

LITERACY AND YOUTH: AN EVALUATION OF THE LITERACY PRACTICES OF YOUNG PEOPLE HELD IN INSTITUTIONAL CARE

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The Literacy Debate

THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DEBATE CONCERNING JUVENILE DETAINEE literacy. Many suggest that illiteracy rates for detainees are considerably higher than those found in the general community (Noad & Hancock 1985; Yabsley 1988; Hallard 1990). Others have cast doubt on the validity of the assumption that detainee literacy is of a lower "standard" than that of the community at large (Black 1991; Black, Rouse & Wickert 1990; Brennan & Brennan 1984).

A number of reasons exist for the lack of consensus concerning detainee literacy. First, the meaning of literacy is constantly changing and cannot be separated from the training, philosophy and predisposition of those attempting to define it. Each researcher employs different approaches, methods of investigation and assessment procedures. Often the fundamental questions, assumptions and beliefs driving the research methods and findings vary considerably.

A second reason is that research in the area of literacy is often driven by differing theoretical positions concerning the nature of the reading and writing processes. Some theorists view reading, for example, as simply the ability to decode written words into spoken words, rather than a process of constructing meaning. However, literacy is a complex cultural practice. It is inextricably interwoven with the culture of those who use it. It reflects culture (the beliefs, values, ideas and knowledge of a group of people) and in turn

helps to shape it. As Heath (1983) demonstrated, what counts as literacy is intertwined with culture. Gee suggests that it is almost impossible to separate literacy practices from other cultural practices. Literacy, is "part of the very texture of wider practices that involve talk, interaction, values and beliefs" (1990, p. 43).

One learns about literacy within a social context, as an extension of relationships with other people. Hence, the meanings we create as we read and write are always relative. What we think we know can never be removed from the social context within which we have come to know (Cairney 1990a). All texts are implicated in social relations. We learn to read and write by "being apprenticed to a social group" (Gee 1990, p. 45).

The meanings we construct as we read and write reflect who we are, what we have experienced, what we know about language and the world, and also our purposes for creating them in the first place (Cairney 1990b). Types of discourse and the way we read or write them are the social constructs of specific groups. Individuals are enculturated into these practices and these meanings.

A third reason for this lack of consensus in the literacy debate is that often procedures do not accurately assess a broad range of literacy practices, but rather concentrate on isolated aspects of literacy learning. Some emphasise the importance of accuracy in spelling, others emphasise the functional aspects of language use, for example, being able to make use of signs and bureaucratic forms. Others still, place a greater emphasis on the individual's conceptual capacity. The nature of literacy is such that the assessment of an individual's personal literacy needs to employ a broad range of procedures (Black, Rouse & Wickert 1990).

There is a need to recognise that literacy as a label covers a myriad of practices appropriate in specific cultures and contexts including graffiti, poetry, form filling, postcard writing, drawing, writing music, reading newspapers, looking up a phone directory, reading the instructions on a fire extinguisher and so on. There is often an assumption that to be literate one must achieve equal skill in all aspects of literacy. To hold this view is to miss the critical point that literacy has firm sociocultural foundations.

The Causes and Consequences of Literacy Problems

Literacy has long been recognised as a correlate of self-esteem, attitude to learning and ultimately employment prospects (Cairney 1990a). Increasingly, government reports claim that literacy is linked to our society's productivity (DEET 1991). Illiteracy has been directly associated with lack of employment, low income and poor self-esteem (Dawkins 1989).

Illiteracy has also been shown to be correlated with a variety of youth problems. Not surprisingly, many young people held in institutional care have negative attitudes to education, and limited literacy competence. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate causal links between any of these factors, it has been increasingly recognised that if young people in institutional care are to break the cycle of failure, lack of employment, and

detention, then strategies must be developed to increase their chances of employment and education. Literacy, in this instance, has an important part to play.

Previous research in the field of adult literacy has shown that reasons for literacy difficulties are complex. A number of factors are associated with the lack of success including sociocultural, experiential, emotional, psychological, intellectual and school related reasons. Not surprisingly, unsuccessful readers often have misconceptions about literacy and are confused about the purpose it serves in their lives. As a consequence, unsuccessful readers suffer devastating effects to their feelings of self-worth and motivation to learn (Martin 1989; Lowe 1992).

A variety of sociocultural factors have been shown to be related to illiteracy. For example, it has been suggested that one major contributing factor in the case of the prison population is the inability of the family to provide support structures needed for a child to undertake a consistent school education (Thompson 1992).

In considering the impact of sociocultural factors on illiteracy it should be noted that approximately 15 per cent of detainees are born outside Australia in a predominantly non English speaking country. A further 9.8 per cent of detainees are of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander decent. Thompson (1992) has suggested that alienation from traditional culture for Aboriginal offenders contributes to illiteracy.

Another contributing factor could be the inadequacies of the curriculum that young offenders experienced when at school (Clay 1982; Harste, Short & Burke 1988). Educational and curriculum factors include teacher effectiveness, pupil abilities, the learning environment, teaching methodology and teacher/pupil relationship.

A major concern for the correctional and juvenile justice population is "the inability of the traditional education system to meet their needs" (Thompson 1992, p. 3). A traditional view of curriculum is based on the assumption that learning best takes place when that which is to be learned is broken down into discrete units to be sequentially mastered.

More recently there have been increased calls for the adoption of an holistic approach to the acquisition of literacy (Harste, Short & Burke 1988). The holistic view focuses on constructing meaning from the printed page (Goodman 1982). In such an approach, learners' capabilities are enhanced by building on their own background experiences and knowledge. Within the traditional model the process is controlled by the teacher as the transmitter of the knowledge. By comparison, the role of the holistic teacher is to facilitate learning rather than control it.

Psychological factors also contribute to illiteracy. People discover who they are, and what they are, from the ways in which they have been treated by significant others in the process of growing up (Smith 1988). If a learner perceives that he or she has been rejected by the general community, or group, then an attitude of alienation from the group is likely to result. This in turn may cause the learner to doubt his/her ability to learn or acquire the

literacy of the community. The learner may not expect or perhaps even want to learn or acquire the literacy of that group because he/she does not feel a part of it.

Recognising the impact of low self-esteem and self-worth is particularly important when dealing with the correctional and juvenile justice centre population. Often "young offenders have little or no sense of self" (Faith 1990, p. 17).

Literacy has to be re-defined as a key to future potential rather than something to be mastered and drilled. For far too long literacy has been viewed simply as a cognitive skills based process, instead of a complex cultural activity. Literacy is inherently social. One learns about literacy within a social context, as an extension of relationships with other people. We create meaning as we attempt to make sense of our world (Cairney 1987; 1990a; 1990b; Cairney & Langbien 1989).

In the words of Gee (1990):

Schools, like bars, engage in particular discourses. There is a discourse of being a first-grade student or a high school student as well as more specific discourses connected to different subject matters . . . and different activities (p. vii).

The meanings we construct as we read and write reflect who we are, what we have experienced, what we know about language and the world, and also our purposes for creating them in the first place. Literacy is not simply a technical skill to be mastered. Rather it is "a process that is preceded by and intertwined with knowledge of the world" (Cairney 1991, p. 29). Long before people first read and write, they learn to "read the world" and make their mark on it (Freire & Mace do 1987).

People first learn to "read" the objects and "signs" around them; the place in which they live—the sounds, sights, tastes, tactile objects and smells that surround them. As individuals perceive and respond to the things of this world they learn also about themselves. And as their understanding of self grows, so does their capacity to make sense of the world in which they live (Cairney 1991).

And yet within some schools and correctional educational contexts, reading and writing are sometimes viewed as decontextualised acts of learning, bearing little relation to the reality of the individual's life. Literacy is subsequently defined narrowly as either a functional skill that has utilitarian ends, or a process of initiating the poor and underprivileged minorities into the dominant cultural tradition (Giroux, in Freire & Mace do 1987).

What is needed if young detainees are to take on a variety of literacy practices which are empowering, is for learning contexts to be created that allow inmates to set personal goals for learning. As well, these contexts need to provide detainees with the help they need to use literacy for the achievement of these goals.

With this aim in mind a project was undertaken in two juvenile justice centres and one adult correctional centre that sought to explore the literacy needs of young offenders.

Project Purpose and Design

The purposes of the project were to:

- identify the specific literacy needs of young people (15-25) years in institutional care;
- develop program initiatives that meet the needs of the above group and which offer them a chance to achieve success in literacy and learning both inside and outside institutional care;
- document the program initiatives as they develop so that they can be used in other institutional care settings (for example, detention centres, remand centres, and gaols);
- evaluate the impact of the program initiatives on young people;
- conduct detailed case studies of young people in order to assess the ongoing effectiveness of proposed program initiatives.

The conduct of the work was in three major stages, each of which required a variety of data collection methods (*see* Table 1).

Stage 1 involved gaining an understanding of the educational contexts present within the juvenile justice system; the identification of literacy practices and needs of young offenders; and an analysis of the educational programs offered.

Stage 2 involved establishing a more in-depth understanding of a particular site, focussing on the literacy practices of the inmates.

Stage 3 involved the development of a program which provided inmates with the opportunity to engage in a broad range of literacy practices which would attempt to meet their individual needs, educationally, socially, vocationally and personally.

The project was conducted at three sites: Cobham Juvenile Justice Centre, Reiby Juvenile Justice Centre and Parklea Correctional Centre. During Stages 2 and 3 of the project, Parklea, and to a lesser extent, Cobham became the primary research sites.

Our research involved participant and non-participant observation which enabled data concerning the nature of the educational contexts, the literacy learning context and the literacy practices of young offenders to be gathered.

At Parklea two members of the research team assumed the role of teacher, conducting basic literacy and ESL classes and tutorials preparing inmates for the School Certificate by correspondence. This enabled a more realistic understanding to be gained of the needs of both teachers within the prison system as well as inmates.

Table 1

Methods of Collecting Data

<i>Timeline (Months)</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>9</i>
	<i>Stage 1</i>	<i>Stage 2</i>	<i>Stage 3</i>
Observations			
- passive	*	*	
- active		*	*
Interviews			
- inmates	*	*	*
- teachers	*	*	*
- custodial staff	*	*	*
- support staff			
Case Studies			
- inmates	*	*	*
- sites	*	*	*
Consultation			
- education officers		*	*
- teachers	*	*	*
- custodial staff		*	*
- administrators	*	*	*
Establishing Classes		*	*
Attending Planning Meetings	*	*	*
Collecting Artefacts			
- work samples	*	*	*
- assessment tools		*	*
- various printed material	*	*	*
Member Checking/ Triangulation	*	*	*
Program Development			
- in conjunction with inmates, education and custodial officers and research team		*	
Induction Package			
- trial			*
- evaluation			*

Development of Case Studies

When working in juvenile justice centres and adult correctional facilities one is constantly confronted by the observation that literacy is inherently social. That is, it involves the engagement of individuals in a range of literacy

practices that are embedded in their cultural practices, and which are invariably used in relationship to other people (Cairney 1991).

As a result, the research team recognised the need to conduct detailed case studies of inmates which provided a sense of who they were as people, what their educational backgrounds entailed, and what part literacy played in their lives.

To provide a sense of the diversity of inmates, brief profiles follow for two of the participants.

Andrew is a 17-year-old detainee in Cobham Juvenile Justice Centre. Prior to detention he lived with his mother (a single parent), and four younger siblings in western Sydney. He receives regular visits from his family. Andrew has completed year 11 of high school and had started year 12 but could not sit for the Higher School Certificate because of accumulated absences. He claims to have found high school interesting, studying subjects such as photography, film and art. He liked his teachers who he reported were helpful to him. Andrew uses the Cobham school library to borrow books which relate to the history and politics of other countries. He is an inveterate letter writer and has ambitions of becoming a journalist. Andrew views his detention as a time to complete his HSC with no disruptions from friends and no financial burden to his mother.

Larry is a 21-year-old serving a sentence at Parklea Correctional Centre. He comes from far western NSW and maintains contact with his family by telephone. Larry's experiences of "normal school" were extremely limited. In his own words "I wagged it all the time. I hated school. I hated the schoolwork and the teachers". Larry has a long history of detention, having been in boy's homes and then correctional centres since he was 7-years-old. He describes himself as "institutionalised" .

Larry's literacy was assessed at Parklea and found to be at the lowest end of their scale. He agreed to participate in education and found himself in a basic literacy class. He wanted to become more independent, and to be able to fill out forms by himself. Larry claimed that he never read anything other than the occasional newspaper. Larry applied to enrol in the Certificate of Adult Basic Education (CABE) correspondence course offered through the Department of Technical and Further Education (TAFE). His application was unsuccessful due to his low level of literacy. While participating in the basic literacy class at Parklea, Larry began to enjoy reading the newspaper and various sporting magazines on a regular basis. He also wrote a number of pieces including "the longest letter he had ever written" to a friend in another prison. Larry has never been employed, but when released from prison he wants to find physical work in the country so that he can "stay away from town and keep out of trouble".

These brief profiles illustrate something of the diversity of literacy needs that exist. No two inmates are ever the same, nor do they require exactly the same educational programs. It is clear that the literacy practices of inmates vary greatly. Some inmates enter custody able to engage in a broad range of literacy practices. These inmates obviously have many educational options. Other inmates enter with limited access to a range of literacy practices that are typically necessary to enable their participation in more formal education

and training. As a consequence of the case studies, attempts were made to identify common themes within the data collected.

The following became apparent:

- there was considerable variation in the personal backgrounds of detainees;
- detainees displayed a variety of interests pertaining to literacy;
- constraints existed, within the system, which inhibited the literacy practices of detainees;
- detainees perceptions of literacy and its role in their future were varied;
- detainees had access to a varied range of literacy practices;
- typically, detainees reported negative school experiences;
- the literacy abilities of detainees varied greatly;
- many detainees exhibited a negative attitude toward literacy, grounded in negative or damaging experiences at school, and a belief that literacy is essentially a skill characterised by the ability to use those literacy practices essential to schooling.

Development of Literacy for Specific Target Groups

As a consequence of the initial observations, two teacher-researchers worked with two specific student groups. One group comprised detainees whose first language was other than English. The other was made up of detainees whose literacy was considered to be at a quite basic level. Both teachers adopted a particular approach to their involvement with the students which was characterised by the following:

- Students were allowed to define their own literacy interests. For example, newspapers, magazines and books were made available from which a number of literacy practices emerged. Asian students chose to read from a selection of Vietnamese and Chinese language newspapers and magazines. These provided a rich source of discussion among students which took place in English. Students in the basic literacy group often chose to read about and discuss items from the sports or news sections of the daily press.
- Students were encouraged to engage in the processes of reading and writing for meaningful purposes. Such processes were based on meaningful tasks with the aim of serving the needs of detainees rather than teacher determined curriculum.

- Students were encouraged to see literacy as a means to build relationships between one another and with the teachers. To facilitate the relationship between students and teachers, the teachers viewed themselves as co-learners with the students. Information which was new to all was shared and discussed. A high degree of trust was established which was necessary if students were to take the risks which make optimum learning possible.
- Students were encouraged to share both their reading and writing with members of the group and were encouraged to be supportive of one another.
- The teachers endeavoured to display a concern for reading and writing which transcended what might be termed utilitarian literacy. That is, detainees were not required merely to fill in forms or answer comprehension questions, but were encouraged to engage in reading, writing, talking and listening experiences which were real and meaningful.
- The teachers did not place undue importance upon the conventions of print. Students were encouraged to take risks while writing. The emphasis was placed on the meaning created by the student.
- Students were encouraged to understand that the teachers valued them as people first, and as learners second.
- The teachers displayed enthusiasm for the various texts which they introduced to their classes. This included newspapers and magazines as well as books.
- The teachers allowed the students to decide for themselves the kinds of literacy practices they would pursue. They were encouraged to read and write for their own self-defined purposes.

Students were encouraged to engage in the processes of reading and writing for a variety of meaningful purposes. Such processes were based on meaningful tasks with the aim of serving the needs of detainees rather than teacher determined curriculum. For example, detainees were encouraged to write letters to friends and family both in Australia and overseas. One detainee re-established contact with his family in Nepal with whom he had not corresponded since his imprisonment some 4 years ago. This empowered him to the extent that his ability to cope with the stress of incarceration in a foreign country was significantly enhanced:

I feel much happier now that I know my wife and daughters are fine. I am thinking of transferring to Long Bay so that I can get out of prison much quicker.

A detainee who attended the basic literacy class wrote a letter to his brother who was incarcerated in another NSW prison. They are only able to

communicate by mail as detainees are forbidden to communicate by telephone. The detainee had received letters from his brother but had not replied because he felt incapable of doing so:

I can't write anything.

With encouragement the detainee wrote a letter using "invented" spelling which nevertheless carried his meaning effectively. The detainee had been of the opinion that anything he wrote needed to be absolutely perfect in terms of spelling and grammar. He was scared of making the mistakes which he knew to be inevitable.

Students were also encouraged to view literacy as a means of expanding and learning about their world, as well as communicating with others within it. Detainees often demonstrated an interest in the communities or localities from which they came. This led to the perusal of atlases, maps and travel brochures which featured those particular locations. As such, students were expanding their literacy incidentally, while learning about (in this instance) geographical items of interest to them. This had special relevance for the Vietnamese detainees who avidly perused photographs and picture magazines of their home country. These detainees have close family still living in Vietnam and are keen to know what the country is like today. Activities such as these seemed to help them to maintain their cultural identity and increase their self-esteem.

Students were encouraged to see literacy as a means to build relationships, between one another and with the teachers. To facilitate the relationship between students and teachers, the teachers again viewed themselves as co-learners with the students and information which was new to all was shared and discussed. Students were also encouraged to share both their reading and writing with other members of the group. One student who claimed to hate reading nevertheless had a keen interest in the horoscope which appears in the daily newspaper. It became his practice to read aloud the horoscopes of the various members of the group including the teacher. He saw that this reading had a purpose which was to entertain and inform others.

The teachers endeavoured to display a concern for literacy which transcended what might be termed utilitarian literacy. That is, detainees were not required to merely fill in forms or answer comprehension questions but were encouraged to engage in reading, writing, talking and listening experiences which were real and meaningful. Various texts were introduced to the groups by the teachers; for example, poetry, short stories, fiction and non-fictional texts.

One detainee arrived in the ESL class without really knowing what he wanted to gain from the experience. He began perusing the poetry books and inspired by the work of poets such as Geoff Goodfellow began writing his own poems. These poems expressed his feelings about being in the prison system. They were read by the other detainees who made encouraging comments about the content of the poetry, and then encouraged him to continue writing as they believed he expressed what they all felt.

The teachers sought to create a relationship with each of the students as well as between the students. It was considered important to convey to the students the feeling that the teacher was concerned about them generally and about their learning in particular. In this way a high degree of trust was developed which is necessary in order for students to take the risks which make optimum learning possible. Students were encouraged to be supportive of one another. For example, an Asian detainee who had been unable to communicate effectively with anyone during his incarceration attended the ESL class. Over the course of some weeks he began to form a friendship with another detainee who became his peer-tutor. They did not share a common first language, but during the process of developing their experience with English, found that they were able to communicate in their new language. For the Asian student this experience removed the isolating barriers which had been in place prior to his attendance in the class. Their friendship extended beyond the classroom. In time, the Asian student's behaviour and general demeanour became significantly more positive.

The teachers displayed enthusiasm for the various texts which they introduced to their classes. This written material included newspapers and magazines, as well as books. One student who attended the basic literacy class claimed to have enjoyed reading paperback novels. The teacher discussed with him Bryce Courtenay's novel, *The Power of One*. A copy was provided for the student, who proceeded to read it to completion within a week. The story was then discussed informally during the basic education class. The enthusiasm both the teacher and the student had for the story was demonstrated to the whole group. As a result, a student in another class heard of the book and requested a copy from his teacher. The original student also read the sequel, *Tandia*.

The teachers allowed the students to decide for themselves the kinds of literacy practices they would pursue. They were encouraged to read and write for their own self-defined purposes. One student who felt strongly about his Aboriginality often wrote stories which expressed his feelings about his heritage. Another student preferred to express himself through poetry. Some students confined their writing mainly to letters to family and friends.

Similarly, students varied in their reading tastes. While most detainees enjoyed reading the newspaper, many also read particular magazines which reflected their interests, for example, *TIME*, *Rugby League Week*, and *Classic Cars*. Students who were enrolled in a particular course of study such as CAFE or CGE, were required to engage in specified reading and writing. While they often resented the content of the courses, they nevertheless participated because their purpose was to attain the qualification carried by the course.

Both researchers showed that the programs designed achieved their purposes. Detainees began to define their own literacy needs and sought the assistance of the teachers to help them meet personal goals.

Trial of Detainee Induction Program

As well as working with specific groups of detainees, a more innovative program was developed and trialled. It was designed to introduce detainees to a range of literacy practices, while at the same time clarifying and reinforcing the mandatory induction package detainees receive on entry to Parklea Correctional Centre. It was also designed to act as a vehicle for initial assessment of detainee literacy needs. The program consisted of a series of six workshops which were to run over a two-week period. The workshops covered the following:

- an individual interview which allowed a literacy profile of the detainee to be established;
- a letter writing session;
- an introduction to the various educational opportunities available to the detainees;
- a visit to the wing library;
- a reading and writing session in which detainees were provided with a range of texts and materials;
- an orientation to education programs in which each detainee was offered assistance to enrol in specific courses.

The evaluation of the program indicated a number of positive benefits. For example, during the individual interview, detainees were able to discuss various aspects of life in Parklea. Concerns or queries arising from the mandatory induction meeting were voiced. Information provided at that meeting was reinforced or clarified.

Participation in the program also enabled a more detailed assessment of individual detainees' literacy practices. Their familiarity and control of print was observed, and a positive introduction to education within the prison took place. Attitudes towards and purposes for various literacy practices were established.

The literacy practices of detainees were also discussed and where appropriate, assistance given to facilitate them; for example, information such as the postal address of the prison was provided. A variety of reading materials was introduced and eagerly sought by detainees. Some detainees requested particular reading items, which were provided where possible.

The variety of educational opportunities available at Parklea was also indicated, explained, and matched with the needs of each detainee. Some detainees expressed an interest in participating in various courses of study. Detainees who were serving sentences as brief as three months, and who ordinarily may have disregarded participation in education, were often convinced of the value of at least beginning a course which they could continue to pursue upon their release.

The informal nature of the workshops encouraged a positive relationship and some degree of rapport to be established between the "teacher" and the detainees. This enabled a favourable image of education to be presented, thus promoting further participation.

In spite of the above positive outcomes, it became evident that refinement of the program would be necessary before implementing it widely. For example, it was found that for some detainees, the content of the induction program was too prescriptive, and did not meet their specific needs. Some detainees had already written letters before they participated in the program, while others had already visited the library.

Nevertheless, overall the program had many positive outcomes. It offered access to materials and led to the creation of an atmosphere which encouraged further engagement in a range of literacy practices. Many detainees were content to engage in recreational reading of current newspapers and magazines which often led to discussion between students and teachers. The Induction Program demonstrated how literacy can be successfully integrated with other initiatives.

Conclusion

Our work has shown that many detainees do in fact need extensive help with literacy. It has also shown that the literacy needs of detainees, and the most effective educational strategies are as numerous as the detainees themselves. However, this project has demonstrated the importance of creating educational environments that facilitate learning.

Much still needs to be done if we are to create active literacy learning environments for all detainees within the diverse educational contexts of correctional institutions. Clearly, education officers and teachers in correctional institutions need greater support in terms of resources. There is also a need for:

- changes in the way education is articulated with the other activities and programs within institutions;
- ongoing professional development support for education officers, teachers and custodial officers;
- increased state and national coordination of curriculum and resources.

At a more specific level, there is a need for education officers and teachers to work within existing constraints to create even more effective educational environments. This will involve continuing self evaluation of programs, innovative educational program planning, new strategies for assessment and placement of detainees, ongoing professional development of staff, and finally, new recruitment strategies to attract an increasing range of teachers with the specific skills needed. These teachers should have a well developed understanding of adult learning and literacy, as well as an awareness of the special needs of detainees in correctional centres.

Literacy is not the solution to all of life's problems (Graff 1987). However, it is part of the cultural practices with which detainees will need to engage in the wider world. As such, it has importance. For some of the detainees within corrective institutions, the failure to acquire certain literacy practices has effectively served to alienate and disempower. Literacy offers lifelong possibilities and goals to be achieved, and can provide detainees with the opportunity to become active questioners of their own social reality. On the other hand, it can serve to exclude if the learner fails to have access to the literacy practices that are necessary for participation in work and leisure.

The challenge for all involved in literacy work within correctional institutions is to recognise the potential that literacy has to contribute to learning and growth as human beings, and to respond by creating contexts in which literacy practices can be demonstrated and used for purposes that detainees define as legitimate, meaningful and life changing.

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