acquired while in prison.

The findings from the above two ex-inmates are indications that prison education has a potential positive contribution to ex-offenders’ smooth reintegration into society. It appears that prison education has helped Swai and Bakari’s transformation into “better persons” – an argument from rehabilitation theory (Campbell, 2005) and perspective transformation theory (Mezirow, 1997, 2003), details having been provided in Chapter 3. With the social bond that seemed to have been developed by the two ex-offenders with their surrounding society, there is the possibility that Swai and Bakari have broken the offending cycle (Sharpe & Curwen, 2012; Stanley, 2011). I argue that prison education has taught the two ex-offenders important life skills which have enabled them to contribute to their society (Delors et al., 1996). Consequently, I would argue that prison education may have contributed to the reduction of recidivism risks among these two ex-inmates (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Davis et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2014). This is a reflection of the arguments put forward in the conceptual approach of this study. Given the skills provided by prison education, there is a possibility for ex-offenders to readjust into society and reduce recidivism rate. I consider ex-prisoners’ successful reintegration into the community as a social benefit of prison education because it may reduce the cost of crime to society (Department for Business Innovation & Skills, 2011; Manger, Eikeland, & Asbjornsen, 2009; Natale, 2010).

9.2.2 Perceived benefits for prisons

In this study, some comments from participants indicated possible benefits of prison education to prisons. For that reason, this section discusses the perceived benefits of prison education to prisons themselves. Two main issues are raised in the current section: creation of a cheap labour force and social control.

Creation of a cheap labour force

This study found some advantages of prison education for the prisons themselves. One of those advantages is the generation of a cheap labour force. The findings suggest that prisons have been selling products generated by inmates from their learning programmes. Some of the participants commented:

In the learning process, I was involved in making some beautiful products. We made a lot of “good cookers” which were sold during “Saba Saba” and “Nane Nane” festivals. We also made a number of simple honeybee pressing machines which were also sold by the prison. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Projects such as weaving and ceramics have become sources of income for this prison. The products have also become part of the things which make this prison and the TPS known and accepted by the society. We have been showing and selling our products during the exhibitions such as “Saba Saba” and “Nane Nane”. By doing so, we become popular. (James; Prison officer; FGI.)

The above quotes illustrate how the products from prison education programmes have become one of the prisons’ sources of funds. It was also found in this study that prison education has become a source of technicians (labour force) who produce and maintain prisons’ facilities. This was also revealed during interviews with various participants as indicated below:

We have some excellent technicians [prisoners] in varied fields. They are the outcome of educational programmes in this prison. We have been using these technicians [prisoners] to manage our prison facilities. For instance, we have been using carpenters to make prison furniture. We also sell some of these products. We use our electricians to solve our electricity problems. (Msugu; Prison staff-teacher; Int.)

They [prison staff] use technicians [prisoners] who graduate in vocational courses to maintain their prisons. These technicians include plumbers, mechanics, carpenters, tailors [and others]. TPS allocate these technicians in different prisons to serve, once they graduate. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

With these examples, it appears that prisons benefit from prison education by using (inmates) learners as a cheap labour force. In Tanzania, the use of inmates as cheap labour is in connection with the colonial prison system which regarded prisoners as a source of labour (Sarkin, 2008; Williams, 1980). Perhaps the current Tanzanian situation is consistent with Section 61 of the Prisons Act, which allows prisoners to work (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). Although this section (Section 61) recommends the payment of gratuities to prisoners, this is not provided in Tanzanian prisons; the section is not clear on the criteria for such a gratuity. The section is written in a way that suggests the gratuity is not a requirement; rather, it is only a suggestion. The section states: “Prisoners may be paid gratuities by the Government in accordance with rates prescribed” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967, p. 22). With this statement, no one could take the TPS to court claiming for the unpaid gratuities while in prison. Considering the poor economy of the country (Sarkin, 2008), I am of the view that this loophole in the Prisons Act may have been purposely worded to enable the Government and the TPS to use prisoners as cheap labour. For a country with so many social needs, paying gratuities to prisoners is far from the top of priority list.

In developed countries such as New Zealand and the USA, prisons also use learners as a labour force. In these countries, prisoners work inside prisons – cooking, cleaning and maintenance – and in industries outside of prisons (Department of Corrections, 2001; Moses & Smith, 2007). However, the main difference is that inmates who work in the developed countries gain additional payment (apart from their normal subsistence allowance), while in Tanzania it is simply a part of one’s sentence; there is no payment at all. This study considers prisoners’ unpaid work (cheap labour) a benefit to Tanzanian prisons because it reduces prison running costs. Many authors have written about prisoner employment (Gillis, Motiuk, & Belcourt, 1998; Moses & Smith, 2007), but most of them have written from a Western perspective, where “prison work” is considered a bridge towards after release employment. Nevertheless, I have not found any study that delves into prison education as a means to overtly reduce prison running costs. Therefore, this study provides a clue that prison education may have created a skilled cheap labour force for Tanzanian prisons. However, further extensive studies are required to confirm this observation.

An aspect of social control

Deprivation theory suggests that a harsh prison environment, together with loss of freedom, social acceptance, and lack of material possessions in part, cause inmates' psychological suffering (Franklin et al., 2006). In turn, the suffering contributes to violence, and to a prison sub-culture that opposes authority (Franklin et al., 2006; Homel & Thompson, 2005). With respect to *importation theory*, inmates' behaviours – including violence – are linked with inmates' historical backgrounds. In this theory, it is assumed that inmates move into prisons with negative behaviours that contribute to a violent culture in prisons (Dhami, Ayton, & Loewenstein, 2007; Hochstetler & DeLisi, 2005; Homel & Thompson, 2005; McCorkle, Miethe, & Drass, 1995). These two theories (deprivation and importation) have been used to explain violence in prisons, which unfortunately is very common in many. The question that arises here is how this violence can be addressed.

Social control refers to the societal and political mechanisms used to regulate and manage the behaviours of people in a society (Dewey, 2001; Harbeck, 2011; Innes, 2003). According to these authors, there are two types of social control: formal and informal social control. Although imprisonment itself is among the “formal social control” mechanisms (Harbeck, 2011); in this study, some participants indicated that prison education has helped prisons to manage prisoners' behaviours and hence to reduce violence within prisons. This finding is an expression of “social control”. It is noteworthy that education itself is also part of “formal social control” mechanisms (Harbeck, 2011). Literature suggests that education, especially a teacher-student relationship, acts as a channel for transmission of social norms and community culture (Innes, 2003). In the normal schooling environment, behaviours such as self-discipline, punctuality, and obedience to rules – which are necessary elements for social control – are usually included in the students' code of ethics devised by school authorities (Harbeck, 2011). This is relevant to prison education context; prison authorities tend to devise and implement an informal code of ethics within prison education classes (Braggins & Talbot, 2003).

Although few interviewees mentioned issues related to behavioural control, their acknowledgement of such contribution cannot be ignored. The quotes below are

some examples of the comments from the participants who exercise this perspective:

Prisoners who participate in prison education programmes have become aware of, and responsible for their lives. It is now very rare to find a programme participant inmate involved in chaos. This improves prison calmness. (Juma; Prison Officer; FGI.)

Learning has also kept inmates busy and therefore reduces the idle time, which could have caused chaos among prisoners. (Pili; Prison Officer; Int.)

Violence has been reduced among prisoners, especially our learners. Most of them have become self-aware, and therefore they avoid offending while in prison. (Nuhu; Inmate-teacher; FGI.)

Although the prison context is different from the contexts outside of prisons, still in this study, being involved in education has appeared to teach self-discipline to prisoners as it does to people outside of prisons (Abdullah, 2001). Also, findings from this study showed prison education kept prisoners busy and self-aware; hence, they found themselves less likely to engage in violence. From this point of view, prison education is a “formal social control” mechanism similar to that of education occurring outside of prison (Harbeck, 2011; Innes, 2003; Laouira, 1999).

This finding concurs with some literature (Alzúa et al., 2008; Earl, 2017; Homel & Thompson, 2005; Muntingh, 2009; Smith & Robinson, 2006) that has reported the contribution of prison education to the reduction of violence in prisons. In their essay *Causes and Prevention of Violence in Prisons*, Homel and Thompson (2005) conclude that prison education programmes such as *academic* and *vocational training* have a positive impact on the reduction of prison violence. The finding of the current study is similar to the Argentinian situation where Alzúa et al. (2008) suggest that participation in prison education lowers prisoners’ involvement in conflicts. From this point of view, I can argue that there is a possibility of using prison education to reduce violence in Tanzanian prisons.

9.2.3 Perceived benefits for inmates

In this section, I will discuss the perceived benefits of prison education for individual prisoners as observed from participants’ responses. In my discussion, I

have further categorised the benefits in this section into two more groups: empowerment of inmates, and recognition.

Empowerment of inmates

The term *empowerment* has been widely used when the focus is on marginalised individuals and groups – for example, the landless, the powerless, the voiceless, and others (Dighe, 1995). In the context of adult education, empowerment can be referred to “the set of feelings, knowledge, and skills that produce the ability to participate in one’s social environment and affect the political system” (Stromquist, 2009, p. 2). Usually, “empowerment” enables marginalised people to understand their social reality, to participate, and to access the needed support which would help them make autonomous decisions. It enables marginalised people to develop skills which would allow them to participate in, and influence organisations and community/national policies, and give them the feeling that they are competent, worthy, and able to take action on their own (Stromquist, 2009). Because prisoners are among marginalised groups (Graffam & Hardcastle, 2007; Graffam et al., 2008), this section will discuss issues related to empowerment of prisoners as a result of prison education found in this study.

Improved literacy skills

Studies show that the majority of inmates (globally) are non-literate or have very low literacy (Aparicio & Ortenzi, 2008; Sauwa, 2010; UNESCO, 2007; Victorian Ombudsman, 2015). Because of that, as discussed in the previous two chapters, one of the educational programmes found in this study is literacy education. The purpose of the programme was to improve literacy skills among inmates. In this study, several participants reported benefiting from literacy education. For example, when asked about the impacts of the programme, the teachers commented:

I have already seen the impacts right here. I have witnessed some prisoners who had no reading and writing skills, but they can now do so after attending our class. They can now read even newspapers. To me, this is a great achievement. (Nuhu; Inmate-teacher; FGI.)

Since the introduction of the Yes I Can programme, we have enabled over 100 offenders to acquire the 3Rs (reading, writing, and numeracy) skills. (Moses; Inmate-teacher; FGI)

These teachers’ views were supported by inmate-learners. One of them stated:

I never dreamed that one day I would have an ability to read and write in my life. I'm grateful to have this opportunity. Literacy skills have enabled me to see my life in a different way. (Sikujua; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Apart from being empowered, Sikujua's argument suggests that she is a transformed person as she is now viewing her life from a different perspective (Mezirow, 1997, 2003). It seems that prison education has enabled her to change her frames of reference on life (refer to Chapter 3). Another prisoner commented:

I came here completely ignorant. I couldn't read or write. But now I can read and write correctly. I can even speak and understand a few English words. (Simba; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

It has been argued that because the 1948 Human Rights Declaration considers education a fundamental right for every individual, literacy education becomes a right to everyone (UNESCO, 2005). Stromquist (2005) argues that:

In modern societies, literacy skills are fundamental to informed decision-making, to active and passive participation in local, national, and global social life, and to the development and establishment of a sense of personal competence and autonomy. (p. 14)

Therefore, by teaching literacy skills to prisoners, those prisons (in the current study) safeguard the fundamental rights of a socially marginalised group – prisoners – which may help them in making informed decisions regarding their lives. In this respect, prison education has also facilitated social justice in education for some prisoners (Oduaran, 2006). Although literacy skills are beneficial to families, communities, and nations; they also have personal benefits because they can empower individuals (Dighe, 1995; Stromquist, 2009). Such benefits include improved self-esteem, creativity, and critical self-reflection. Literacy skills enable individuals (inmates) to be aware of and gain confidence to seek other rights (Dighe, 1995; Stromquist, 2005, 2009; UNESCO, 2005). Although this study did not intend to find the impact of literacy on prisoners, the way inmates (those involved in education) asked questions and provided their opinions during the study suggests that they were confident in what they were talking about. It was clear that some prisoners gained (increased) literacy skills, which boosted their confidence and expression skills. As a result, improved literacy skills became one of the perceived empowering factors for individual inmates recorded by this study.

The finding of this study regarding improved literacy skills is in line with the conceptual approach of the study (Refer to Chapter 4). In the conceptual approach, I have argued that there is a possibility that prison education would empower inmates by improving literacy skills among minimally literate offenders. With a high illiteracy rate among prisoners (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012), it is suggested that literacy education be provided in prisons to curb the problem (Campbell, 2005; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Smith, 1994). Being able to acquire literacy skills while in prison, as seen in this study, is an indication that lifelong learning can be achieved behind bars (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; Torres, 2002). This study supports the findings of Steurer et al. (2001) and that of Moriarity (2014), who reported improved literacy skills among the inmates as an impact of prison education.

Creation of greater self-direction among learners

The concept of self-directed learning (SDL) is complex; scholars have explained it in different ways (Ainoda, Onishi, & Yasuda, 2005). However, most literature suggests two pathways of SDL. First, SDL as a *process/method* of self-teaching; learners can take control of the process and techniques of teaching themselves. Second, SDL as a goal; in this aspect, SDL is regarded as a means towards personal autonomy in learning – learners assume ownership of learning by taking control of the learning goals (Ainoda et al., 2005; Knowles et al., 2005). This thesis does not intend to go into detail about the conceptions of SDL. At this point, suffice to say that SDL in this project refers to the kind of learning (within prison education) that occurred from prisoners' initiative (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991; Hiemstra, 1994; Knowles et al., 2005; Kohns & Ponton, 2006). Self-directed prison-learners were relatively confident (they were confident that they could learn), self-motivated, and self-disciplined (Caffarella, 1993). They felt responsible for their learning (Knowles et al., 2005; Kohns & Ponton, 2006; Song & Hill, 2007).

It is noted here that, usually, the prison environment is not supportive enough for the enhancement of SDL due to lack of resources. However, one of the findings of this study suggests the possibility of prison education in building greater self-direction among prison-learners. This was revealed in the information gathered

from one of the ex-inmates and a few participants within prisons. The following are examples of the quotes that suggest this possibility:

I used to study on my own. I only read books and other materials. I couldn't attend face to face sessions, though they were on the timetable. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

During the weekend I spent about eight to nine hours for studying because those days were for a break [no prison activities]. I used to study from early morning to 11am or 12pm, and then I took a break. We used to be locked up at 4pm. When locked-up, I had nothing to do apart from studying. I could have studied until 1am. Sometimes I used to sleep between 4pm and 10pm, and then I woke up to study until 5am. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Bakari's arguments suggest that he had control of his learning. That self-discipline emerged from Bakari's learning process suggests that prison education might have empowered him to become a self-directed learner. He made sure that he used every opportunity he had to improve his self-education. Bakari commented:

Exams were always either 1.5hrs or 2hrs. I was lucky to have a good writing speed which helped me to use only one hour for a 1.5 hours exam and 1.5 hours for a two hours exam. I used the remaining 30 minutes to ask for short lectures from my examiners (lecturers) who came for invigilation, or seek some information regarding the topics at hand. (Bakari; Ex-inmate, Int)

A similar attitude was reported by teachers. For instance, one of the teachers commented:

The inmates who undertake literacy education have become reading fans. They are the ones who lead in borrowing books from the nearby male prison. (Kidawa; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

Kidawa's comment suggests that her learners have assumed more control of their learning process; their learning did not depend on external motivation but a desire for self-improvement. Arguably, the prison education that inmates undertook empowered them and built sustained learning interest (Dighe, 1995). These prisoners had become curious to learn more and more. This is what Delors et al. (1996) believed to be *learning to know* – discussed in Chapter 3 – to be a catalyst for lifelong learning. Consequently, many prisoners from Kidawa's prison did not wait for anyone to force them to learn; they became self-directed learners. This finding is consistent with Knowles's (1980) belief that adult learners have a tendency to take responsibility for their learning. The development of self-

directed learners and empowerment of prisoners, as seen in this study, might contribute in a modest way to lifelong learning and the learning society that Tanzania is striving for (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1999). It should be noted that the learning society cannot be achieved if education is not made an essential part of a nation's economic development plans and is only limited to formal learning (Cisco, 2010; Faure et al., 1972). It is in part through encouraging a self-directed learning culture that the country can better develop lifelong learning, which is a key to the learning society (Faure et al., 1972). The findings of this study provide the basis for a claim that a socially excluded group (in this case, prisoners) can gain both personal and social benefit through education. Given the poor learning environment discussed in Chapter 8, arguably, there is a need to improve the availability of learning materials in Tanzanian prisons, to enhance the prospects of achieving such social and individual benefits.

Improved inmates' confidence and expressive skills

In this study, there is an indication that prison education has helped to improve some inmates' confidence and expression skills. Some prisoners claimed to have gained confidence to face after release life, and some claimed that they had gained expressive skills. Here are some of their comments:

I'm also proud to improve my argumentation ability. This is developed from my learning experience in this prison. I'm confident, and I now see myself a complete person. (Tina; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

I find myself more confident than I was before. I feel more ready to face life than before. I consider these improvements as a result of my attendance to this programme. (Kobelo; Inmate-learner; Int.)

I have achieved an ability to express myself confidently in front of other people. I never had this confidence before. (Simba; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

I was so depressed when I was firstly convicted. Coming into this prison and having the opportunity to learn revived my hope for future life. This gave me a reason to live. (Shija; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

The findings of this study suggest that prison education has positively impacted on some inmates' confidence and self-expression skills. In this context, I argue that prison education has developed a prisoner's sense of being a potentially constructive member of the society; this is consistent with *learning to be* as advocated by Delors et al. (1996) (refer to Chapter 3). Prisoners' improved

confidence and expressive skills have a close relationship with improved literacy skills because, as the literature suggests, literacy/education can have a positive influence on an individual's confidence and self-expression (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Kil et al., 2012; Stromquist, 2005; UNESCO, 2005). The finding of this study is also an indication that prison education can transform prisoners from being unconfident to confident (Mezirow, 1997, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 3, loss of freedom and social acceptance usually leads to anxiety, low self-esteem, and lack of confidence among inmates; this can manifest in prison violence and inmates' failure to cope in society on their release (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015). Therefore, I would argue that enabling inmates to gain confidence in themselves is crucial for rehabilitation (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015; Dighe, 1995; Workman, n.d.), because "individuals who desist from crime are usually very motivated and confident that they can change their lives" (The Ministry of Justice, 2013, p. 8).

Improved ability to seek information and fight for liberty

In this study, some participants in authority reported that prison education influenced prisoners' interest in the search for information. One teacher said:

Among the things that I associate with the positive outcomes of education is the consistency of my learners in following TV news. Prisoners, especially my learners, have become good followers of TV when it comes to national and international news. I associate this behaviour with civic education we teach them in class. (Kidawa; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

Another teacher commented:

Most of the prisoners, especially our learners, always watch national and international news on TV. (Moses; Inmate-teacher; FGI.)

This behaviour may be linked to improved confidence and literacy skills (Stromquist, 2005; UNESCO, 2005) because confident and literate individuals are usually more capable of seeking relevant information. Seeking information seems to be a good step towards rehabilitation because mass media can help to facilitate prisoners' smooth reintegration into society (Vandebosch, 2005). Vandebosch argues that mass media help in "normalizing prison life and softening the prison experience" (p. 111). Mass media can feed prisoners with up-to-date information regarding the local and global major events and changes, which is necessary preparation for an after-release lifestyle. As argued in Chapter 3, increased interest

in searching for information is also an indication that prison education encourages *learning to know* for prisoners (Delors et al., 1996). However, caution should be taken in this aspect because mass media are also sometimes blamed for raising unrealistic expectations (Segrin & Nabi, 2002).

Stromquist (2005, 2009) and UNESCO (2005) suggest that prison education increases prisoners' awareness of their rights. Similarly, prisoners in the current study indicated being aware of their rights after participating in prison education. One prisoner argued that prison education empowered him to the point that he knew his rights. He said:

I now understand my rights and my responsibilities as a citizen of this country. (Paul; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

In this study, Bakari is an example of a prisoner who stood up for his liberty. With his legal knowledge (refer to Chapter 6), Bakari successfully defended himself in the Court of Appeal. He stated:

Having law knowledge, I was able to defend myself in a court of appeal, before three judges. They [judges] asked me, "Are you Mr Bakari who graduated with a law degree while in prison?" I said "Yes". With that response, the judges looked at one another. Then they asked, "Will you defend yourself here?" I said "Yes". In my arguments, I used only points of law on six grounds. In a legal field, it is easier to challenge points of facts than to challenge points of law. With those arguments, the public lawyer did not have any objections to my appeal. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Being able to defend himself in the Court of Appeal, it is an indication that Bakari was knowledgeable, confident, and had high self-esteem (Stromquist, 2005, 2009; UNESCO, 2005). These are the outcomes of prison education within the conceptual approach proposed in Chapter 4. It seems that the Bachelor of Law Bakari acquired while in prison, had a positive impact on him, which is strongly linked with individual empowerment (Dighe, 1995; Stromquist, 2009). Bakari's empowerment, resulting in his achievement in the Court of Appeal, is understandably not reported in prison education and in adult education literature. The ability to fight for one's liberty, as indicated in the case of Bakari, is rare in the prison environment though not impossible.

Improved vocational skills

One of the issues discussed in the conceptual approach of this study is the possibility for prison education to facilitate vocational skills for inmates. With the findings of this study, it seems that vocational training in some of my case studies enabled inmates to acquire instrumental skills. Some inmates and one ex-inmate believed that they had become proficient in their fields. They said:

As I told you, before conviction, I had no skills. As a result of my attendance to prison education, I'm now excellent in metalwork, especially welding. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

I have already learned the basics of carpentry; I can now make some timber products such as chairs and tables on my own. (Shija; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Haaaa, Haaaa, [laughing], I have more than three years making these products. Just imagine how good I am. I am superb, brother. (Inmate response at the workshop)

Providing inmates with an opportunity to gain “work skills” as seen in this study, is an apparent effort to enhance economic justice (UN, 2006), a part of social justice. While in the prisons, I was able to observe some products (baskets, mats, chairs, clothes, and statues) made by inmates; they were well made and beautiful. It was clear that the inmate-learners have gained what Delors et al. (1996) called the *learning to do* aspect of education. As discussed in the literature review, the findings of this study support the idea that vocational training is an important aspect of lifelong learning and prison education at large (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Hyland, 2007). An important component that my study contributes in regard to this (improved vocational skills) aspect is inmates’ *belief that they can* produce good products. This belief that “I can” is conveyed from inmates’ responses (refer to the above quotes). I consider this belief *a very significant aspect* in rehabilitation because it may have a positive influence in their reintegration process into society; positive feelings usually improve one’s self-esteem (Leverentz, 2006). I argue that because these prisoners had skills to be proud of (Visher, Kachnowski, Vigne, & Travis, 2004), there is a possibility that their self-esteem would be strengthened; hence, the likelihood of a smooth reintegration into society. The findings also serve as an indication that lifelong learning is somehow practised in these prisons, despite largely detrimental circumstances (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Torres, 2002). This finding (some

inmates' gaining of vocational skills) concurs with the findings of several other studies such as Klein et al. (2004) from USA and Callan and Gardner (2007) from Australia, which reported inmates benefitting from various vocational courses. In Australia, for example, vocational skills gained from VET have been linked to improved employment opportunities for prisoners (Callan & Gardner, 2007). The issue of improved vocational skills was reported in Lesotho as well, where ex-offenders were found with newly-acquired woodwork skills (Ngozwana, 2017b). As a result, the skills gained contributed to prisoners' employability.

Improved employment opportunities

It was noted in Chapter 3 that the majority of inmates (globally) lack an established employment background. The most quoted reasons for their unemployment history include lack of relevant work skills and poor educational background (Klein et al., 2004; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; Victorian Ombudsman, 2015). It is for the same reasons that they find themselves committing crimes on their release; hence, developing a reconviction circle. Literature suggests that most employers usually resist employing ex-convicts (Cullen et al., 2011; Frederick & Roy, 2003). However, the findings of this study suggest that there is a possibility that ex-offenders, who had improved their education and work skill levels, had a better chance for future employment. As mentioned previously, two of the four interviewed ex-offenders (Bakari and Swai) who accessed prison education found jobs immediately after release. They both claimed that it was not too difficult for them to find their first jobs. One of them said:

Soon after my release, I found a job. I was employed as a legal officer in one private company. Later, I quit that job because it was a lowly paid job. From there, I joined a legal aid NGO at Kawe. Then I left that NGO and set up my own NGO. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

It is clear in this context, that Bakari's knowledge gave him enough confidence to change jobs for greener pastures, whenever he found the job was lowly paid. A relatively similar observation was reported by the second ex-offender:

I came back to my home place [Moshi] immediately after my release. You know how people look at you when you get out of prison; they looked at me in a negative way. They lost their trust on me. You know what? I didn't care. With my metalwork skills, I was able to find a job in a private company in the same year [2013]. In the application

process, I submitted my certificate [a testimonial given by prison management stating Swai's metalwork skills]. They told me that they needed hard-working employees; therefore, if I needed a job I had to prove myself that I'm a hard worker. I was successful in the interview and got employed. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

As it was for Bakari, Swai also complained about poor wages in his first job. He said:

The payment wasn't good enough; I was paid Tsh. 50,000/= per week [equivalent to US\$ 22 in the current rate]. I accepted it as a starting point with the consideration that I was just out of prison. Also, the company was just nearby my home place. I worked for few months then I quit. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

He further explained:

After leaving that job, for few months I sold goat meat. Then, I found another job which pays me better than the previous one. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

The findings from the two ex-offenders are evidence that prison education provided them with skills that helped them to secure employment. However, Swai is aware that he can be stigmatised by his current employer. Therefore, he consciously made sure that his employer did not find out about his imprisonment history. He commented:

Parole officers used to visit me. Sometimes they visited me at work while they were in full uniform; they usually call before paying a visit. I don't want my employer to find out that I was in prison. I'm worried that I may be terminated from my work. Therefore, I cautioned them to introduce themselves as my relatives when they visited me at work. When they came to the office, we stepped aside and talked. (Swai; Int.)

Swai's case is a reflection that stigmatisation may be a major challenge to ex-offenders, including the transformed and skilled inmates (Cullen et al., 2011). Improved inmates' chances for employment, as seen in these two ex-prisoners, is one of the possible outcomes discussed in the conceptual approach of this study (Chapter 4). It is also advocated by the *economic perspective* of lifelong learning discussed in Chapter 3 (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Hyland, 2007). It is expected in the conceptual approach and literature review that (prison) education can enable ex-offenders to compete with ordinary citizens and secure employment. The findings of this study are an indication that investing in prison education is not a waste of resources; rather it is an investment in human capital (Schultz, 1961). I

would argue that education impacted on the two ex-offenders' persistence in staying out of the reoffending circle, and seemed to be a relevant approach for poverty reduction among Tanzanian prisoners (Preece, 2006). The findings of this study concur with the majority of studies (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Davis et al., 2013; Davis et al., 2014; Ngozwana, 2017b; Setoi, 2012; Steurer & Smith, 2003) which suggest that prison education improves the possibility for ex-offenders to secure employment. This was discussed extensively in the literature review (Chapter 3). However, it is noted here, that the scenario of the two ex-offenders in this study is against the norm; the majority of ex-offenders are reported to suffer from unemployment problems (Graffam & Hardcastle, 2007; Graffam et al., 2008).

Gaining recognition

As mentioned previously, this study involved four ex-offenders, two of whom undertook prison education; one studied vocational training and the other studied tertiary education (refer to Chapter 6). During interviews with these two ex-offenders, it was found that prison education helped them to gain recognition within and outside prison. One of them said:

I worked hard and became a very skilful prisoner. It reached a point where I was completely trusted by the prison management. I was assigned some tasks to work on alone – without supervision. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Gaining the prison management trust is an indication that Swai was recognised. He acknowledged that the recognition he gained became his additional motivation to learn more. On the part of Bakari, at the beginning of his course, he complained about being despised by the prison staff. The prison staff did not believe that he could manage to study while in prison. However, they later recognised his efforts. Bakari commented:

The prison management recognised my good performance and how serious I took my studies, and relocated me to a separate room. The stigma went away. I had laid a foundation which made prison officers aware that it is possible to study in prison. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Bakari claimed that while in prison, he used his knowledge to write good appeals for his fellow inmates. He claimed that the memos and appeals he wrote were taken seriously by the courts, as those from any other lawyer. He said:

The courts usually sent me the documents I requested. They sent them through the head of the prison. Several times, the head of that prison called me into his office and said he appreciated my work in helping other prisoners. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Bakari was also recognised for his academic performance. He revealed:

I did remarkably well in a *Criminal Law* course. Over 200 students from the University of Dar es Salaam and about 70 students from the OUT failed the course in that year; but I passed with a B+ grade. Students from those two universities [University of Dar es Salaam and OUT] wondered how it was possible for me – a prisoner – to pass such a problematic course with a high grade. Twelve students from these universities visited me in prison to prove that I was a prisoner and I genuinely passed the course. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Bakari believed that prison education brought him closer to prison staff. He commented:

A Law degree gained me good reputation with the TPS and the government at large. They now invite me to almost every meeting they hold related to rehabilitation. (Bakari; Ex-inmate, Int.)

Bakari also claimed that prison education helped him to gain back the lost social recognition. With a smile on his face, he said:

You know what? When convicted, my reputation was totally destroyed. I became of no value to society; nobody considered me a potential person in the community. But after my graduation – an event which was reported by mass media around the country – my reputation went high. Nobody considered my conviction story. I was regarded as a person of higher status, and that being in prison was just a life transition, which anyone could pass through. I became a hero. As we speak now, I'm a highly respected person. People started to call me "Honourable Bakari," not just Bakari as it was before. This recognition started even before my release. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Along the same lines, Bakari explained what happened after his release. He said:

Immediately after my release, the DPP [Director of Public Prosecutions] called me to his office. He personally phoned the Court of Appeal to inform them that I was needed in his office. He wanted to see me personally. When I visited the office, they [workers] acknowledged my work [writing appeals]. The secretaries showed me a bundle of letters that I wrote to them. They welcomed me positively. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

As demonstrated previously, prisoners are prone to low self-esteem and lack of confidence (Bevan & Wehipeihana, 2015; Franklin et al., 2006; Homel &

Thompson, 2005), which may contribute to their reoffending. Any means which can improve prisoners' esteem and confidence is a step toward breaking the reoffending circle. Jenkins (2008) discussed the importance of recognition of a person by members of organisations. He argues that "organisations are also always networks of reciprocal identification: self-definition as a member depends upon recognition by other members" (p. 184). Jenkins's argument is no different from prisoners' perspectives. Prisoners' self-definitions (whether they are of value or not) in society can be influenced by the way other members of that particular society recognise them. I argue that the education that the two ex-offenders gained helped them to earn recognition. This recognition seemed to improve their esteem, confidence, and understanding of their positions within society. As a result, they were able to re-build their identities as human beings (Taylor, 1994), and perhaps to walk out of the crime cycle, a possible ultimate result consistent with the conceptual approach of this study. It is noted here that there are limits to this argument as it is based on two ex-offenders only; further investigations on this particular aspect are required.

9.3 Perceived Barriers to Prison Education in Tanzania

In the literature review (Chapter 3), I discussed different typologies of barriers to adult education. In that chapter, I grouped the typologies into three broad generations: the first generation – internal/external typologies developed by Johnstone (1963); the second generation – situational/dispositional/institutional typologies (Cross, 1979); and situational/institutional/dispositional/informational typologies (the third generation) developed by Darkenwald and Merriam (1982).

The participants of this study discussed issues that challenged adequacy of prison education. I studied those issues and found that the challenges raised fit into some of the typologies of the *third generation*. However, I have noted in this study that, unlike the conventional adult education context, it was difficult for me to put a line of demarcation between the *situational barriers* and *institutional barriers* in the prison education context. The reason is that, reflecting on my observations during data collection and participants' responses, I found the two barriers affected each other in prison context. For instance, my view is that most of the factors, such as irrelevant curriculum and insufficient teaching and learning resources, which could be labelled *institutional*, were caused by the prison

situation (total institution). Given that view, in this thesis, I put together the factors that seemed to be *institutional* and that of *situational* and called them *prison and imprisonment situation*. By this way of grouping, this study developed two typologies of barriers to prison education – *prison and imprisonment situation* and *dispositional* barriers. It is noteworthy that the majority of barriers in this research study were found in the *prison and imprisonment situation*; fewer were found in the *dispositional barriers*.

It is important to note that the current section does not discuss budget constraints, poor infrastructures, and insufficient teaching and learning resources – which are part of prison and imprisonment situation barriers – because they have already been discussed in Chapter 8, Section 8.2. This section focuses more on the barriers that have not been discussed before.

9.3.1 Dispositional barriers to prison education

Lack of interest

Although inmates from the same prison experience relatively similar situations, this study found that some of them participated in educational programmes while others did not. That situation raised my curiosity; I wanted to find the reasons that discouraged participation. Some of the responses indicated lack of interest on the part of prisoners themselves. The following are examples of the responses that suggest lack of interest:

I'm close to one prisoner who doesn't have the ability to read and write. I have been trying to encourage her to join me in class, but she refuses. She always tells me that in her life, there is nothing that she dislikes more than schooling. She considers attending education as a waste of time. She thinks that education can't help her in any way based on her current age. She is in her 40s. (Chaurembo; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Some other prisoners just don't like to engage in educational activities. It becomes difficult to encourage those inmates to join classes. (Edward; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Some other illiterate prisoners don't like the idea of studying. Learning isn't one of their interests. (Chausiku; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

The findings above suggest that several inmates in the selected prisons had a negative attitude towards education, which contributed to their lack of interest

towards prison education. One programme non-participant inmate involved in this study also mentioned a lack of interest towards prison education. He said:

I have never joined a class. My main reason is that I'm not interested in studying. I just don't feel ready. (Peter; Programme non-participant inmate; Int.)

As discussed in the literature review, authors in adult education consider individual beliefs – values, attitudes and perceptions – that discourage participation in adult learning a part of dispositional barriers. They include the feelings of *too old to learn* and *too tired to learn*, and a consideration that *learning is unenjoyable* (Cross, 1979; Merriam et al., 2007). Most literature in this area – such as Knowles (1980); Knowles et al. (2005); and Findsen and Formosa (2011) – has associated lack of interest in learning among adults with previous negative learning experiences. Prison education researchers, such as Czerniawski (2016), Hawley et al. (2013), Moriarity (2014), Wilson (2007), and Mageehon (2003), also suggested the possibility that the majority of illiterate prisoners have had negative experiences with schooling. For this reason, it is probable that these inmates, within this study, had negative experiences in their previous schooling. The lack of interest to prison education shown by inmates in this study may be in line with arguments provided by Bourdieu (1986) in terms of *cultural capital*. He argued that there is a strong possibility that students' backgrounds and socialisation can influence their academic success or failure. Therefore, a bad experience from previous schooling may have negatively affected prisoners' views on the current prison education.

Wlodkowski (2008) agreed that a negative attitude influences learners' (non)participation in education. He suggested the use of *relevance* and *volition* to instil a positive attitude among them. For *relevance*, Wlodkowski suggested the provision of relevant curriculum (content), which is based on the interests and perspectives of the learners. As discussed in Chapter 3, this lack of *relevance* definitely influences prisoners' participation in education. For *volition*, Wlodkowski recommended learners' freedom of choice on what to learn, and how to learn it. From this point of view, I would argue that given *relevant* courses, suitable learning approaches, a sympathetic environment, and freedom of choice,

inmates would find learning more exciting, and therefore, would increase their learning participation. Unfortunately, this is seldom the reality.

Truancy and dropout

Truancy and dropout were consistently mentioned as a problem that disrupted prison education in two prisons – Chinangali and Kikuyu. Truancy and dropout complaints were mainly in the literacy and general education programmes. There were no complaints in the vocationally oriented programmes. In identifying this problem, the Adult Education Officer (AEO) said:

As monthly reports show, there is a problem of truancy and dropouts among the learners. I will give you some of these reports so that you can verify this. (Kapinga; AEO; Int.)

Teachers also had similar complaints:

Some prisoners joined the programme and dropped out after sometime. (Mkude; Inmate teacher; FGI.)

In this class, learners' attendance is good. However, sometimes some of them miss class. (Kidawa; Inmate teacher; Int.)

The monthly reports from Chinangali and Kikuyu prisons backed up this complaint (refer to Chapter 7). In this study, some prisoners admitted that they were dropouts, but they had their reasons for doing so. One of them said:

I was eager to learn, but I faced the challenge of having no learning materials. At some point, I didn't have any note-book or pen. That discouraged me, and therefore, I opted out. (Kassim; Programme non-participant inmate; Int.)

Although in this case, Kassim seemed to have his own (probably strong) reasons to quit studies, still there is the possibility that dispositional factors may have also influenced his failure to persist, as his fellows did. I found many prisoners (his fellow classmates) who kept on learning, though they did not have notebooks; they were writing on pieces of paper. In the field of adult education, dropout is not a new finding, the reason being that participants usually engage as a voluntary act (Irish Department of Education and Science, 2000; Knowles et al., 2005). Reasons for dropout in adult education programmes include personal problems, job-related reasons, and program-related reasons (Comings, Parrella, & Soricone, 1999; Willging & Johnson, 2009). In the prison education context, dropout was reported from Bulgarian women prisons (Hawley et al., 2013). The main reason is that for

them “education is not part of their life priorities” (p. 24). In Sweden, some prisoners have been reported to drop out because they lost interest in learning after being transferred to other prisons (Hawley et al., 2013). From this perspective, I suggest that prisons need to consider and address the causes for truancy and dropout to improve prison education outcomes. However, this requires investigation to study reasons for dropout in Tanzanian prison education.

9.3.2 Barriers: the prison and imprisonment situation

Irrelevant curricula

It was mentioned in Chapter 7 that among the key elements of adult education is the consideration of learners’ needs during programme development (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Knowles et al., 2005). However, the inmates’ views suggest that for the most part, prisoners’ learning needs and interests were not considered during course development. One inmate commented:

I’m not happy with classes that I attend here. I would like to have an opportunity to study a complete secondary education curriculum which I have never done before, but it isn’t fully available here. (Edward; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

As a result of irrelevant curricula, some inmates were hesitant to join educational programmes. The quotes below exemplify views from different participants:

Some learners would need higher education than what is provided in this prison. For them, the education provided in this prison doesn’t satisfy their needs. Therefore, they don’t participate. (Juma; Prison Office; FGI.)

Here they don’t teach a serious secondary education curriculum. Therefore, I don’t see an appropriate education for me. Regarding vocational training, I would like to study cookery, but unfortunately, we don’t have such training in this prison. (Siwema; Programme non-participant inmate; FGI.)

I need further education. As you know, education helps people to manage their lives well, then why shouldn’t I need it? However, I would like to learn something like electrical studies, which I hope would give me a chance for self-employment; but I can’t learn this here. (Mgeni; Programme non-participant inmate; Int.)

I have never attended any education programme at this prison. One of the reasons is that there is no programme of my interest here. I would like to learn electrical studies, which isn’t available in this prison. (Matonya; Programme non-participant inmate; Int.)

These findings strongly suggest the need to restructure the courses provided so that they can better reflect prisoners' needs. It appeared that vocational training provided at Lubungo and Chinangali prisons were purposely designed to cater for TPS needs, and not prisoners' rehabilitation needs. It was reported that the original purpose of the weaving activities at Chinangali prison was related to the needs of producing enough sleeping mats for prisoners (across the country) when there were no mattresses; now it is a source of funds. A similar motive for provision of vocational programmes was reported at Lubungo prison metalwork (source of funds), and mechanics (maintaining prison cars). Perhaps catering for the TPS economic needs was the main reason that prompted Lubungo and Chinangali prisons to offer vocational training to a few inmates while leaving out the majority of them (this is linked to a previous discussion in Section 9.2.2 about cheap labour force). With such an emphasis on economy, it is probably difficult to consider the needs of prisoners in programme development. Arguably, if prisons had considered inmates' needs in the programme development, the number of prisoners participating in educational programmes would have increased. In this study, the irrelevant curriculum has possibly influenced inmates' negative attitude towards learning (Wlodkowski, 2008).

The findings suggest that because of the lack of relevant curriculum, prisons did not prepare prisoners who were about to be released for life after prison. The selected prisons did not have programmes that could help and prepare inmates for a reintegration process. As a result, some of the inmates found themselves not ready to face society on their release. One interviewee said:

Some people finished up their sentences but they didn't want to leave. Prison officers looked for them and asked them why they were still in prison when they had served their sentence. Some of them were forced out as they didn't want to get out willingly. (Kamaliza; Ex-inmate; Int.)

Kamaliza's observation is an indication that prisoners were not prepared well to face society on their release because there was no mechanism in place to carry out that work (Nyoka, 2013). In the wealthier countries such as New Zealand, prisons have counselling units which carry out preparatory programmes for prisoners who are about to be released (Polaschek & Kilgour, 2013; Whitehead, 2014; Wilson, Kilgour, & Polaschek, 2013). Tanzania prisons do not have such units. Perhaps this is because Tanzania prisons do not have sufficient professional counsellors

and educators (Nyoka, 2013). Instead, it is reported that prisons use religious leaders – who are not professional counsellors – to counsel inmates when the need arises (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2015a). It is argued here that lack of a proper mechanism to prepare inmates for after prison life contributes to their reoffending behaviour.

As reported in Chapter 3, the problem of an irrelevant curriculum for inmates is not unique to Tanzania. Scholars have reported the same issue in several other countries such as Australia, the UK, Denmark, Iceland, Lesotho, and Nigeria (refer to Chapter 3). In South Africa, Dhlamini and Heeralal (2014) also reported this problem of irrelevant curriculum to other adult education programmes outside of prisons. As mentioned in Chapter 8, the selected prisons did not adopt the modern proposed “Case Management of offenders” to allocate prisoners in prison education programmes (Nyoka, 2013). This has probably contributed to low participation rates in prison education programmes. Arguably, the current high recidivism rates (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014) relate more closely to the (negative) informal learning that goes on (for the majority of prisoners) which allows prisoners to develop further their criminal propensities (Cullen et al., 2011). High recidivism rates are also the indication that Tanzanian prisons do not have a relevant curriculum that would help prisoners to change their mental perspectives towards criminality (Dirkx, Mezirow, & Cranton, 2006; Mezirow, 1991, 2003). Having inadequate relevant courses for learners (in this case, prisoners) is one of indicators for less effective adult education (UNESCO, 2004). For this reason, I argue that the majority of prisons in this study did not have adequate and sustainable educational programmes.

Non-credentialed courses

As stated in Chapter 7, most educational programmes in this study were non-credentialed. The findings indicate that lack of credit courses was one of the primary reasons that discouraged inmates’ participation in those programmes. For instance, when asked what discouraged him from joining the programmes, one inmate said:

They don’t provide certificates for the courses they offer. If I study, I would like to be awarded a certificate after graduation. (Matonya; Programme non-participant inmate; Int.)

Having non-credit courses discouraged not only the non-participants, but also the programme participant-inmates. For example, programme participant-inmates commented:

Having no certificate awards in these programmes discourages the majority of inmates from participating in education. At times, I also want to stop attending these classes because I prefer to sit for the National Exams and be awarded a certificate. (Simba; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

I would like to have an opportunity to study secondary school curriculum and take National Exams which would give me a chance to get a certificate. I can't get that chance in this prison. (Abdul; Inmate-learner; FGI.)

Also, some teachers reported similar perspectives. One of them stated:

Most prisoners consider learning [in this prison] unimportant due to lack of certificates. Even the attendees don't take it seriously. They consider classes as places to pass their time and avoid boredom. (Zena; Inmate-teacher; Int.)

These findings suggest that prison education in most of the case study prisons was not usually linked with normal educational systems outside of prison. This situation contradicts the Nelson Mandela Rules, which recommend the integration of prison education with other educational systems within the country to enable prisoners to sit appropriate examinations, and easily continue with their education pathway upon their release (UN, 1977, 2016). It is suggested in this study that several prisoners refrained from attending courses that did not guarantee credentials. These findings complement my arguments in Chapter 7, that the majority of inmates in this study would like to use qualifications they achieve in prisons to seek jobs and further their educational qualifications. Perhaps post-release employment would be more easily achieved if the courses were credited.

These findings are relatively similar to information from another prison in Mbeya region (Tanzania). In that prison, lack of opportunity to acquire credentials resulted in the collapse of a class. This information was raised in the interview with one of the IAE officers. He told me that ten prisoners wanted to take up the Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations, but were refused a chance despite being eligible. That refusal prompted the collapse of their class. He said:

We wrote a letter [to the Head Prison Office] to seek permission for inmates to sit the examinations outside the prison. Unfortunately, the TPS office never responded to our letter [despite the follow-up]. As a result, those inmates didn't sit those examinations. That discouraged the inmates to proceed with the programme as well as others to join. Consequently, that class collapsed. (Komba; IAE; Int.)

This finding contravenes the Tanzanian Prison Education Guide, which recommended prisons have mechanisms in place to enable prisoners to take up appropriate examinations (refer to Chapter 4) (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). Perhaps the authorities who ignored this request were not aware of the policy. This example suggests that the policy (Prison Education Guide) was inadequate in Tanzanian prisons; it was not understood within the prison system. Alternatively, it was understood by a selected few and not acted upon, suggesting the gap between policy and practice.

The findings of this study concur with most adult education literature which suggests that there is a significant number of adult learners, especially those undertaking work related courses, who are motivated to learn in order to achieve formal certificates. For instance, Kim, Hagedorn, Williamson, and Chapman (2004) conducted a telephone survey of 13,858 adults in 50 USA states and reported 50% of those who undertook college programmes did so for the sake of obtaining certificates. Kim et al's. report suggests that without certificate awards, those adults would have been far less likely to participate in the programmes. In prison education, Braggins and Talbot (2003) reported similar observations in the UK as that from this study. In their study, some prisoners were not happy attending vocational education programmes which did not award them certificates. They called it "a waste of time" (p. 35).

Lack of information among prison officers/guards

Correctional officers, at prison level, have daily contact with prisoners. Apart from security responsibilities, prison officers are the main implementers of government policies regarding prisons and prisoners, including prison education. They guard prisoners daily, and they are expected to ensure that inmates have access to necessary services, including their human rights. Therefore, it is necessary for officers to be informed and updated on every new and modified prison policy in place. This study found that a significant number of prison

officers were not informed about the current prison education policy (Prison Education Guide). One prison officer commented:

A guide for prison education? No, I have never seen or heard about such document. Therefore, I'm not sure if it exists or not. If it exists, I don't know its content. (Tumaini; Prison Officer; Int.)

Another prison officer seemed to be informed about Prison Education Guide, but his explanations suggested otherwise. He stated:

I'm aware of the existence of the said document. It was introduced a long time ago, during Nyerere's era, but many prison officers are not notified of that document. The document is shelved, and in most cases, it is not in practice. Take an example; you have mentioned about the need for prison education co-ordinator at regional and prison levels, but in practice, we don't have those people. (Tamimu; Prison Officer; Int.)

It seems that Tamimu is misinformed about the Prison Education Guide. He linked the *2011 Prison Education Guide* (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) with Nyerere (the first president of Tanzania), whose regime was between 1961 and 1985 – over 30 years ago. This lack of information was also revealed when I was interviewing Komba, one of the Institute of Adult Education Officers. While explaining his experience in prison education, he revealed:

As opposed to a Songea prisoner – who was allowed by the Head of Prison to take up the National Examinations outside the prison – Iwambi's head refused to give them [prisoners] permission. He said that he didn't have the mandate to allow prisoners to take examinations outside prison. (Komba; IAE, Int.)

Komba's comment suggests that Iwambi's head of prison did not have the relevant information because the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) grants heads of prisons the mandate to allow prisoners to take recognised examinations outside prisons (refer to Chapter 4). Komba's example suggests that either the head of Iwambi prison did not read the guide, or perhaps he was among the heads of prisons who believed in the punitive and custodial role of prison. Therefore, he did not see the rationale for allowing the inmates to take up the examinations.

Stonemeier et al. (2016) recommended that for adequate implementation of any policy, all members of the organisation need to be aware of the policy so that they can be fully engaged. I argue that the findings of this study indicate a poor flow of

information from the top level to the bottom, where actual activities for prisoner rehabilitation take place. It can also be assumed that once the top management provided the guide, they did not bother to follow upon its implementation. There appeared to be no plan to monitor implementation. I am of the view that this poor flow of information regarding the Prison Education Guide within the Tanzanian prison system is an indication of the lack of importance attributed to this policy.

As discussed in the literature review, *informational barriers* have been discussed widely in the adult education field. Informational barriers are commonly associated with lack of information about the available learning opportunities on the part of adult learners – refer to Chapter 3 (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982; Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Merriam et al., 2007). A similar pattern of barriers has also been reported in the prison education context. Studies such as those of Crayton and Neusteter (2008), and Davis et al. (2013) all reported a lack of information about the available learning opportunities on the part of prisoners (refer to Chapter 3). Recently, Brosens et al. (2015) found that 42.1% of the surveyed 468 vocational training non-participant prisoners in Belgium were not aware of the learning opportunity. However, the findings of this Tanzanian study are different from those mentioned in the literature above. The difference is that in this study, it was the prison staff members – who were expected to support prison education activities – who did not have information; it was not the prisoners. Presumably, prisoners did not have information when it was not passed on; therefore, the finding fits best in the *prison and imprisonment situation* suggested by this study.

Negative attitudes of prison staff

According to Neha (2013), attitude is simply a state of mind which can be used to explain what an individual values. An individual's likes and dislikes can be used to explain his/her attitudes towards a particular object or activity. It is argued that a positive attitude towards a task nearly always has a positive impact on the achievement of the task, and the opposite is also true (Mohanty, 2014; Neha, 2013). For the success of prison education, it is important for prison staff to have positive attitudes towards education (Braggins & Talbot, 2005; Lariviere, 2002; The Council of Europe, 1990). It is argued here that a better result in rehabilitation may be achieved if a positive attitude towards prison education is developed

among prison staff members. Considering that prison staff are the ones who monitor prisoners on a daily basis, their (prison staff) attitudes have a significant contribution toward the lack of achievements of prison education. In this study, prison officers were found to have mixed attitudes towards educational programmes. Some of them had positive attitudes, while others had negative ones. The quote below is an example of those with positive attitudes:

I'm involved in motivating prisoners to join classes. I'm also involved in making sure that the class timetable is followed. I always make sure that I release learners early [from other prison activities], to enable them to keep up with the class timetable. (James; Prison Officer; FGI.)

As noted in James's comments, the positively-minded prison officers supported prison education. If this kind of attitude is sustained to all prison staff it would be easier to sustain prison education. However, Bakari, an ex-offender, reported on prison staff's negative attitude while explaining his prison education experience. He said:

People, especially prison officers, ignored me. They referred to my studies as useless and a waste of time. They asked how a prisoner could undertake a degree course. (Bakari; Ex-inmate; Int.)

This comment suggests that prison staff needed a change in their mindset regarding prison education (Mezirow, 1991, 1997). For positive institutional outcomes, Mohanty (2014) emphasises the importance of institutional leaders' positive attitudes towards the work and the people. It is believed that a leader's positive attitude towards a task influences subordinates' attitudes towards that work. Mohanty's argument provides insight into the negative views from the TPS senior management as contributing to the relative lack of success of prison education. In the interview with Mwakalinga – one of the co-ordinators – commented:

Availability of educational programmes [in prison] depends on the leadership. If you find the head of the prison whose focus is only on punishment enforcement, you can't have these educational programmes. (Mwakalinga; Co-ordinator; Int.)

This finding suggests that the negatively-minded heads of prisons did not support prison education. For this reason, it is argued here that there were prisons in Tanzania with no prison education activities because the heads of those prisons had a negative attitude towards prison education. In an interview with one of the

Institute of Adult Education Officers (Komba), an issue of a negative attitude towards prison education also came up. This attitude was raised when he was explaining the efforts he took to ensure that inmates had a chance to sit for the National Examinations. He stated:

We wrote a letter [to the Head Prison Office] to seek permission for inmates to sit the examinations outside the prison. Unfortunately, the TPS office never responded to our letter [despite the follow-up]. As a result, those inmates didn't sit those examinations. (Komba; IAE; Int.)

It is noteworthy that it was the TPS head office which introduced the "Prison Education Guide" that stipulated the ways and procedures to be taken to ensure prisoners have an opportunity to take the National Examinations (refer to Chapter 4) (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). Still, it is the same office that did not respond to the request to allow inmates to sit the same examinations. Perhaps what they espouse – inmates' rehabilitation through prison education – was not one of their beliefs. This scenario strongly suggests that the Tanzanian prison system still accepts the role of prisons as more punitive than one with a rehabilitation purpose (Kemp & Johnson, 2003; Nyoka, 2013; Pollock, 2014). As discussed in Chapter 3, negative attitudes on the part of prison staff is not a new finding; it has been reported in the USA (Erisman & Contardo, 2005; Thomas, 1995), UK (Braggins & Talbot, 2003), and Australia (Scurrah, 2008). There is a high possibility that negative attitudes of prison staff have negatively influenced the success of prison education in the Tanzanian context as observed in the current study.

Prison punishment culture

Historically, prisons are considered punishment areas where convicted individuals are locked up to be punished for their wrong doings (Foucault, 1995; Pollock, 2014). Africa did not have prisons until the colonial era. "Colonial Conquest used the prison as an early instrument for the subjugation of Africans" (Bernault, 2003, p. 3). Prisons were used to punish people who opposed colonial power. That "punitive prison culture" still seems to be active in the Tanzanian prisons (Kusupa, 2011; Nyoka, 2013). As a result, some prison staff appeared to consider themselves as supervisors of prison punishment. For instance, when asked about his role in the educational programme, Yahaya said:

We, prison officers, do not feel free to teach inmates although we would like to do so, as some of us are professional teachers. For instance, I would like to teach them but I can't, because of my role as a security guard. You know what, in the process of supervising and guarding them, we sometimes use force to manage them. I'm worried that if I enter a class as a teacher, they may feel that they are still in the same stressful environment and fail to concentrate. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

In this regard, Yahaya seemed to consider himself more of a guard and a punisher than a rehabilitation officer. This view is different from that portrayed by Msugu (another prison officer from a different prison – refer to Section 8.2.3) who was happily teaching prisoners. Yahaya's comment may signify the superiority complex prison staff have over prisoners (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962). Yahaya identified the duality of role, and possible subsequent confusion, if he were a teacher. Yahaya's view may be a reflection of the powers bestowed on prison officers in the Prisons Act (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). Sections 9 to 14 of the Act explain the powers and duties of the prison staff; most of them grant the staff members the power to use force in their duties. There is nowhere in the Prisons Act, or Prison Education Guide, where prison staff are mentioned as teachers. Therefore, Yahaya did not want to bring role confusion to inmates. Prison officers being not tasked as teachers, probably contributes to the prison culture of punishment in Tanzanian prisons, which is backed up by senior government officials (Msuya, 2017) as argued in Chapter 7. A similar view was also reported in the UK (Braggins & Talbot, 2005). In this UK study, 77 prison officers from 12 prisons were studied. Some of those prison officers considered their role in prison education conflicting with their disciplinary role. A culture of punishment in the current study was also observed in an interview with another prison staff member. He commented:

Most of the prisons that were built after independence were located strategically; I will give some examples. Lubungo prison was introduced to raise dairy cattle; Madotto prison was introduced to raise beef cattle. Kibaigwa prison was for people convicted of economic sabotage. However, it was later changed to an agriculture prison due to the climatic conditions of that area. Other prisons like Mzumbe and Kimamba were all tasked to produce agricultural products. Uluguru prison was for sisal production. A long time ago, prisoners did not use today's beds and mattresses; they used "vilago" [mat-like product] which were made from the sisal fibres. Therefore, Uluguru prison was supposed to produce sisal for these mats (vilago) for all prisons in the

country. Hard work is a core part of the sentence of every prisoner in these prisons; and they work real hard in farms. (Tamimu; Prison Officer; Int.)

Tamimu's comment may be a reflection of the Government's *informal policies* on prisons. Perhaps this is the basis of the Deputy Minister's [Ministry of Home Affairs] order for more production in prisons discussed in Chapter 7 (Msuya, 2017). This may be the basis for the President's order for prisons to make sure that prisoners work hard in farms so that through this punishment, they can learn the lesson that crime does not pay; they may avoid reoffending (Anonymous, 2017). This suggests that imprisonment in the Tanzanian context is more conservative (punitive); it is very far from the current liberal (rehabilitation) view (Pollock, 2014).

Also, this suggests that the current prisons' main focus is relatively similar to that of the colonial prison system – using prisoners as a cheap labour force (Sarkin, 2008; Williams, 1980) instead of rehabilitation. This observation concurs with Nyoka (2013), who argues that in the Tanzanian prison system, nothing much has changed from that of the colonial pattern. Overcrowding, brutality and suffering of prisoners are still common in prisons. Nevertheless, this punitive culture has not helped Tanzania to reduce crime (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014; Nyoka, 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d). I would argue that the existing punitive culture has reduced the possibility for prisoners to receive relevant learning support within prisons. With this culture, it may take a considerable number of years to achieve the rehabilitation role of prisons (Campbell, 2005) as practised in more enlightened sites within the contemporary world. In this context, I propose that Tanzanians need to change their views on prisons and imprisonment if the country is to achieve positive outcomes from prisons.

Poor policy interpretation

As discussed in Chapter 4, the TPS has a Prison Education Guide – a policy which guides the provision of education in prison. In this study, some responses indicated poor interpretation of this policy. For instance, although the policy recommended that all prisons in the country become prison education centres

(refer to Chapter 4) (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), participants from Uluguru prison said:

In this prison, we don't have any educational programmes. Daily, prisoners are assigned manual work as part of their sentence. It may be working in government buildings, on farms, or in a sisal factory. (Gwakisa; Prison Officer; Int.)

I have never engaged in any educational activity since my arrival in this prison because there are no such programmes. But for sure, if there were any programmes I would have been one of the students in those programmes. (Makingi; Programme non-participant inmate; FGI.)

I would argue that the inconsistency in the alignment between the policy statement and practices is one of the indicators that there is inadequate implementation of the Prison Education Guide.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the Prison Education Guide provides a possibility for inmates to sit recognised examinations, whether inside prisons or in the centres outside of prisons. It recommends that if possible, “during the National Examinations, the examinations may be brought into prisons. If not, the candidates (prisoners) may be escorted to the appropriate centre in civilian dress” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011, p. 2). In this study, some heads of prisons were reported to facilitate this recommendation. For instance, Komba, one of the Institute of Adult Education Officers, explained his experience while at Ruvuma region:

During National Examinations, the head of that prison allowed him [a prisoner] to take the examinations in a centre outside of prison. He provided a prison officer to guard him during the examinations. He did his examinations while in chains. (Komba; IAE; Int.)

A similar scenario was reported from Kipera prison where inmates take examinations in the nearby VETA College and primary schools (refer to Chapter 7). Later, Komba provided a different experience when he was transferred to Mbeya Region. He stated:

As opposed to the Songea prisoner – who was allowed by the head of the prison to sit his National Examinations at a centre outside Songea prison – Iwambi's head refused to give them permission. He said that he didn't have the mandate to allow prisoners to take their examinations outside of prison. He directed us to seek permission from the Commissioner General of Prison (CGP). (Komba; IAE; Int.)

He further explained:

We wrote a letter [to the Head Prison Office] to seek permission for inmates to sit the examinations outside the prison. Unfortunately, the TPS office never responded to our letter [despite the follow-up]. As a result, those inmates didn't sit those examinations. That discouraged the inmates to proceed with the programme, as well as others to join. (Komba; IAE; Int.)

This scenario is an indication of discrepancies in the attitude and understanding of prison education among the officers of the same prison system. These differences resulted in poor interpretation of the Prison Education Guide. The failure to allow inmates to take up their examinations in the centre outside of the prison suggests the possibility that the head of Iwambi prison and the TPS head office, which provided the policy, failed to interpret and implement the Prison Education Guide. Also, there is a possibility that TPS was not fully committed to prison education. Otherwise, they would have responded to allow those inmates to sit the examinations.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the policy (Prison Education Guide) appreciates the importance of involving relevant education stakeholders – NGOs, Education Officers, and individuals – in providing education to prisoners. The Guide recommends that prisons “involve the government institutions, religious institutions, NGOs, and the public in general” (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011, p. 4) to enable effective prison education. However, this study found that this policy statement was not well practised. This argument is based on the complaints reported by the participants from outside of the prison. Kapinga, an Adult Education Officer, complained:

Another big challenge is the strictness of Tanzanian prisons. This makes it hard for the public to enter prisons. Prison officers have a colonial hangover that doesn't allow outsiders easy access to prisons. They consider themselves as an isolated and impenetrable island. As a result, it is hard for educational stakeholders to know what's going on in prisons regarding education. It becomes difficult to gain support regarding resources and advice on running these programmes. The society is completely uninformed of the existence of educational programmes in prisons. (Kapinga; AEO; Int.)

A similar view was observed by Mnyalu. He commented:

Working with Tanzanian prisons is very hard. It is nearly impossible to secure permission to work with them. Our organisation assists ex-

prisoners. To find these people we need information from prisons. It is now difficult for us to find them because we don't have their information. We are not allowed into prisons where we can find prisoners who are about to be released. (Mnyalu; NGO representative; Int.)

These findings suggest that involvement of outsiders in the prison activities was not easily accepted. The findings strongly suggest that the Tanzanian prison system is fully a reflection of a "total institution" proposed by Goffman (1962) discussed in Chapter 3. It is argued here that prison education programmes in Tanzania miss out on the opportunity to build upon the support of other agencies and organisations outside the prison system. This is an indication of the inadequacy of those programmes (UNESCO, 2004). It is argued by UNESCO (2004) that an effective adult education programme develops a link with other organisations within and outside the country. The findings of the current study suggest poor policy interpretation and lack of commitment on the part of the staff, as they do not comply with the Prison Education Guide statements (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). As a result, there is a huge discrepancy between the Prison Education Guide's statements and the actual practice in prisons.

The literature regarding poor prison education policy interpretation is scant. However, one source, Thomas (1995), revealed some critical areas which indicate poor prison policy interpretation within American prisons. In spite of the recommendations by policy to have prison educational programmes and allocating class timetables, Thomas reported intentional disruption of teaching and learning processes by prison staff. For example, prison staff "noisily entered the classroom unannounced and called the name of a prisoner not enrolled in the class" (Thomas, 1995, p. 29) while teaching was in progress.

Discriminatory conditions set by prisons

This study found that some prisons have set certain conditions – inmates' behaviour and sentence length – as important criteria in determining whether an inmate can be allowed to participate in the learning programmes, especially in vocational training (refer to Chapter 7). Yahaya stated:

We allow inmates to attend vocational training based on their interests and willingness. However, we control their number because we cannot allow everyone to join due to limited spaces that we have. Therefore, apart from inmates' interests and willingness, we also consider their

sentence length and their behaviour before considering them for vocational training. That's what we do to control their number. (Yahaya; Co-ordinator; Int.)

According to Yahaya, inmates with “bad behaviour” were not allowed in vocational training classes. A similar view was mentioned by Kobelo. He claimed:

Some other prisoners are not allowed to join the course due to bad behaviour. They [prison staff] have selected us based on our behaviours and sentence length. In our team, we are all serving more than five years. (Kobelo; Inmate-learner; Int.)

Kobelo insisted:

Others are short sentenced prisoners. Therefore, they are not given a chance to join our class as the trade requires a substantial amount of time to understand it well. (Kobelo; Inmate-learner; Int.)

Segregation of short sentenced prisoners was also reported by Lubungo prison co-ordinator. He commented:

If an individual is sentenced to six months, you can't take him into metalwork class as he may not have enough time to learn much. (Mwakalinga; Co-ordinator; Int.)

Swai (ex-inmate) also explained how behavioural problems and sentence length left out some offenders from vocational training during his time in prison. He said:

Some prisoners had too short sentences to allow them to join our course. You may find some of them with only six months sentence; with remission, those offenders only served four months. Thus, it was not possible for them to learn things like metalwork and fully understand the trade. (Swai; Ex-inmate; Int.)

On the issue of behaviour, Swai (ex-inmate) mentioned violence, bullying, and resisting orders among the “bad behaviours” which influenced prison management to exclude inmates from vocational training. The “bad behaviours” mentioned here are similar to those observed by scholars such as Homel and Thompson (2005) and McCorkle et al. (1995). This discourse suggests that prison management considered vocational training a privilege to inmates, instead of being a prisoner's right (Quan-Baffour & Zawada, 2012; UN, 1948, 2016). Withholding vocational training is considered a punishment to prisoners with unsuitable behaviour. A similar observation was made in the USA where several inmates were not allowed to participate in educational activities because of behavioural problems, or having a particular type (not mentioned) of sentence

(Klein et al., 2004). This is also consistent with the findings from the UK by Braggins and Talbot (2003) who argued similarly.

Although having a long time to study could be a requirement for specific trades, restriction (based on inmates' sentence and behaviour) in this study appeared to be part of informal institutional prison education policies in those prisons. However, it is noted here that this restriction policy does not help in rehabilitation. I argue that by limiting prisoners' access to learning based on their misbehaviour, prison management ignored the fact that it is because of their misbehaviour that prisoners were imprisoned in the first place. In this respect, prison officers also tend to overlook the fact that it is their moral responsibility to help the inmates change that misbehaviour through engagement in available programmes (Braggins & Talbot, 2005). Prison staff forget that prisoners are human beings (O'Connor, 2017) who need education opportunities. Those restrictions violate Article 26 of the Human Rights Declaration which states that *everyone has the right to education* (UN, 1948). It also violates Section 11(2) of the Tanzanian Constitution which grants the right to education (refer to Chapter 2).

In New Zealand and the UK, short-term sentences do not necessarily restrict inmates from participating in learning programmes. Relevant programmes for short-term prisoners are developed and offered (Department of Corrections, n.d.-c; The Office for Standards in Education, 2009). Perhaps I can argue that a shortage of resources such as funding and personnel in Tanzania – as discussed in Chapter 8 – might be the main reason for not having programmes for short-term offenders. Also, there is a possibility that the negative attitude of the prison staff regarding rehabilitation discussed above (Braggins & Talbot, 2005; The Council of Europe, 1990), and interest to benefit from cheap labour (Section 9.2.2 and 7.2.1) have contributed to a restriction to short sentenced inmates.

A short sentence as a limitation to prison education is not a new finding; various scholars have previously reported it. For instance, Dissel (2008) (in Uganda) and Setoi (2012) (in Lesotho) reported the problem of mismatch between education schedules and sentence length. This results in poor attendance in the prison educational programmes. In Botswana, UNESCO (1995) reported some inmates who failed to reach the final stages of their learning programmes due to the same problem. The findings of this study are also consistent with that of Scurrah (2008)

who found that short sentenced prisoners in Tasmania have limited access to education.

Other barriers related to prison and imprisonment situation

As noted in Section 9.3., this study found that *budget constraints* (shortage of funds), *inadequate infrastructures*, and *insufficient teaching and learning resources* were among the major factors that inhibited sustainable provision of prison education. These factors are within the *prison and imprisonment situation* barriers. These barriers were discussed in detail in the previous chapter (Chapter 8). Therefore, this section acknowledges these barriers by only mentioning them as a reminder; they are significant barriers to prisoners' participation in prison education.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed issues related to *perceived benefits from and barriers to prison education*. The chapter has grouped the benefits into three broad categories: social benefits, benefits for prisons, and benefits for individual inmates. The social benefits discussed in this chapter include ex-prisoners being inspirational to others, increased access to education, and successful inmates' reintegration into the community. The benefits for prisons include the development of a cheap labour force and institutional social control. An individual inmate's benefits suggested by this chapter were mainly categorised into two. First, prisoner empowerment – improved literacy skills, stronger self-direction amid learners, improved inmates' confidence and self expression skills, improved ability to seek information and fight for liberty, enhanced vocational skills, and improved employment opportunities – and second, getting recognition. There is a possibility that these changes among individual inmates may have a positive impact on society. Bakari, who offers his legal service to prisoners, is an example of a positive outcome of prison education. Therefore, it is argued in this context that investing in prison education is beneficial to multiple stakeholders.

Regarding barriers to engagement in prison education, in this chapter, I have grouped them into two typologies – prison and imprisonment situation, and dispositional barriers. However, the majority of barriers to prison education in the Tanzanian context, as perceived in this study, were derived from the *prison and*

imprisonment situation. These barriers included irrelevant curricula, non-credentialed courses, lack of information among the prison staff, negative attitudes of prison staff, prison punishment culture, poor policy interpretation, and discriminatory conditions set by prisons. Other barriers associated with prison and imprisonment situation – budget constraints, poor infrastructures, and insufficient teaching and learning resources – were only mentioned in this chapter as they have been already discussed in Chapter 8. Only two barriers – lack of interest “to learn”, and truancy and dropout – were considered to be *dispositional* factors. It is clear, in this context, that the prison situation needs to be improved for better results in prison education. Reflecting on participation rates, I would argue that the barriers to prison education are very strong; few prisoners were able to access educational programmes (refer to Chapter 7).

Section 5
Final Thoughts and Conclusions

Chapter Ten

Conclusions: Reflections and Recommendations

10.1 Introduction

This thesis has been addressing one major research question “*Are current policy and practices adequately meeting the needs of prisoners?*” To answer this question, the study delved into three main areas: an exploration of existing prison education policies; an investigation of existing prison educational programmes; and an exploration of the adequacy of practices in relation to the substance of the policies. Subsequently, three subsidiary research questions were addressed:

- What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania?
- To what extent are educational programmes available in Tanzanian prisons for inmates? and
- How do current practices reflect the intention and substance of the policies?

Four specific chapters (4, 7, 8, and 9) of this thesis have more pointedly addressed these research questions. As stated in Chapter 5, the main discussion of this thesis was carried out concurrently in each of the chapters: Chapter 4 (the policy context), Chapter 7 (Learning in prison), Chapter 8 (Teaching and learning resources), and Chapter 9 (Perceived benefits from and barriers to prison education). This chapter is a conclusion of my thesis. I reflect upon the connections and implications of the study findings within the main theoretical frameworks of this study and the literature. Drawing ideas from the previous chapters, the current chapter sums up the arguments and generates tentative general conclusions based on the study findings and discussions. In this chapter, I begin with a reflection on the empirical findings, followed by a reflection on the key findings through the lens of theoretical frameworks, and general conclusions. Then, I discuss the adequacy of the prison education policies and practices in meeting prisoners’ needs, followed by recommendations arising from this study, a proposed model for prison education in Tanzania, the significance and limitations of this study, and a conclusion.

10.2 Reflection on the Empirical Findings

The main assumption of this thesis is that prison education can contribute in preparing prisoners for life after imprisonment. However, because of the barriers to prison education that have been discussed in this thesis, generally speaking, this study has revealed low participation rates in prison education for most selected prisons.

Regarding policy, it has been argued in this thesis that governmental policies on prison education have been influenced by international policies and social movements. Therefore, the Tanzanian Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) is a result of influences from international policies such as the Nelson Mandela Rules and the Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006; UN, 2016). It is clear in this study that prison education policies are not adequately implemented in Tanzania. The Tanzanian policy (the Prison Education Guide) was found to have loopholes which resulted in several prisons, such as Uluguru, not having any prison education activities, and others (Chinangali and Lubungo) having restricted prisoners' access to certain courses, which is against the international recommendations for prison education (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006; UN, 2016). Based on the findings of this study, I hold that the Tanzanian prison education system does not adequately accommodate international recommendations on prison education (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006; UN, 2016). One possible explanation for the discrepancy between policy and practice is that the TPS staff and the Tanzanian Government in general are not ready to act upon the current move of liberal approaches to imprisonment; still they are stuck in conservative approaches (Nyoka, 2013; Pollock, 2014). They have little understanding of rehabilitation approaches, resulting in too few funds being allocated to prison education. For this reason, I would suggest a paradigm shift (a change of mindset) for prison staff and the society at large (Mezirow, 1991, 1997).

Although there is no big difference among prisons when it comes to educational resources, this study suggests that Tanzanian prisons were not homogenous. Some prisons had educational programmes, others did not; some prisons (Chinangali, Kikuyu, and Kipera) had some collaboration with the outside world, and others

(Uluguru and Lubungo) did not. There were some courses (literacy and general education) that were offered to all interested prisoners in some prisons, while others (vocational training) had restrictions. One prison (Kipera) had a “better” environment conducive to learning, while others had poor learning environments. For instance, four of the five prisons (Chinangali, Kikuyu, Lubungo, and Uluguru) in this study had no classrooms; three of them (Chinangali, Kikuyu, Lubungo) conducted their classes outside. Inmates did not have chairs to sit on during the learning process; most of them did not have writing materials, nor did they have textbooks. These differences and difficulties are not new in prison education; they have existed in other countries, especially in developing countries such as Uganda (Asiimwe & Kinengyere, 2011; Kalid, 2011) and Kenya (Gumi, 2014) for decades. These discrepancies and poor learning environments in Tanzanian prisons were partly a result of ineffective prison education policies, lack of funds, and prisons being *total institutions* (Amundsen et al., 2017; Goffman, 1962). As total institutions, Tanzanian prisons close themselves from the rest of the world. The closure of prisons to the outside world and the absence of new thinking about the value of prison education, have resulted in low involvement of other stakeholders in prison education. Most prisons failed to attract sufficient resource-support from outside, resulting in a poor learning environment and low participation rates in most prisons.

It is clear in this study that inmates, with some exceptions, have relatively similar motivational purposes that influenced their participation in learning to that of the general adult population. This suggests that regardless of their life-course, Tanzanian prisoners share relatively similar views towards education to that of adult population outside prisons. Their participation in prison education is mainly influenced by factors such as their perception of readiness for employment, furthering their personal education, social relationships, the desire to help others (social welfare), and the need to escape from prison routines, stress, and boredom. These factors are related to five of the six Morstain and Smart’s (1974) motivational factors mentioned in Chapters 3 and 7. In this project, I have consistently argued that allowing inmates to participate in education may enable prisoners to become lifelong learners, and eventually obtain skills which may contribute to their rehabilitation and movement towards a learning society. Also, I

am of the view that prison education not only expands access to education for the marginalised prisoners, but is also one of the ways to heighten social justice in education, as proposed by Oduaran (2006). Therefore, there is a need to create educational programmes relevant to prisoners' learning needs in order to attract more participation.

As recommended by The Prison Education Guide, the case study prisons, with exception of the youth prison (Kipera), offered education programmes using volunteer inmates as teachers. The TPS regards Kipera prison as a training centre for youth prisoners. Therefore, professional prison staff (primary school teachers and vocational training tutors) are allocated to manage the teaching and learning processes. The majority of volunteer inmate-teachers in the other three prisons did not have sufficient knowledge to teach adults as they were not offered adequate adult teaching development courses. As previously discussed, recruitment of volunteer inmate-teachers encourages peer teaching-learning, which is arguably relevant for adult teaching and learning as it is less hierarchical and has fewer power relationships issues (Velez et al., 2011; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995). This type of teacher recruitment pattern has been practised in other African countries to help fill the gap of trained teachers, who were not sufficiently available in the prison context (Gumi, 2014; Kyalo et al., 2014). Regarding their motivation to teach, it is argued in this thesis that inmate-teachers' motivational purposes are relatively similar to inmate learners' motivation purposes; the majority were motivated by social relationships and avoidance factors. The reason they share similar motivations could be due to sharing the same environment and experiencing the same cultural context. The only factors that differentiate inmate-teachers from their learners are the feeling of being valued as selected teachers and the need to remain up-to-date with certain academic levels and vocational skills.

As has been argued, one of the foci of adult education is poverty reduction (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Van der Veen & Preece, 2011). For this reason, adult education has been used for agricultural extension in the African context in order to increase production on farms (Van der Veen & Preece, 2011). Therefore, in a normal circumstance, farming education (agriculture) could be recognised as a sub-set of vocational training. That is why several Tanzanian government reports

(The United Republic of Tanzania, 2015a, 2017b) mentioned farming activities in prisons as an important element of prison education that were assumed to increase prisoners' rehabilitation. On the contrary, the participants of this study did not recognise it in that way. This study suggests that on the ground (in prisons), prisoners and prison staff did not consider farming as part of educational opportunity for prisoners. For them, farming was part of prison punishment. This finding suggests that there is diverse interpretation of what prison education is in the Tanzanian context. Senior prison officers have different views from that of the ground officers and the inmates. Arguably, this diverse interpretation of farming activities as instances of non-formal learning has negatively influenced its implementation in prisons, and has subsequently become one of the prisons' harsh punishments (Kusupa, 2011). In this respect, farming in the Tanzanian prisons appears to divert from the original focus of adult education (agricultural extension for poverty reduction) (Van der Veen & Preece, 2011) to focus on punishment. Consequently, prison farming has become a form of punishment suggesting that the Tanzanian prisons still focus more on conservative approaches to imprisonment (Pollock, 2014).

Based on the perspectives of the participants, literacy education, general education, and vocational training (other than farming) were considered to be the most common educational programmes in the Tanzanian prisons (refer to Chapter 7). A primary education curriculum was only provided at Kipera prison. Although some inmates indicated an interest in accessing secondary education, there was no mechanism to facilitate such opportunity in the case study prisons. This thesis also suggests the possibility of Tanzanian prisoners undertaking tertiary education through the Open University of Tanzania, but evidence indicates only a few inmates have benefitted from it. The main reason could be lack of funds.

The literature suggests that most prisoners, as well as other adult learners, may want to learn to gain credentials for the purpose of gaining certificates for the prospective employment opportunities and further studies (Braggins & Talbot, 2003; Jarvis, 2004; Moreira et al., 2017; Moriarity, 2014). For this reason, the UN (2016) and The United Republic of Tanzania (2011) have suggested enabling prisoners to access credentialed courses, as those provided by the VETA at Kipera prison. However, this study suggests that the majority of prisoners in the selected

prisons did not have access to credentialed courses because most courses were non-credited. This lack of credentialed courses in prisons is against the international recommendations and governmental prison education policies. This finding suggests huge discrepancy between policy and practice. It was clear in this study that lack of credentialed courses has partially contributed to low participation rates in prison education in the selected prisons.

Usually, participation in adult education programmes is significantly influenced by the (non)consideration of learners needs in curriculum development (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Knowles, 1975; McCawley, 2009). Considering that prison education is a sub-set of adult education, it would be expected that all of its programmes are developed reflecting prisoners' needs. However, this study suggests that most educational programmes in the selected prisons were developed without considering prisoners' needs, resulting in irrelevant curricula. It is noted here that minimal consideration of prisoners' learning needs is against adult learning principles (Gboku & Lekoko, 2007; Knowles, 1975) and may have contributed to poor participation given that the curriculum was often divorced from their real interests.

Apart from non-credentialed courses and irrelevant curricula, this study suggests several other related barriers to prison education in Tanzania. These barriers include the lack of interest, truancy and dropout (*dispositional barriers*); lack of information among prison officers, negative attitudes of prison staff, prison punishment culture, poor policy interpretation, discriminatory conditions set by prisons, budget constraints, inadequate infrastructures, and insufficient teaching and learning resources. As has been argued, the majority of these barriers were within the *prison and imprisonment situation*; a few were within *dispositional barriers* (refer to Chapters 8 and 9). Classically, dispositional barriers are the most persistent and hardest to change. In effect, the low reportage of dispositional barriers in this project may be a consequence of methodological procedure.

It is argued in this thesis that shortage of funds had a significant contribution in limiting the proper provision of education to inmates. As it is for many developing countries (Kyalo et al., 2014; Sarkin, 2008; Setoi, 2012), the Tanzanian prison system does not fund prison education activities. Thus, shortage of funds is one of the main causes for the scarcity of teaching and learning resources in prisons. It

might also be the reason for the poor quality of educational programmes provided in the selected prisons. This suggests the need for funding and improvements in the Tanzanian prisons' learning environments.

Also, this thesis has identified various benefits of prison education as perceived by the participants. The thesis has grouped these benefits into three broad categories: perceived societal benefits, perceived benefits for prison, and perceived benefits for inmates. Issues that seemed *to benefit society* as a whole included an ex-prisoner being inspirational to others, increased access to education, and successful inmates' reintegration into the community. *The perceived benefits for prison* were those benefits gained by prisons for offering prison education. These were developing a cheap labour force and maintaining social control. *The perceived benefits for inmates* were those benefits that inmate-learners were purported to achieve individually by attending educational programmes. These were mainly categorised into two. First, prisoner empowerment, which includes improved literacy skills; enhancement of greater self-direction among learners; improved inmates' confidence and expressive skills; improved access to information and ability to fight for liberty; improved vocational skills; and improved employment opportunities. Second, is being considered persons of worth (obtaining social recognition). From this point of view, this study argues that investing in prison education is beneficial. Therefore, Tanzania needs to invest more on its prison education.

I am aware that in a society that has so many priorities with few financial resources, such as Tanzania, people tend to question the significance of investing in prison education. Members of society normally consider that giving prisoners a second chance to learn is rewarding them (offenders) for their crimes (Quan-Baffour & Zawada, 2012). Instead, they would prefer a more punitive approach (Kinemo, 2002; Zahn, 1997). It should be noted that, in this thesis, I am not arguing for rewarding prisoners; rather, I am challenging and encouraging members of communities, especially Tanzanians, to think beyond the punitive approach toward prisoners. As a society, we should ask ourselves: What are the main causes for most crimes and recidivism? What do we really want from imprisoning offenders? (Is it reducing crime and recidivism? Or other purposes?) How far has the punitive perspective of our prisons helped us to achieve the goal

of reducing crime and recidivism? A very recent case of Gerald Deus, who was released on the 10th of December 2017 following the Presidential pardon and reconvicted to 15 years for robbery on the 15th of December 2017, only five days later (Magashi, 2017), should alarm Tanzanians. The Gerald case (and many others) suggests that Tanzanian prisons, in the current state, have failed to prepare prisoners for life after prison. Instead, they seem to professionalise crime (Chen & Shapiro, 2007; Cullen et al., 2011; Shay, 2012). Based on the arguments that have been raised in this thesis, I am of the view that investing in prison education may have positive outcomes; it may contribute to social, individual, and institutional (prison) development. Because it is clear in this study that Tanzania is yet to focus heavily on prison education, it is suggested here that more investment should be put into programmes related to prison education for effective prisoner rehabilitation.

10.3 Reflection on the Key Findings through the Lens of Theoretical Frameworks

Mostly, the discussion and interpretation of the findings in this project, are positioned within *lifelong learning theory* (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Jarvis, 2004); *perspective transformation theory* (Mezirow, 1997, 2003); *rehabilitation theory* (Campbell, 2005; Cullen, 2012); and *total institution theory* (Goffman, 1962). Throughout this thesis, I have been arguing that there are connections between lifelong learning (through prison education), the perspective transformation of prisoners, and the rehabilitation of prisoners within a total institution (prison). I argue that lifelong learning, in the form of prison education, can enable prisoners to change their frames of references while in prison (total institution), and become rehabilitated. In this regard, this study suggests that rehabilitation may be a result of lifelong learning and perspective transformation processes. Figure 6 below illustrates diagrammatically the relationships of these theories within this study. The diagram illustrates how rehabilitation can best be achieved in prisons.

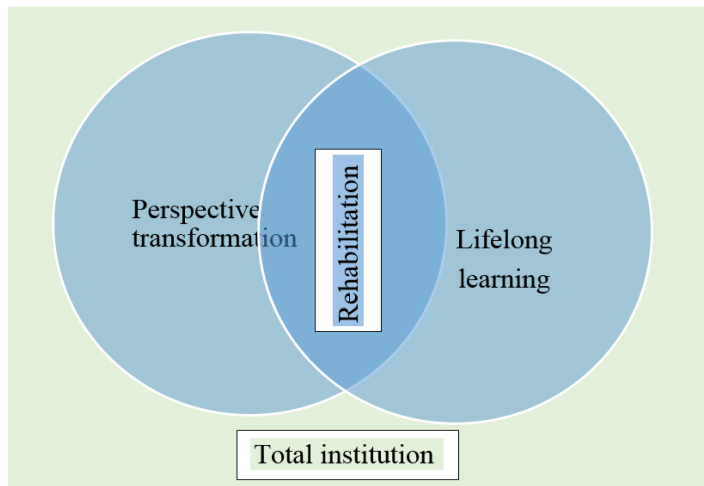


Figure 6. How rehabilitation can best be achieved in prisons (total institutions)

The following sub-section discusses the main findings of this project in connection to the above frameworks. It is assumed in this study that each theoretical framework interacts with, and influences another, within a prison context.

The link between the theories and study findings

It is clear in this study that Tanzanian prisons are total institutions (Goffman, 1962). My own personal experience and responses from the interviews suggest difficulty in gaining access to Tanzanian prisons (Amundsen et al., 2017). This experienced inaccessibility is a reflection of Goffman’s (1962) argument that it is extremely hard for outsiders to access information from total institutions. From this point of view, it is argued here that prison education that is carried out in total institutions, invites many challenges. For example, in this study, the majority of prisoners did not have access to prison education for various reasons (barriers).

I associate the barriers discussed in this study – irrelevant curriculum, non-credentialed courses, lack of information among prison officers, poor policy interpretation, negative attitudes of prison staff, inadequate infrastructures, and others – with characteristics of a *total institution*. Goffman (1962) holds that in a total institution (in this case, a prison), prison staff tend to feel and act in a superior and righteous manner while prisoners feel inferior, weak, and vulnerable. In this context, I would argue that it is the superiority-inferiority and righteous-vulnerable perceptions that influenced prison staff in regard to the way they viewed prisons and interacted with prisoners. These same views have probably

influenced prison staff's punitive interpretation of prisons, as discussed in this thesis. Possibly, the views have also negatively influenced policies on and implementation of prison education, including discriminatory policies (for some prisons) in selecting prisoners to participate in certain courses, as viewed in this study (refer to Chapters 7, 8 and 9). This observation is consistent with Goffman's (1962) views of total institutions.

The challenges discussed in this thesis suggest that it is not easy to practise *lifelong learning* in terms of education in the Tanzanian prison context (total institution). However, a small chance is still available for persistent prisoners. Having a range of courses – literacy education, general education, and vocational training – suggests possibilities for lifelong learning in some prisons (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Jarvis, 2004). Also, there is an indication that prison education in some of the selected prisons offered useful skills to the inmates involved. Illiterate and some dropout inmates were given a “second chance” for learning through literacy education classes, general education, and the primary school curriculum (in Kipera prison). Other inmates with limited employment skills had a chance to acquire vocational skills. Prison education seems to have contributed to the fulfilment of three main themes for *lifelong learning* – building a learning economy, enhancing personal fulfilment, and facilitating social inclusion (Findsen & Formosa, 2011). There is a possibility that the skills and qualifications gained in prisons may help prisoners to reintegrate into society, as they seemed to have helped Bakari and Swai. In this sense, it is arguable that the fourth theme of lifelong learning – developing an active citizenry – may be partially fulfilled.

It is acknowledged here that with the scarcity of learning resources (as found in this study), it is difficult to realistically develop self-directed learners in prisons (Knowles, 1975) – which is a key to lifelong learning and to developing a learning society (Faure et al., 1972). However, this study suggests some indicators of the partial success of self-directed learning and lifelong learning. Bakari is an example of a prisoner who successfully acquired a self-directed learning attitude. Despite the challenges, Bakari was able to excel in tertiary education whilst in prison.

Drawing from Houle's pyramid of adult education leadership (refer to Chapter 3), this study found that the majority of people involved in prison education were the

volunteer fellow inmates who stood as teachers. There were only a few prison staff involved with prison education as part of their job, and none considered prison education as a career. Prison education in the case study prisons depended heavily on the volunteer prisoner-teachers. This reflects the base of Houle's pyramid. In this project, I equated volunteer prisoner-teaching with *peer teaching* (Bradford-Watts, 2011; Jarvis, 2004; Velez et al., 2011), which is highly recommended in the field of adult education. However, it is suggested here that *peer teaching* in the Tanzanian prison context was not fully utilised to tap the associated positive impacts of this teaching methodology. Rather, it was capitalised on because of the scarcity of resources, especially financial, which could have been used to hire trained teachers who arguably would be out of place in (total institutions) prisons (Findsen, 2009). Therefore, prisoner volunteers were used to fill that gap.

Without organised learning in prisons, there is a possibility that prisoners can (negatively) learn informally from their peers (Siegel, 2010, 2012). Unfortunately, in most cases, this kind of negative learning is linked with the professionalisation of offending (Cullen et al., 2011). The main argument of this thesis is that it is wise to provide organised prison education (as part of *lifelong learning*) to inmates for effective *rehabilitation*. This would be possible by organising official prison education (*lifelong learning*) programmes which would provide inmates with a chance to positively reflect on and transform their previous frames of reference (*perspective transformation*) (Mezirow, 1997, 2003). Arguably, this kind of education may *transform* and *rehabilitate* prisoners (Campbell, 2005; Mezirow, 2003). The two ex-offenders in this study (Bakari and Swai) consciously used the education they gained to reflect and change their previous ways of life (*perspective transformation*) (Behan, 2014; Mezirow, 1997, 2003). Bakari and Swai have indicated persistence in quitting offending behaviour, signalling that they may have been *rehabilitated* (Behan, 2014; Campbell, 2005; Gumi, 2014). It is also clear that the education gained by the two ex-offenders had improved their ability to compete in the labour market and were able to find paid employment immediately after their release. This outcome has been advocated by *lifelong learning* scholars (Findsen & Formosa, 2011; Wlodkowski, 2008); *human*

capital scholars (Ferojalla, 1993; Schultz, 1961); and the conceptual approach of this study.

10.4 General Conclusions

Drawing on the qualitative indicators demonstrated in this study, this section summarises the key findings to address the three subsidiary research questions mentioned in the previous sections. Information from this section is later used to address the major research question in Section 10.5.

10.4.1 Governmental and institutional policies

In addressing the first subsidiary research question – *What constitutes governmental and institutional policies on prison education in Tanzania?* – I, as researcher, examined both the formal policies, especially at the national level, and informal policies at prison level. The next sub-sections reflect the key findings on the governmental prison education policy context, followed by the institutional (prison) education policy context.

Governmental prison education policies

Chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis reviewed various governmental and international policies that are linked with prison education. It is suggested in this thesis that internationally, prison education should attempt to abide by the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules) (UN, 2016). In Africa, prison education is linked to the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa and the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice (Penal Reform International, 2008). In the Tanzanian context, the analysis in Chapter 4 indicates that the 1967 Prisons Act does not put enough emphasis on prison education (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). The Prisons Act did not provide a legal framework for prison education. In this regard, the Prisons Act was arguably not a relevant policy document for prison education.

Instead, this study suggests that the 2011 Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) is the main Governmental policy on prison education at the moment. As argued in Chapter 4, this Prison Education Guide recommended the provision of education to all Tanzanian prisoners. Accordingly, the Guide has articulated several propositions on how prison education could be

managed, including consideration of the learning environment and assessment (refer to Chapter 4). The main weakness with this policy document is that it was not a legally binding document; it was not supported by the Prisons Act. With the 2011 Prison Education Guide, prison education was not seen as a requirement; rather, it was treated as an option. Consequently, few prisons were reported to opt for prison education programmes; however, the programmes did not cater for the learning needs of the majority of the prisoners. Most of the courses taught in those prisons were poorly organised. Therefore, the situation has arguably pointed to inadequate prison education policy in the Tanzanian context.

Institutional prison education policies

This study was conducted in five Tanzanian prisons. It was revealed that all five prisons had no formal institutional prison education policies. However, in Chapters 7 and 8, this study discussed informal policies regarding prison education found in these prisons. In the following section I discuss the informal institutional policies recorded in this study.

Access to education

The five prisons in this study had different policies regarding recruitment of prisoners in educational programmes. It is noted in this study that one of the five case studies did not have any educational programme. The rest of the prisons (four) at least had some form of educational programme. In one prison only (Kipera), participation in prison education was mandatory for all prisoners. In the other three prisons, prison education was not mandatory and recruitment of learners varied. For some programmes – literacy and general education – prisoners were free to decide whether to join classes or not. For vocational training, the criteria were discriminatory favouring those prisoners with longer sentences and good behaviour records. This thesis has associated these discriminatory policies with inadequate spaces and resources, which did not allow for more prisoner capacity. This is a probable result of insufficient funding. Therefore, it signifies inadequate prison education practices.

Funding

This study found that prisoners in all four prisons with educational programmes were not paying for their education. This was commended by prisoners. One of those four prisons received some funds (though not enough) for teaching and

learning activities. The remaining three prisons did not have budgets for educational activities. They relied heavily on well-wishers' contributions to run the programmes. This led to poor teaching and learning environments and inconsistent provision of prison education.

10.4.2 Existing educational programmes

This part summarises the responses related to the second subsidiary research question – *To what extent are educational programmes available in Tanzanian prisons for inmates?* This study reported on literacy education, vocational training, and general education as the main prison educational programmes in the selected case studies. It is noted here that a lack of resources – caused by the shortage of funds – was the main challenge in running prison education programmes in the selected prisons. One of the case studies ran a primary education curriculum. The teaching and learning processes in this programme follow the primary school curriculum used by normal schools in Tanzania and learners are allowed to sit for the National Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE). Although it was not reported in the selected prisons, tertiary education was another option for a small number of inmates. In this thesis, most of the reported programmes were not designed based on the needs assessment of the offenders; rather, they were developed based on the TPS and individual prison management wishes. Apart from the programmes in one prison (Kipera), educational programmes did not lead to recognised credentials. It is noted in this thesis that attaining a recognised credential was considered a fairly important factor by some prisoners; several of them complained about attending only non-credentialed courses.

10.4.3 Prison Education Policies Versus Practice

This section recaps information from the thesis that addresses the third subsidiary research question: *How do current practices reflect the intention and substance of the policies?* This study employed some qualitative indicators (as discussed in the previous chapters) to inform relationships between prison education policies and practices. In so doing, this thesis addresses the above (third) subsidiary research question. It should be noted that the Prison Education Guide is the only document that clearly supports prison education in Tanzania. For this reason, this thesis considers the Prison Education Guide as the sole Tanzanian policy document for prison education (This has been discussed in Chapter 4). This section reflects

actual practices in the five case studies of this project, in light of the Prison Education Guide and other international policies on prison education. Table 11 below summarises an exploration of the relationships between prison education policies and actual practices in the five Tanzanian prisons studied. Multiple sources used in the table means that the policy statement is mentioned in all of the sources.

Table 11. Policy versus practice

Policy Statement (Recommendation)	Source	Actual Practice: Five Case Studies
Prisoners should have access to education	The Nelson Mandela Rules, Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa, Prison Education Guide	Most prisoners did not have access to education
Prison education to be integrated with the educational system of the country	Nelson Mandela Rules	Most educational programmes were not integrated with the educational system of the country
Prison education to be incorporated into domestic law	The Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa, Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice	Prison education was not incorporated into Tanzanian law
There should be prison education co-ordinators at regional and prison levels	The Prison Education Guide	There were no prison education co-ordinators at regional level (for two regional offices that I visited). Only prisons with educational programmes had co-ordinators
Volunteer prisoners should teach their fellow prisoners	The Prison Education Guide	Most prisons with educational programmes used volunteer prisoners as teachers
Prisons should allocate learning time for prisoners	The Prison Education Guide	Prisons with educational programmes allocated learning time
Prisons should provide education which is curriculum-based	The Prison Education Guide	Most educational programmes did not follow any pre-structured curriculum
Prisons should have learning spaces that are properly designed	The Prison Education Guide	Most prisons did not have conducive learning spaces
Prisons should have libraries	The Prison Education Guide, Nelson Mandela Rules	Most prisons did not have adequate libraries
Prisons should develop partnerships	The Prison Education Guide, Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa	Partnership was not adequately embraced
Prisoners be given a chance to take recognised examinations	The Prison Education Guide	Most prisoners did not get a chance to take recognised examinations

It is clear from these findings that:

- Tanzanian prison system does not adequately interpret the international policies on prison education.
- The *Prison Education Guide* – the main prison education policy document in Tanzania – is not adequately interpreted in prisons. This argument is based on the fact that this study has found little connection between the Guide’s proclamations and actual practices on the ground (in prisons) as seen in Table 11 above.

This thesis suggests that there is a gap between current practices in Tanzanian prisons and what international policies on prison education and the Prison Education Guide stipulate. As suggested in this project, the mismatch between policies and practices could be associated with having no legally binding governmental policy on prison education. Therefore, I would conclude that the current practices in Tanzanian prisons do not adequately reflect the intention and substance of the prison education policies.

10.5 Adequacy of the Prison Education Policies and Practices in Meeting Prisoners’ Needs

This thesis addresses one major research question: *Are current policy and practices adequately meeting the needs of prisoners?* In relation to qualitative indicators identified in this study, Section 10.4 has compiled information that contributes in addressing the three subsidiary research questions. This part of the thesis uses collective ideas generated from this thesis to address the major research question of this study. In so doing, this section provides a general conclusion for this project. I conclude that:

- Given the shortfalls of prison education discussed in this thesis (lack of relevant curricula, shortage of resources, little collaboration with stakeholders, and low prisoner participation in programmes), it is fair to argue that the current policy and practices are not adequately meeting the needs of prisoners.

10.6 Recommendations of the Study

Reflecting on the findings of this study, this section provides recommendations which would improve prison education in Tanzania. The section is divided into

two main parts: recommendations for action and recommendations for further research.

10.6.1 Recommendations for action

Given the key findings of this thesis, this study recommends improvements in the following areas:

Policy issues

Recommendation 1

Tanzania needs to introduce an effective policy on prison education

This should be the concern of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, and the Institute of Adult Education. In this thesis, I have discussed the lack of effective policy on prison education which is the main reason for the poor execution of prison education in Tanzania. I argue that a policy agenda is crucial to achieve the needed changes that have been discussed in this thesis, including the need to build a supportive infrastructure. Improving learning infrastructures and funding of prison education require a clear and supportive policy. It is clear that the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) is not adequate to sustain prison education activities in the country; most prisons have not been able to implement it well. Consequently, most prisoners do not have access to education. Therefore, I recommend policy reform on prison education. There is a need to introduce a new prison education policy which would accommodate all perspectives of prison education and prisoner rehabilitation.

Recommendation 2

Tanzania needs to upgrade its 1967 Prison Act to address prison education

This is the main implication for the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs and Justice, and the Ministry of Home Affairs. In Chapter 4, I have discussed the Tanzanian prison education policy context in relation to international prison education policies. It is clear in this thesis that the Tanzanian 1967 Prisons Act (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967) is outdated; it does not support prison education. This hinders proper implementation of the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). For this reason, this Act contradicts the Nelson Mandela Rules, Kampala, and Arusha Declarations (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006). Therefore, I recommend a change in the Prisons Act to

accommodate the current global perspectives on prisoners' education within a rehabilitation framework. The amended Act needs to include recommendations of the Nelson Mandela Rules, the 1996 Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa, and the 1999 Arusha Declaration on Good Prison Practice. By including rehabilitation in the Prisons Act, Tanzania would improve social justice in education and prospects of lifelong learning for prisoners. This may also enable the TPS to adapt new ways to manage prisoners that address their education and learning needs in order to support rehabilitation.

Practical issues

Recommendation 3

The need to increase people's awareness

One issue raised in this project relates to the widely held punitive view of prisons. It is suggested in this thesis that national leaders and prison staff considered prisoners to be people who deserve punishment for the crimes they have committed. This attitude has negatively influenced issues surrounding prisoners' rights. Prisoners have been considered as cheap labourers who have been able to be exploited to the maximum; they were not seen to deserve any mercy. This attitude has arguably had a significant contribution to negative perceptions shown towards prisoners by prison staff, and the current lack of appropriate prison education programmes in the Tanzanian context. I suggest that *perspective transformation* is required on the part of prison staff and Government officials (Mezirow, 1991, 1997, 2003), because a change in people's attitudes towards prisons and prisoners can contribute to better prison outcomes. For that reason, I recommend programmes (seminars and workshops) which would increase awareness among government leaders and prison staff. These programmes may be carried out by prison educators, social justice experts, and former prisoners who have successfully rehabilitated. It is noted here that although the TPS has several educators and social justice experts, it is difficult for them to stand up and advocate for this initiative because of the Tanzanian prison system context. Hence, I recommend that social justice experts and educators from outside the TPS initiate this move.

Recommendation 4

The need to revise rehabilitation approaches within Tanzanian prisons

It is argued in this thesis that investing in prison education may bring about positive impacts on prisoners' rehabilitation. Prison education can provide prisoners with employment skills and instil in them the spirit that they can change and become of benefit to society. This would result in productive citizens and reduction of recidivism rates; hence, improving the economic development of the country. However, it is clear that the Tanzanian prisons have not yet invested sufficient resources into these kinds of rehabilitation programmes; the most common approach is hard work as a form of punishment (Kusupa, 2011; Nyoka, 2013). For this reason, I suggest that the Tanzanian prison system needs to revise its rehabilitation approaches and place more emphasis on prison education. Also, there is a need to change the curriculum which prepares prison staff in their colleges, to include more rehabilitative approaches to imprisonment. This change may arguably contribute to bring about mindset-change on the part of prison staff (Mezirow, 1991, 1997, 2003).

Recommendation 5

The need to introduce organised educational courses that reflect prisoners' needs

As I have demonstrated in Chapters 8 and 9 of this thesis, most courses run by Tanzanian prisons were not developed to cater for offenders' needs. As a result, the courses have left the majority of prisoners out of the educational circle. This does not help prisoners gain relevant skills that could be useful on their release (Callan & Gardner, 2007; Ngozwana, 2017b). Therefore, I recommend the introduction of organised courses based on effective needs assessment (Alexinas, 2008; Gboku & Lekoko, 2007). There should be a system to detect prisoners' learning needs so that they can be allocated to the appropriate educational programme immediately they enter the prison. The courses should not ignore the fact that the majority of prisoners may wish to learn to acquire credentials (Braggins & Talbot, 2003). For this reason, I recommend the introduction of relevant credentialed courses for Tanzanian inmates. Yet, non-credit education or training may still have value for other purposes. It is suggested here that the TPS works with the IAE, the VETA, the OUT, and other institutions to develop

appropriate curricula that are linked with education systems outside prison to enable lifelong learning for Tanzanian offenders.

Recommendation 6

The need to set aside (ring-fence) funds and other necessary learning resources for prison education

Throughout this thesis, funding and shortage of learning materials seem to be the main problems that have limited proper provision of prison education. Therefore, I recommend that the Ministry of Home Affairs join hands with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to set special budgets for prison education. I assume that if sufficient funds are set, it is more likely to appropriately and effectively support education for prisoners, including developing the required infrastructure, purchasing of sufficient teaching and learning materials, furniture (e.g. chairs), allowing access to examinations, and facilitating teacher professional development. The fund can also support the range of professional and volunteer staff required for implementation of prison education. Because of the Tanzanian economic situation, I would suggest that other stakeholders from outside of prisons be involved to raise the required funds for prison education. This suggestion calls for an open door policy for Tanzanian prisons. It is suggested here that prisons move away from being “total institutions” (Goffman, 1962) to allow a more collaborative approach to prison education.

Recommendation 7

The need for a proper flow of information within and outside of the prison system

In this study, several prison staff were found to have no information about the existence of the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011), which is the only policy document on prison education in the country. This lack of knowledge of the Prison Education Guide is arguably indicating poor communication within the prison system. Therefore, I recommend a proper flow of information (vertical and horizontal) within the prison system to improve adequacy on prison education.

Similarly, information regarding prison education is limited for people outside the prison system. This arguably limits stakeholders’ contribution to prison education. I suggest that information regarding prison education be shared among

stakeholders. Recently, the TPS has started to share prisoners' statistics publicly (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d), which have never been shared before. Although the current report does not include prison education statistics, still I believe that this is a good start. I would suggest that the TPS may think of including prison education statistics in the next reports.

Recommendation 8

The need for involvement of other agencies and stakeholders in prison education activities

As seen in Chapter 4, national and international documents recommend involvement of other agencies in the provision of prison education (The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012; The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). It was also found in this thesis and other literature (Eichen, 2014; Garcia, 2017) that there is indication of greater achievements in prison education where other agencies and stakeholders have been involved. However, little involvement of stakeholders has been identified in this study. I urge the TPS to improve the situation for prisoners' rehabilitation by allowing outside agencies to become involved in prison education. NGOs, the IAE, the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA), the OUT, the VETA, and other agencies need to consider prisoners as a group that requires special attention in terms of education and training. The TPS alone is not able to provide adequate prison education; therefore, these or comparable institutions need to be more involved. There is also a need for these institutions to be more involved in prison education research.

Recommendation 9

The need for suitable monitoring of the implementation of prison education policies

It was clear in this project that the TPS did not consider prison education as important to prisoners' rehabilitation; therefore, the Department did not establish mechanisms to monitor the implementation of the Prison Education Guide. Consequently, there was inconsistency in the implementation of the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011). For that reason, I recommend that the TPS supervises adequate implementation of the Prison Education Guide.

Recommendation 10

The need for professional development for teachers

This study has found that the majority of teachers were volunteer prisoners who were not trained to manage adults, specifically prisoners, in a prison learning environment. Because peer teaching, as that found in this study, is encouraged in adult education (Findsen, 2009; Jarvis, 2004; Velez et al., 2011), I recommend professional development (workshops) for the current inmate-teachers on how to deliver prison education classes more effectively. The workshops should also include prison officers (professional teachers) who are involved in prison education. I recommend collaboration between the IAE and the TPS in preparing induction and professional development courses for these teachers. I suggest these workshops be provided on a consistent basis to help teachers improve their facilitation of prison education courses.

10.6.2 Recommendations for further research

Recommendation 1

The need for research on offenders' learning needs

The findings from this thesis suggest that most of the available prison education courses in Tanzania did not cater for the needs of the majority of prisoners. Therefore, in order to improve the situation, a future study could investigate the specific educational needs of offenders. This would help the TPS and other stakeholders such as the IAE, the VETA, the OUT, and other learning institutions to develop appropriate prison education programmes.

Recommendation 2

The need to investigate impacts of the inmate-teacher/student relationships

One of the key findings of the current study is the extensive use of voluntary inmate-teachers in running educational programmes in the Tanzanian context. However, this study did not examine the influence of these teachers on prison education outcomes. Because the teacher-student relationship is one of the fundamentals of successful teaching and learning processes (Gablinske, 2014; Jarvis, 2004; Knoell, 2012; Wlodkowski & Ginsberg, 1995), a future study could assess the relationships and impacts of these teachers on offenders' learning. This information would be useful in improving prison education.

Recommendation 3

The need to investigate learning motivational factors among Tanzanian inmates

This thesis has found diverse views about prisoners' motivational factors for learning. The arguments for prison learning made by the current prisoners were slightly different from those made by other participants, such as ex-offenders and a senior prison staff (retired). A future ethnographic study investigating the details of motivational factors among Tanzanian prisoners may be useful in developmental planning for prison education.

Recommendation 4

The need for a quantitative study for greater generalisability

The current study has employed a qualitative approach across five sampled prisons. In so doing, it has discovered context-based issues that cannot be generalised. I recommend future quantitative research to explore prison education policy and practice using a broad and large sample for generalisation purposes. The proposed quantitative study can help to determine whether the current findings can be applied to other prison education contexts within and beyond Tanzania.

Recommendation 5

The need to study opportunities and challenges of accessing credentialed courses

Because this thesis, due to unavoidable research limitations, gathered experiences from only one ex-offender who underwent tertiary education in prison, it can only suggest tentative findings regarding the possibilities of undertaking tertiary education, which leads to credentials in the Tanzanian prison context. Since tertiary education and other credentialed programmes (including secondary education) have positive impacts on prisoners' futures (Reuss, 1997; Torre, 2005), future research could investigate opportunities and challenges for prisoners in accessing tertiary education, more particularly, credentialed courses. Such information may be useful in expanding credentialed education in Tanzanian prisons.

Recommendation 6

The need to investigate impacts of prison education on rehabilitation

One would expect that prison education would have an impact on prisoners' rehabilitation; this is one of my arguments for advocating prison education in Tanzania. Yet, little is known about the impacts of the Tanzanian prison education system upon inmates' rehabilitation. Apart from the two ex-offenders included in this project, this study did not delve into the rehabilitative impacts of prison education. A future, more extensive tracer-study could provide a more broad and in-depth understanding of the impacts of prison education on offenders' rehabilitation in the Tanzanian context. This may be useful in the future planning of prison education within Tanzania.

10.7 An Ideal Model for Prison Education: Proposed for Tanzania

Based on the key findings of this study, this section proposes a Prison Education Model for Tanzanian prison system. The purpose of this model is to initiate an approach which may enable TPS to introduce educational programmes in prisons, that address prisoners' needs within the Tanzanian context. This model has been developed based on insights gained through readings and a visit to one of New Zealand's prisons while studying at the University of Waikato. In New Zealand, as soon as prisoners arrive at prison, a needs assessment is conducted. Through that assessment, the reoffending risks and learning needs of a prisoner are determined, and hence prisoners are allocated to appropriate programmes. Linked to these useful practices, the current model that I propose for the Tanzanian context is a modification of the U.S. Department of Education (2012) model and adapted to suit the findings of the current study and the Tanzanian situation.

In the proposed Tanzanian model, education services are assumed to be key components. The education services reflect the Tanzanian adult education and prison education programmes; they address literacy education, vocational training, general education, and tertiary education. In this model, I suggest beginning the process with a needs assessment, where the education and training needs of prisoners are determined. The current Tanzanian programmes seemed to miss the needs assessment process; prisoners did not have a voice in the development of programmes. I suggest that pilot prisons should be selected to undertake needs

assessment; prisoners should be involved in a meaningful way so that their voices can be heard up-front. From an initial assessment, various prison education programmes can be developed reflecting on prisoners' needs. Then, a continuous needs assessment for every new prisoner (at intake) – to determine their learning needs – should be maintained. Whenever new prisoners arrive, a needs assessment should be conducted to assess their learning needs before allocating them to appropriate programmes. Adult educators, psychologists, and sociologists are ideal personnel to conduct prisoners' learning needs assessment on a daily basis; I argue here for a wider range of professional engagement.

Having been allocated to appropriate programmes, prisoners may be serving their sentences while attending those programmes. It is noteworthy that needs assessment is not a one-shot activity; it should regularly be maintained while prisoners serve their sentences (U.S. Department of Education, 2012). Prisoners should continuously be assessed at regular intervals to find whether they have mastered their learning and if they consequently require a new or advanced plan. For example, an illiterate prisoner may need an advanced plan after mastering literacy skills. Pre-release education should take place to prepare individuals to re-enter society on their release. As suggested by the UN (2016), this model proposes a link between prison education and educational systems in the community to enable ex-offenders to continue with education on their release (lifelong learning). The learning processes, through prison education programmes, are expected to provide inmates with appropriate skills which may facilitate their successful re-integration into the community. This is likely to reduce reoffending rates. Of all the processes, programme infrastructure is the fundamental engine to sustain prison education programmes. Figure 7 below is a summary of the model in a diagrammatic form.

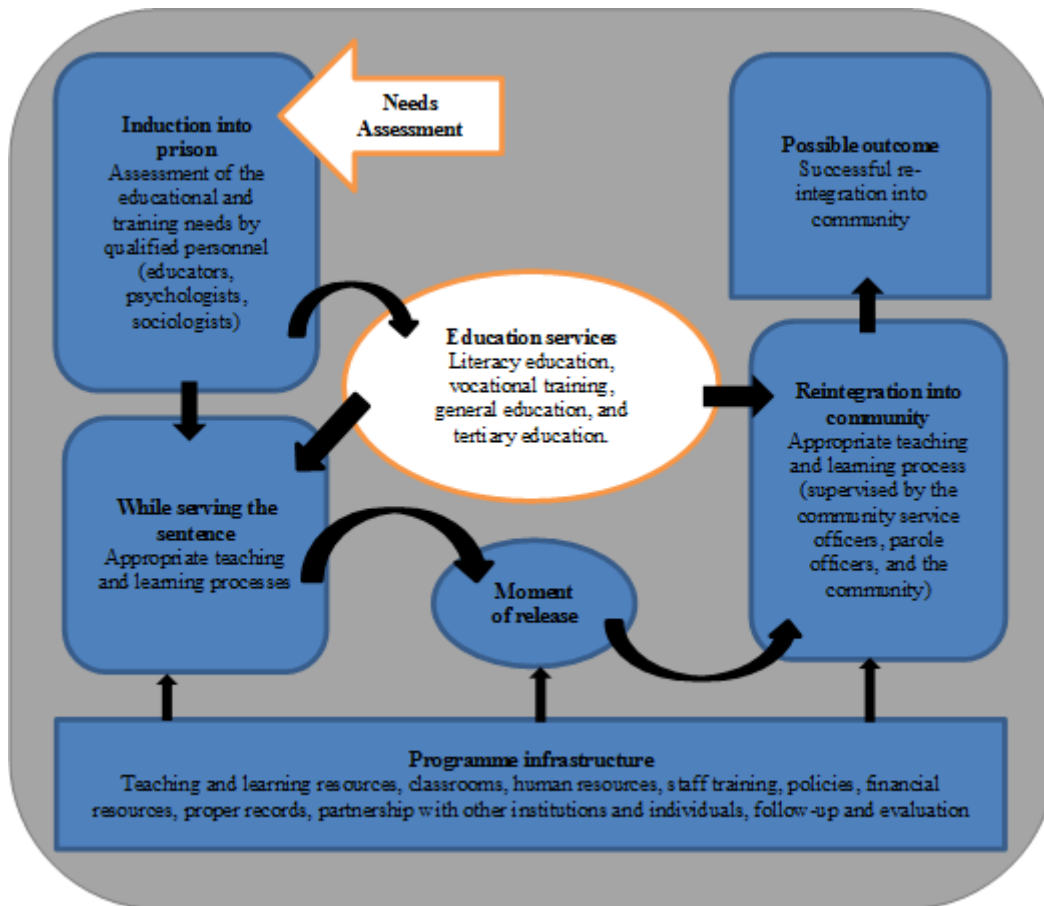


Figure 7. Prison Education Model

Modified from the U.S. Department of Education (2012, p. 5) – Permission has been granted

10.8 Significance and Limitations of the Study

This section discusses two main themes: significance of the study and its limitations.

10.8.1 Significance of the study

This section discusses the significance of this study. This research is expected to contribute to the prison education body of literature generally, in Africa, and in Tanzania, particularly in the following ways:

1. This is one of the very few research-based investigations concerning prison education in Tanzania. Therefore, the study helps to address the literature gap on prison education policies and practices in African countries, and in Tanzania in particular. Most of the previous prison education studies have focused on wealthier countries. There have been

very few in the African context, and the field is generally neglected in the Tanzanian context. Therefore, one of the contributions of the current study is its consideration of prison education policies and practices in the Tanzanian context.

2. While reflecting on international and national policies on prison education, the foci of this study have been lifelong learning, perspective transformation, and rehabilitation theories, which have helped to map and interpret Tanzanian prisoners' experiences within prison education. This study has made explicit existing prison education policies, programmes, and challenges associated with prison education within the Tanzanian context. Therefore, this study may help to provide a broader understanding and to address an existing gap between prison education policies and practices within the country, in the fuller context of previous African prison education literature. This may eventually trigger more positive thinking by relevant stakeholders to enable them to consider more effective strategies to promote prison education.
3. This study provides an insight that Tanzanian prisoners are not significantly different from the prisoners from other countries. The majority of them have poor educational backgrounds, with low or no work skills (Klein et al., 2004; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). In this context, the findings of the current study reinforce the need for prison education to help to facilitate prisoner rehabilitation. It is my hope that the findings of this study may be used to improve access to education for the 33,517 prisoners currently in custody (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2017d), and that it may help to reduce recidivism rates.
4. I believe that the current study has attained its goal by highlighting the existing gap between policies and practices within prison education, and advocating for the need for education in the process of prisoners' rehabilitation. It is hoped this study may positively influence the attitudes of prison managers towards outside researchers, and that they may allow more studies within Tanzanian prisons in the future. Also, I hope that the study may draw the attention of adult education authorities and practitioners towards the importance of prison education.

10.8.2 Limitations of the study

As noted in previous chapters, this study was conducted in prisons, which are considered as total institutions; these areas are difficult to access (refer to Chapters 3 and 5). For that reason, I opted for qualitative research, which involved only five prisons and four ex-inmates. Therefore, I cannot claim that the findings are a representation of the Tanzanian prison education system; this suggests caution in making generalisations. However, the contextually rich information that I have provided in this thesis allows readers to decide the extent to which they can use the findings, provided that their prisons share similar characteristics to those in this study. Also, because most interviews in this study were conducted in total institutions (prisons) where I was not able to voice record (refer to Chapter 5), there is a possibility that some useful information could have been missed out. To deal with that, during prison interviews, I noted as much information as I could to fill that gap. I stopped my interviewees and asked for clarifications whenever I got lost in my notes. Furthermore, because of the challenges explained in Chapter 5, this study lacks views from the senior prison management. Instead, I interviewed a retired senior prison officer who had worked within the Tanzanian and Namibian prison systems (at senior ranks). Interviewing this person enabled me to access opinions that could be assumed comparable to the views of the senior TPS officials who were not accessible (Monahan & Fisher, 2015).

10.9 Conclusion

In this thesis, the *total institution* theory has been consistently referred to because the study was conducted in Tanzanian prisons which match Goffman's (1962) suggested total institution characteristics. It is argued in this thesis that given a *lifelong learning* opportunity through prison education, prisoners can have a chance to reflect upon and transform their thinking (*perspective transformation*) and hence may decide to quit their offending behaviour (*rehabilitation*). Based on the research questions, this chapter has summarised key findings and provided several recommendations. The chapter concludes that current Tanzanian prison education policies and practices are generally inadequate. Although the Prison Education Guide (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2011) stands out as the main prison education policy document in the country, it is clear in this thesis that there are significant discrepancies between its statements and the actual practices on the

ground. The majority of prisoners did not benefit from prison education. It is noteworthy that the current trend in imprisonment (globally) is more on rehabilitation than on punishment (JustSpeak, 2014; Materni, 2013; van Ginneken, 2016). This focus, indeed, may partly be achieved through the influence of sound prison education programmes (Cullen et al., 2011; Pollock, 2014; The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012). There is a possibility that poor outcomes of imprisonment in Tanzania – having 47% recidivism rates (Inmate Rehabilitation and Welfare Services Tanzania, 2014) – are exacerbated by weak prison educational programmes. I suggest that Tanzanians should ask themselves whether they want prisons to rehabilitate prisoners, as a means to reduce crime, or are willing to tolerate reoffending. It is suggested in this chapter that Tanzania needs to improve its policies and practices in prison education for better outcomes following imprisonment, if rehabilitation and crime reduction is what the country aspires to achieve. There is a need for the Tanzanian Government to develop conducive learning environments, implement and fund organised educational programmes in prisons to facilitate sustainable prisoners' rehabilitation. However, this might be difficult if prison staff, the Tanzanian Government officials, and society at large, do not change their mindsets regarding prisons, prisoners, and imprisonment; this calls for *perspective transformation*.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Dean's Office
Faculty of Education
Te Kura Toi Tangata
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4500
www.waikato.ac.nz



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

MEMORANDUM

To: Mohamed Salum Msoroka
cc: Professor Brian Findsen
From: Professor John Williams
Chairperson, Research Ethics Committee
Date: 21 July 2015
Subject: Supervised Postgraduate Research – Application for Ethical Approval (EDU073/15)

The Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee has considered your application for ethical approval for the research proposal:

An investigation of Prison Education in Tanzania: Policy, Practice and Effectiveness

The Committee would like to congratulate you on the work you have put into your application.

I am pleased to advise that your application has received approval, subject to some minor revisions as shown on the attached copy of your application.

Once you have made the changes, please forward either a signed hard copy or an e-signed digital copy of the final application to fedu.ethics@waikato.ac.nz. Please ensure it is signed by yourself and your supervisor in section six under "Applicant Agreement" and is free of any highlighting, tracked changes or comments.

Thank you.

Professor John Williams
Chairperson
Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 2

Te Whiringa
School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Te Kura Toi Tangata - Faculty of Education
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4500
waikato.ac.nz/education



4 September 2015

To Whom It May Concern

This communication is to introduce Mohamed Msoroka who is a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Waikato in Hamilton city, New Zealand. I write as his chief supervisor for this PhD thesis and as a professor of education at this University.

Mohamed is a citizen of Tanzania who is being supported by a Commonwealth scholarship to study at the University of Waikato. His topic for the PhD is An investigation of prison education in Tanzania: Policy, practice and effectiveness. At this stage of his doctoral journey Mohamed is to engage in data collection in selected prisons in the Morogoro region. His study for which he has been given approval by the Faculty of Education's Ethics Committee involves his collection of data via interviews with authorities, focus group discussions with prisoners and analysis of relevant documents connected with prisons and adult education.

It is anticipated that upon completion of Mohamed's thesis, the insights he will provide will help Tanzania to better design and deliver relevant education programmes in the prison environment.

Should you require any further information please contact me on bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

Yours sincerely

Professor Brian Findsen
Postgraduate Leader
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership & Policy
Faculty of Education.

Appendix 3

Dean's Office
Faculty of Education
Te Kura Toi Tangata
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4500
www.waikato.ac.nz



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

MEMORANDUM

To: Mohamed Salum Msoroka
cc: Professor Brian Findsen
From: Professor John Williams
Chairperson, Research Ethics Committee
Date: 10 December 2015
Subject: Request for Extension to Research Ethics Approval – Student (EDU073/15)

Thank you for your request for an extension to ethics approval for the project:

An investigation of Prison Education in Tanzania: Policy, Practice and Effectiveness

It is noted that you wish to change some of the participants being recruited for this project, and that you will need to contact new prison authorities for permission to enter these prisons. Thank you for providing this information.

I am pleased to advise that your application has received approval.

Please note that researchers are asked to consult with the Faculty's Research Ethics Committee in the first instance if any further changes to the approved research design are proposed.

The Committee wishes you all the best with your research.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'J Williams'.

Professor John Williams
Chairperson
Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 4

Te Whiringa
School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Te Kura Toi Tangata - Faculty of Education
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4500
waikato.ac.nz/education



The Vice-Chancellor Open University of Tanzania

Dear Sir

This communication is to introduce Mohamed Msoroka who is a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Waikato in Hamilton city, New Zealand. I write as his chief supervisor for this PhD thesis and as a professor of education at this University.

Mohamed is a citizen of Tanzania who is being supported by a Commonwealth scholarship to study at the University of Waikato. His topic for the PhD is An investigation of prison education in Tanzania: Policy, practice and effectiveness. At this stage of his doctoral journey Mohamed continues to collect data in selected prisons in the Morogoro region. His study for which he has been given approval by the University of Waikato's Faculty of Education's Ethics Committee involves his collection of data via interviews with authorities, focus group discussions with prisoners and analysis of relevant documents connected with prisons and adult education.

Mohamed Msoroka would value highly finding out about the role of the Open University of Tanzania in any of policy development, provision of education in prisons, successes and challenges. Access to staff members who might be able to provide such information through documentation or first-hand interviews, would be appreciated. It is anticipated that upon completion of Mohamed's thesis, the insights he will provide will help Tanzania to better design and deliver relevant education programmes in the prison environment.

Should you require any further information please contact me on brian.findsen@waikato.ac.nz

Yours sincerely

Professor Brian Findsen
Postgraduate Leader
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership & Policy

Appendix 5

TAASISI YA ELIMU
THE INSTITUTE OF



YA WATU WAZIMA
ADULT EDUCATION

Teleg. INSTADE. DAR
Tel No +255 22 2150838/2151048
Fax No. +255 22 2150834
E-mail: info@iae.ac.tz
Website: www.iae.ac.tz

(Established under Act No. 12 of 1975)

P. O. Box 20679,
DAR ES SALAAM,
TANZANIA

Our Ref: IAE/IA.122/462

Date: 3rd December, 2015

Mr. Mohamed Msoroka,
The University of Waikato
School of Educational Leadership and Policy,
Faculty of Education
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton, New Zealand.

RE: RESEARCH PERMISSION

I am glad to inform you that permission to conduct your study entitled "An Investigation of Prison Education in Tanzania: Policy, Practice and Effectiveness" in the Institute of Adult Education has been granted.
Therefore, you are allowed to collect data from the relevant departments and units of the Institute within the specified period of time.

Wishing you all the best for your study.


Dr. F. M. S. Mafumiko
DIRECTOR

Official Communications should be addressed to the Director
Quotation of Reference is essential

Appendix 6

JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA WAZIRI MKUU
TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA

Mkoa wa Dodoma
Anwani ya Simu REGCOM
Simu Na: 026 2324343/2324384
Nukushi: 026 2320046/2320121
Barua pepe: ras.dodoma@omoralq.go.tz
Unapojibu tafadhali taja:



Ofisi ya Mkuu wa Mkoa,
S.L.P. 914,
DODOMA.

Kumb. Na. S.20/15/VOL.II/124

19 Novemba, 2015

Mkurugenzi wa Manispaa,
S.L.P. 1249,
DODOMA.

YAH: MOHAMED SALUM MSOLOKA

Mtajwa hapo juu ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu cha **WAIKATO** nchini **New Zealand** anayesoma Shahada ya Uzamivu.

Kwa sasa anafanya utafiti kuhusu elimu inayotolewa kwa wafungwa katika Magereza za Tanzania.

Tafadhali asaidiwe ili aweze kufanya utafiti kwa Magereza zilizo katika Manispaa ya Dodoma.

Kazi njema.

John S. Msoma

Kny; **KATIBU TAWALA MKOA**
DODOMA

Nakala:- Katibu Tawala Mkoa,
S.L.P. 914,
Dodoma. (Aione kwenye jalada)

: Ndugu. Mohamed Salum Msoloka, ✓
S.L.P. 6621,
Morogoro.

Appendix 7

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Telegraphic Address: "REGCOM"
Phones: 023 2604237/2604227



Regional Commissioner's Office,
P.O. Box 650,
MOROGORO.

Fax No: 260 09 73
In Reply please quote:

Ref. No: AB. 175/245/01/309

16th November, 2015

District Administrative Secretaries,
Morogoro and Mvomero.

Re: RESEARCH PERMIT

Please refer to the above mentioned subject.

I am writing to introduce to you Mr. Mohamed Msoroka who is a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Waikato in Hamilton city, New Zealand and at the moment is intending to conduct a research in Morogoro region in four prisons namely Kihonda, Wami Vijana, Kingolwila and Mkono wa Mara.

The title of the Research is "**An investigation of prison education in Tanzania: Policy, practice and effectiveness**".

Please provide him with all necessary assistance to enable the accomplishment of this research.

Thank you for your cooperation.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sophia K. Mnyanyi'.

Sophia K. Mnyanyi

For: REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

**Copy: Chief Supervisor
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton-New Zealand
Email: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz**

" Researcher

Appendix 8

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

P.O. Box 23409

E-mail: drps@out.ac.tz



Tel: 255-22-2668992/2668445
ext.2101

21st December 2016

Professor Brian Findsen

Postgraduate leader

Te Whiringa School of Educational leadership & Policy

Faculty of Education

Private Bag 3105

Hamilton, New Zealand

Dear Sir,

RE: Research Clearance letter for Mr. Mohamed Msoroka

This letter is written to allow **Mr. Mohamed Msoroka** Ph.D. Education Candidate at the University of Waikato, New Zealand to conduct his research at The Open University of Tanzania. His research title is "*An investigation of prison education in Tanzania Policy, practice and effectiveness*".

Yours Sincerely,

Prof. Emmanuel Kigadye

Associate Director Research and Publication

c.c. DCV-Academic OUT

DVC-RM OUT

DRPS OUT

OUT-DEANS OF FACULTIES

Appendix 9

From; Kamara Kusupa

Dar es Salaam

TANZANIA

05 February 2017

To: Mohamed Salum Msoroka

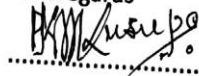
Doctoral Student
Faculty of Education
University of Waikato
Physical Address: 44 Edinburgh Road-Hillcrest
Hamilton 3216 - New Zealand
E-mail: msorokam@yahoo.com
msorokakabomah@gmail.com
msorokam@hotmail.com
Office: TL1.12 (Faculty of Education)
Phone: Extension 6012
Cell phone: +64220180559

RE; PERMISSION TO USE ITEMS FROM MY BOOKS

Dear Msoroka, the above subject refers.

This is to confirm that i have permitted you to use some items from my book as you requested. Infact am pleased to understand that you read my book entitled MAISHA YANGU GEREZANI SIMULIZI LA SIKU 1888 ZA MATESO and find some valid items of which can be used to pursue your Thesis. I assent under a simple condition that whatever you extract from my books should be used for professional purposes and not for bussiness purposes. Finally i wish you all the best i trust our good GOD of justice will strengthen you as you struggle for your a doctorate degree.

Best regards



Evangelist Kamara Kusupa.

Appendix 10



COMMISSIONER GENERAL (PRISONS SERVICE): INTRODUCTION AND INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Mohamed Salum Msoroka, a doctoral student at the University of Waikato (New Zealand). I am conducting research entitled *Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice* as a requirement for my doctoral degree.

Justice literature indicates that poor educational background is among the drivers behind criminal behaviour in the world and therefore, education to inmates is one of the most significant ways to reduce reoffending among inmates. Although government documents and reports show that various educational programmes for inmates are in place in Tanzanian prisons, there has been relatively little scholarly research to focus on prison educational programmes as part of lifelong learning.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the policies and practices of prison education in the Tanzanian context. Consequently, the study will enquire into the actual educational programmes available in prisons and their implementation in relation to policy statements. I believe that the information which will be gathered in this study will be useful in the planning and development of educational programmes for inmates in our country and your department specifically. Therefore, I would like to ask for your permission to conduct my research in the following four prisons:,,, and

The proposed main participants in my study are the senior prison officer, the Prison Education Co-ordinators, teachers, inmates, and some prison officers. Other participants are ex-inmates, and the Institute of Adult Education representative. The data collection will be carried out through individual interviews, focus group interviews and document analysis. The expected documents to be consulted include policies, laws and official documents related to educational activities in prison. The interviews (individual and focus group interviews) may take 60 to 120 minutes. I will negotiate the appropriate time to conduct my study in order to avoid interrupting daily activities of the institutions. The data collection process is envisaged to last for six months.

Participation in this study is voluntary. A participant may withdraw from the study whenever he/she wishes to. With participants' consent, interviews and group discussions will be voice-recorded. The decision of those who do not accept voice-recording will be respected; instead, I will take field notes during the conversation.

All measures to maintain confidentiality will be taken; all raw data gathered in this study will remain confidential. Only I, as the researcher and my supervisor

will have access to them. The gathered data will be used to produce my thesis which will be available in the University of Waikato's Research Common digital repository after its submission and approval. I will also share with you the findings of this study in summary form. Some of the data may also be used for scholarly paper publication and presentation. I am willing to make a presentation to your department should you require.

Should you require any further information, you can either contact me through my email msm26@students.waikato.ac.nz or my supervisors through the following contacts:

Professor Brian Findsen (Chief Supervisor),
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Faculty of Education,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

Dr. Jo Barnes (Co-supervisor),
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: joba@waikato.ac.nz

A consent form is provided with this letter. Signing the form indicates your agreement for me to conduct research in these prisons.

Thank you very much for your support and co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Mohamed Salum Msoroka
PhD student
The University of Waikato

Appendix 11



REGIONAL COMMISSIONER: INTRODUCTION AND INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Mohamed Salum Msoroka, a doctoral student at the University of Waikato (New Zealand). I am conducting research entitled *Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice* as a requirement for my doctoral degree.

Justice literature indicates that poor educational background is among the drivers behind criminal behaviour in the world and therefore, education to inmates is one of the most significant ways to reduce reoffending among inmates. Although government documents and reports show that various educational programmes for inmates are in place in Tanzanian prisons, there has been relatively little scholarly research to focus on prison educational programmes as part of lifelong learning.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the policies and practices of prison education in the Tanzanian context. Consequently, the study will enquire into the actual educational programmes available in prisons and their implementation in relation to policy statements. I believe that the information which will be gathered in this study will be useful in the planning and development of educational programmes for inmates in our country. Therefore, I would like to have your permission to conduct my research in the following prisons in your region,, and

The data collection will be carried out through interviews and document analysis. The interview may take 60 and 120 minutes. I will negotiate the appropriate time to conduct my study in order to avoid interrupting daily activities of the department. The expected documents to be consulted include policies, laws and other official documents related to adult education and educational activities in prison. The participants in this study are the Prison Education Co-ordinators, inmates, ex-inmates, teachers, prison staff, a senior prison officer, and other relevant stakeholders.

Participation in this study is voluntary. A participant may withdraw from the study whenever he/she wishes to. With participants' consent, the interview will be voice-recorded. If the participant does not accept the voice-recording, his/her decision will be respected; instead, I will take field notes during the conversation.

All measures to maintain confidentiality will be taken; all raw data gathered in this study will remain confidential. Only I, as the researcher and my supervisor will have access to them. The gathered data will be used to produce my thesis which will be available in the University of Waikato's Research Common digital repository after its submission and approval. I will also share with you the

findings of this study in summary form. Some of the data may also be used for scholarly paper publication and presentation.

Should you require any further information, you can either contact me through my email msm26@students.waikato.ac.nz or my supervisors through the following contacts:

Professor Brian Findsen (Chief Supervisor),
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Faculty of Education,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

Dr. Jo Barnes (Co-supervisor),
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: joba@waikato.ac.nz

The consent form is attached with this letter. Signing the form indicates your agreement for me to conduct research in these prisons.

Thank you very much for your support and cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Mohamed Salum Msoroka
PhD student
The University of Waikato

Appendix 12



INTRODUCTION AND INFORMATION LETTER (at institution level)

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Mohamed Salum Msoroka, a doctoral student at the University of Waikato (New Zealand). I am conducting research entitled *Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice* as a requirement for my doctoral degree.

Justice literature indicates that poor educational background is among the drivers behind criminal behaviour in the world and therefore, education to inmates is one of the most significant ways to reduce reoffending among inmates. Although government documents and reports show that various educational programmes for inmates are in place in Tanzanian prisons, there has been relatively little scholarly research to focus on prison educational programmes as part of lifelong learning.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the policies and practices of prison education in the Tanzanian context. Consequently, the study will enquire into the actual educational programmes available in prisons and their implementation in relation to policy statements. I believe that the information which will be gathered in this study will be useful in the planning and development of educational programmes for inmates in our country. Therefore, I would like to ask for your permission to conduct my research in your institution.

The proposed participant of my study in your institution is/are,, and The data collection will be carried out through interviews may take between 60 to 120 minutes. I will negotiate the appropriate time to conduct my study in order to avoid interrupting daily activities of the institution. The expected documents to be consulted include policies, laws and other official documents related to adult education and educational activities in prison. Other participants in the study are the senior prison officer, Prison Education Co-ordinators, inmates, ex-inmates, teachers, and prison officers.

Participation in this study is voluntary. A participant may withdraw from the study whenever he/she wishes to. With participants' consent, the interview will be voice-recorded. If the participant does not accept the voice-recording, his/her decision will be respected; instead, I will take field notes during the conversation.

All measures to maintain confidentiality will be taken; all raw data gathered in this study will remain confidential. Only I, as the researcher and my supervisor will have access to them. The gathered data will be used to produce my thesis which will be available in the University of Waikato's Research Common digital repository after its submission and approval. I will also share with you the findings of this study in summary form. Some of the data may also be used for scholarly paper publication and presentation.

Should you require any further information, you can either contact me through my email msm26@students.waikato.ac.nz or my supervisors through the following contacts:

Professor Brian Findsen (Chief Supervisor),
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Faculty of Education,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

Dr. Jo Barnes (Co-supervisor),
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: joba@waikato.ac.nz

The consent form is attached with this letter. Signing the form indicates your agreement for me to conduct research in these prisons.

Thank you very much for your support and cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Mohamed Salum Msoroka
PhD student
The University of Waikato

Appendix 13



INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANT: INTRODUCTION AND INFORMATION LETTER

Dear sir/madam

My name is Mohamed Salum Msoroka, a doctoral student at the University of Waikato (New Zealand). I am conducting research entitled *Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice* as a requirement for my doctoral degree.

Justice literature indicates that poor educational background is among the drivers behind criminal behaviour in the world and therefore, education to inmates is one of the most significant ways to reduce reoffending among inmates. Although government documents and reports show that various educational programmes for inmates are in place in Tanzanian prisons, there has been relatively little scholarly research to focus on prison educational programmes as part of lifelong learning.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the policies and practices of prison education in the Tanzanian context. Consequently, the study will enquire into the actual educational programmes available in prisons and their implementation in relation to policy statements. I believe that the information which will be gathered in this study will be useful in the planning and development of educational programmes for inmates in our country. Therefore, I would like to ask you to participate in this study.

The data collection will be carried out through individual interviews, focus group discussion and document analysis. The expected documents to be consulted include policies, laws and official documents related to educational activities in prison. Individual and focus group interviews may take 60 to 120 minutes. We shall negotiate the appropriate time to conduct my study in order to avoid interrupting your daily activities. The data collection process is envisaged to last for six months.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw from the study whenever you wish to. With your consent, interviews and group discussions will be voice-recorded. If you do not accept the voice-recording, your decision will be respected; instead, I will take field notes during the conversation.

All measures to maintain confidentiality will be taken; all raw data gathered in this study will remain confidential. Only I, as the researcher and my supervisor will have access to them. The gathered data will be used to produce my thesis which will be available in the University of Waikato's Research Common digital repository after its submission and approval. I will also share with you a summary of the findings upon request. Some of the data may also be used for scholarly paper publication and presentation.

Should you require any further information, you can either contact me through my email msm26@students.waikato.ac.nz or my supervisors through the following contacts:

Professor Brian Findsen (Chief Supervisor),
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Faculty of Education,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

Dr. Jo Barnes (Co-supervisor),
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: joba@waikato.ac.nz

Should you find it difficult to reach them, you can contact my local employer through the following contact:

Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic, Research & Consultancy),
Muslim University of Morogoro,
P. O. Box 1031,
Morogoro – Tanzania
Email: mum@mum.ac.tz
Tel: +255 23 2600256

The consent form is attached with this letter. Signing the form indicates your agreement for me to conduct research in these prisons.

Thank you very much for your support and cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Mohamed Salum Msoroka
PhD student
The University of Waikato

Appendix 14



INMATE AND EX-INMATE: INTRODUCTION AND INFORMATION LETTER

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Mohamed Salum Msoroka, a doctoral student at the University of Waikato (New Zealand). I am conducting research on prison education in Tanzania.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the policies and practices of prison education in the Tanzanian context. Consequently, the study will enquire into the actual educational programmes available in prisons and how they are carried out. I believe that the information which will be gathered in this study will be useful in the planning and development of educational programmes for inmates in our country. Therefore, I would like to ask you to participate in this study.

The data collection will be carried out through individual interviews and group discussions. Interviews will be used to collect data from the ex-inmates while focus group discussion will be used for inmates. Other participants of the study include people in authority over prisons and current employers of ex-inmates. The interviews and focus group discussion should take 60 to 120 minutes.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw from the study whenever you wish to. With your consent, interviews and group discussions will be voice-recorded. If you do not want to be voice-recorded, your decision will be respected; instead, I will take field-notes during the conversation.

All measures to maintain confidentiality will be taken; all information you provide in this study will remain confidential. Only I, as the researcher, and my supervisor will have access to it. The gathered data will be used to produce my thesis. I will also share with you a summary of the findings upon request. Some of the data may also be used for scholarly paper publication and presentation but neither you nor your information can be traced back to you.

Should you require any further information, you can either contact me through my email mism26@students.waikato.ac.nz or my supervisors through the following contacts:

Professor Brian Findsen (Chief Supervisor),
Te Whiringa School of Educational Leadership and Policy
Faculty of Education,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

Dr. Jo Barnes (Co-supervisor),
Faculty of Arts and Social Science,
The University of Waikato,
Private Bag 3105,
Hamilton – New Zealand.
Email: joba@waikato.ac.nz

The consent form is attached with this letter. Signing the form indicates your agreement for me to conduct this research.

Thank you very much for your support and cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

Mohamed Salum Msoroka
PhD student
The University of Waikato

Appendix 15



HEAD OF INSTITUTION: CONSENT FORM

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

I as/on behalf of (institution)..... have been given and have read all the information of the study to be conducted by Mr. Mohamed Salum Msoroka. Any questions I have asked him about the study has been satisfactorily answered.

I understand that:

- All answers and any information from records will be kept entirely confidential, and no one will be identified in the final report (thesis) and in any scholarly publication or presentation which can arise from this research.
- Inmates' and prison officials' participation is entirely voluntary and they can withdraw from the study at any time without any restriction.
- Individual participants will receive a transcript of the recorded data for possible amendment.
- Participants who are going to be involved in a group discussion will not be expected to amend the transcripts because of the collective nature of knowledge constructed in the interactive process.
- The thesis will be made available on the University of Waikato's Research Common digital repository after it has been submitted, examined and passed.
- The information may be used in scholarly publications and/or presentations.
- The researcher upon request is ready to share the findings of the study with their office for the purpose of improving educational programmes for inmates.

I understand that signing this form indicates my agreement for the researcher to conduct this research.

.....
(Signature)

.....
(Date)

Appendix 16



HEAD OF PRISON: CONSENT FORM

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

I as/on behalf of the Head of prison (..... prison) have been given and have read all the information of the study to be conducted by Mr. Mohamed Salum Msoroka. Any questions I have asked him about the study has been satisfactorily answered.

I understand that:

- All answers and any information from records will be kept entirely confidential, and no one will be identified in the final report (thesis) and in any scholarly publication or presentation which can arise from this research.
- Inmates' and prison officials' participation is entirely voluntary and they can withdraw from the study at any time before data analysis stage without any restriction.
- Individual participants will receive a transcript of the recorded data for possible amendment.
- Participants who are going to be involved in a group discussion will not be expected to amend the transcripts because of the collective nature of knowledge constructed in the interactive process.
- The thesis will be made available on the University of Waikato's Research Common digital repository after it has been submitted, examined and passed.
- The information may be used in scholarly publications and/or presentations.
- The researcher upon request is ready to share the findings of the study with this office for the purpose of improving educational programmes for inmates.

I understand that signing this form indicates my agreement for the researcher to conduct this research.

.....

(Signature)

.....

(Date)

Appendix 17



PARTICIPANT: CONSENT FORM

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

I..... a/an prison-official/inmate/ex-inmate/employer/teacher/education-stakeholder have been given and have read all the information of the study to be conducted by Mr. Mohamed Salum Msoroka. Any questions I have asked him about the study has been satisfactorily answered.

I understand that:

- All answers and any information from records will be kept entirely confidential, and no one will be identified in the final report (thesis) and in any scholarly publication or presentation which can arise from this research.
- My participation is entirely voluntary and I can withdraw from the study at any time before data analysis without any restriction.
- Individual participants will receive a transcript of the recorded data for possible amendment.
- Participants who are going to be involved in a group discussion will not be expected to amend the transcripts because of the collective nature of knowledge constructed in the interactive process.
- The thesis will be made available on the University of Waikato’s Research Common digital repository after it has been submitted, examined and passed.
- The information may be used in scholarly publications and/or presentations.
- The researcher upon request is ready to share the findings of the study with me for the purpose of improving educational programmes for inmates.

I understand that signing this form indicates my agreement for the researcher to conduct this research.

I agree to* (*Please tick the box* ✓)

Yes No

Have my interviews/focus group discussion voice-recorded

*If you tick a “no”, I will be ready to take notes during the interviews and the focus group discussion

.....
(Signature)

.....
(Date)

Appendix 18

Individual interview guide: teachers

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview guide: Sample questions

1. How long have you been working as a teacher in this prison?
2. How many learners do you have in your class? What is their attendance rate?
3. How do inmates get entry into this class? Who decides?
4. How do you feel teaching the inmates?
5. What kinds of qualifications are needed for the teacher? What are your qualifications? How appropriate do you find your qualifications?
6. What kind of content do you teach? What drives your decision on what kind of content to teach?
7. What are your views on the usefulness of the content after their release? Do you have evidence of their use?
8. What teaching methods do you employ?
9. What evidence do you collect concerning how learners achieve the intended learning?
10. What do you consider as the major outcomes of prison education in this prison?
11. Based on the prison environment, how do you plan the timetable for the programmes? What challenges do you face with this and how do you deal with them?
12. What do you consider as the challenges for your work?
13. Do you provide certificates for the attendees of the programmes? (If not) Why not? (If yes) Are they socially and professionally recognized? What is the impact for inmates?
14. What resources do you have for the running of your course?
15. What kinds of support do you get from other government departments, institutions, individuals and NGOs? What is its implication in the running of these programmes?
16. What kinds of after release follow-up mechanisms for programme-participant inmates do you have? How do you link them with employers?
17. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes concern?
18. Do you have contact details for any ex-inmates who participated in the programme?
19. Do you have any documents and/or statistics on prison education that you think useful?

Appendix 19

Focus group interview guide: Inmates (programme participants)

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

FGI guide: Sample questions

1. How long have you been here?
2. What educational qualifications do you currently hold?
3. What do you study now? How do you get into the class?
4. How long have you been attending this programme?
5. What is the total number of learners in your course? What are the criteria for joining the class?
6. What are the reasons that discourage others from joining the class?
7. How is the timetable arranged? Are you satisfied with the teaching/learning timetable?
8. What makes this course enjoyable/not enjoyable? How relevant is this course for you?
9. What have you learned so far in the course (content)? What makes you satisfied/unsatisfied with what you have learned so far?
10. How does your teacher teach the lesson? What are your comments on his/her teachings?
11. Do you get to decide on the learning outcomes? Do you think that you have achieved the intended outcome? What makes you think so?
12. What changes do you experience that can be attributed to your learning in this programme?
13. Do you expect to use the knowledge you have gained after your release? How? What makes you think so? If not, what might prevent this happening?
14. Do you expect to get a certificate after completion? What kind of certificate is that? Do you know whether the certificate is occupationally recognised?
15. What resources do you have? (Library, and other learning materials) How satisfactory are they? How do you get? How does it help/hinder your studies?
16. Who pays for your study costs (e.g. examinations fees)? Are you satisfied with the situation? How does it help/hinder your studies?
17. What do you consider as successes and challenges in your learning process?
18. Which areas would you recommend for improvement in this programme? Why?
19. Will you recommend the programme to your inmate friends (fellow) who have not yet joined? Why?

20. What is your recommendation to prison officials and the government in regard to prison education?
21. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?
22. Do you have contact details for any ex-inmates who participated in the programme?

Appendix 20

Individual interview guide: ex-inmates

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview guide: Sample questions

1. How long is it since you left prison?
2. How long did you spend in a learning programme while in prison?
3. What kind of educational programme(s) did you attend in prison? What choices did you have?
4. Did all inmates participate in the programmes? (If not) What discouraged others to join the programme(s)? How many learners did you have in your class?
5. Did you enjoy attending the programme(s)? Why?
6. What was your educational qualification before being convicted? What educational qualifications do you currently hold?
7. What kind of content did you learn? How relevant do you consider this content? Are you satisfied with what you have learned in prison?
8. What changes do you currently experience that can be attributed to your prison education? Do you have a long term goal? Is education relevant to that goal?
9. Did you get any certificate(s)? Is it recognized in Tanzanian society? Does it help you?
10. What do you consider as successes and challenges in your learning process?
11. Who paid for your study costs (e.g. examinations fees)? Are you satisfied with the situation? How did it help/hinder your studies?
12. How convenient was the teaching/learning timetable? What is your comment on that?
13. Did you get any support from any one/institution outside of prison for your studies? (If not) What is your comment on that? (If yes) What kind of support was that? How did it help your studies?
14. Which areas would you recommend for improvement in the programme you were in? Why?
15. As an ex-inmate, what kind of assistance for learning opportunities do you get?
16. What is your recommendation to prison officials and the government in regard to prison education?
17. Would you recommend other inmates who have not yet joined the programme to join?
18. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?

Appendix 21

Focus group interview guide: Inmates (programme non-participants)

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

FGI guide: Sample questions

1. How long have you been here?
2. Who decides about who (inmates) can participate in the programme? Have you ever attended any educational programme(s) while you are here? (If not) Why not? (If yes) Did you complete the studies? (If not) Why?
3. What educational qualifications do you have? Do you feel you need any further education?
4. What is your comment on the available educational programme(s)?
5. What is your recommendation to prison officials and the government in regard to prison education?
6. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?

Appendix 22

Focus group interviews guide: Prison officers

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

FGI guide: Sample questions

1. How long have you been working with this prison?
2. What did you work on before becoming a prison officer?
3. How long has this prison been providing educational programme(s)?
4. What kinds of programmes are being offered? How do they cater for inmates' needs?
5. How do inmates get into educational programmes?
6. What is your role in the running of these programmes?
7. What is your comment on the available resources for running these programme(s)?
8. What kind of impacts do you believe that inmates experience as a result of the programme? What about after their release?
9. What are your recommendations for prison authorities in regard to prison education?
10. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?
11. Is there any way in which any ex-inmates who participated in the programme can be contacted?

Appendix 23

Individual interview guide: the Prison Education Co-ordinator

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview/topic guide: Sample questions

1. Short history of the particular prison
2. The number of the inmates in programmes
3. Literacy among inmates in this prison and the way statistics are constructed.
4. Influence of illiteracy on crime.
5. How long have you been working as prison education co-ordinator? What are your qualifications?
6. What is your role in prison education in this prison? How do you involve other prison officials in the running of prison education? What challenges do you face in your daily activities?
7. What kind of educational programmes do you offer?
8. What kind of content do you teach? What drives your decision on the kind of content to teach?
9. Can you tell me about how inmates might use their prison education?
10. What guides inmates' participation in the programmes?
11. What guides educational activities in this prison? (Policy, official documents, the law)
12. Based on prison environment, how do you plan the timetable for the programmes? What challenges do you face with this and how do you deal with them?
13. How do you judge adequacy and benefits of the programmes? What do you consider as the challenges for these programmes, if any?
14. Do you provide certificates for the attendees of the programmes? (If not) Why not? (If yes) Are they socially and professionally recognized? What is the impact for inmates?
15. How do inmates in this prison benefit from the vocational college in the region?
16. What resources do you have for the running of these programmes?
17. How do you get teachers for these programmes? What are their qualifications?
18. What kinds of support do you get from other government departments, institutions, individuals and NGOs? What are the implications for the running of these programmes?
19. What kinds of after release follow-up mechanisms for programme-participant inmates do you have? How do you link them with employers?

20. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?
21. Do you have contact details for any ex-inmates who participated in the programme?
22. Do you have any documents and/or statistics on prison education that you think useful?

Appendix 24

Individual interview guide: the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) representatives

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview guide: Sample questions

1. Can you provide me with a brief history of the work of the IAE?
2. Tell me about literacy among Tanzanians currently? What are implications to the social and economic development of the country?
3. What kind of policy guides adult education provision in Tanzania? What are your views on the impacts of policy on learning?
4. What guides the provision of education for the adult population in prisons?
5. What is the role of the IAE in facilitating prison education?
6. What efforts have you taken so far in helping the inmates to acquire education?
7. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of prison education programmes is concerned?

Appendix 25

Individual interview guide: Senior prison officer (retired)

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview guide: Sample questions

1. How long has the prison department been providing education to inmates? What made the department provide such education?
2. What does the hierarchy of authority in prison education look like? What are the qualifications of these people? What kind of impacts do you believe this hierarchy has on the running of prison education?
3. Tell me about literacy among inmates in Tanzania. What influence do you think does illiteracy have on crime?
4. In your view, what is the contribution of prison education on rehabilitation?
5. Do all Tanzanian prisons offer educational programmes? (If not) Why not? (If yes) What kind of educational programmes do they offer?
6. What guides educational activities in Tanzanian prisons? (Policy, official documents, the law)
7. How do inmates get entry to these programmes?
8. How do you judge adequacy and benefits of the programmes? What do you consider as the challenges for these programmes, if any?
9. How do your vocational colleges help inmates? What kind of links do they have with the Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA)?
10. What resources do you have for the running of these programmes?
11. What is the general recidivism rate for prisoners?
12. What are the similarities and differences of rehabilitation programmes between Tanzania & the country you last served?
13. What is the difference between Tanzanian prison education system and that of the country you lastly served?
14. Do you have information regarding the MoU between OUT and TPS? What is the current status?
15. Do you know about the Prison Education Guide? When was it introduced?
16. What kinds of after release follow-up mechanisms for education-participant inmates available in Tanzanian?
17. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?

Appendix 26

Individual interview guide: OUT representative

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview guide: Sample questions

1. Involvement of OUT in the provision of education to prisoners and how that involvement links with the MoU between OUT and TPS.
2. How extensive is the opportunity to the majority of inmates?
3. What courses/programmes do you allow prisoners to register? In which levels and why?
4. Who funds the education for prisoners?
5. Successes in the provision of such education and the challenges that you face in the process.
6. Have you ever been involved in the development of Prison Education Policy?
7. Any other information regarding prison education that you think necessary.

Appendix 27

Individual interview guide: Adult Education Officer

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview/topic guide: Sample questions

1. Tell me about educational programmes in prisons within your territory.
2. What is your involvement? How did you get involved?
3. What do you consider as success in these programmes?
4. How do you judge adequacy and benefits of the programmes?
5. What do you consider as the challenges for these programmes, if any?
6. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?
7. Do you have any documents and/or statistics on prison education that you think useful?

Appendix 28

Individual interview guide: NGO representative

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview/topic guide: Sample questions

1. Please, tell me about your NGO
2. How many ex-offenders do you currently serve?
3. Tell me about your experience on working with Tanzania prisons.
4. What do you consider as the challenges in carrying out your activities, if any?
5. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?

Appendix 29

Individual interview guide: VETA tutor

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview/topic guide: Sample questions

1. How does your institution work with Kipera Prison?
2. Who pays for the examinations' costs?
3. What do you consider as the challenges working with Kipera, if any?
4. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as the running of these programmes is concerned?

Appendix 30

Individual interview guide: A person who shared examination centre with prisoners

Research: Prison Education in Tanzania: An Exploration of Policy and Practice

Note: The following were the guiding questions; they were not asked in the same order. Depending on the situation, some of them were changed or left out.

Ice breaker

I introduced a suitable ice-breaker before embarked on these questions.

Interview/topic guide: Sample questions

1. Please tell me about yourself.
2. What is your experience on prison education?
3. How did prisoners perform in the examinations?
4. Do you have anything else that you would want to share as far as your experience concerned?

Appendix 31

Publications

Ideas generated from this doctoral project have resulted into the following publications:

Msoroka, M., & Amundsen, D. (2017). One size fits not quite all: Universal research ethics with diversity. *Research Ethics*.

Amundsen, D., Msoroka, M., & Findsen, B. (2017). “It’s a case of access”: The problematics of accessing research participants. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 22(4), 5-17. <https://doi.org/10.15663/wje.v22i4.425>

Amundsen, D., & Msoroka, M. (?). Responsive Ethics Model: An exploratory theory of responsive ethics for human research. *Research Ethics* (Under review).

Msoroka, M., Findsen, B., & Barnes, J. (?). Prison education in Tanzania: Policy versus practice. (Book chapter – under review).

Msoroka, M. (?). Prisoner to Lawyer, Wayward to Welder: Tanzanian prison education through the lens of ‘perspective transformation’. *Journal of Prison Education and Reentry*. (Under review).

Appendix 32

Co-authorship forms



Co-Authorship Form

Postgraduate Studies Office
Student and Academic Services Division
Wahanga Ratoranga Matauranga Akonga
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton 3240, New Zealand
Phone +64 7 838 4439
Website: <http://www.waikato.ac.nz/sas/postgraduate/>

This form is to accompany the submission of any PhD that contains research reported in published or unpublished co-authored work. **Please include one copy of this form for each co-authored work.** Completed forms should be included in your appendices for all the copies of your thesis submitted for examination and library deposit (including digital deposit).

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MSOROKA, M. Amundsen, D. (2017). One size fits not quite all: Universal research ethics with diversity. Research Ethics Journal.

Nature of contribution by PhD candidate: *Writing and research*
Extent of contribution by PhD candidate (%): *50%*

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Name	Nature of Contribution
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<i>Mohamed Msoroka</i>	<i>50% Writing 50% Research.</i>

Certification by Co-Authors

The undersigned hereby certify that:

- the above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this work, and the nature of the contribution of each of the co-authors; and

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Extent of contribution by PhD candidate (%): 40%

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Certification by Co-Authors

The undersigned hereby certify that:

- the above statement correctly reflects the nature and extent of the PhD candidate's contribution to this work, and the nature of the contribution of each of the co-authors; and

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