

Sending Students to Prison: An Impact Evaluation of the  
Arizona Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program

by

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## ABSTRACT

The prison classroom offers a transformative educational opportunity for incarcerated and non-incarcerated students alike. The current study uses place-conscious educational theories and the intergroup contact theory to examine how a prison education program can offer deeply impactful experiences for students. Using a pre/post-intervention survey design, this thesis analyzes differences in attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions about crime and criminal justice between and within groups of incarcerated (n=24) and university (n=20) students participating in two semester-long prison-based criminal justice courses in Arizona. Results show that prior to participating in the Inside-Out Prison Exchange programs, inside students had less favorable views about the criminal justice system compared to outside students, and outside students had less favorable attitudes about people who are incarcerated. Throughout the course, positive attitudes toward the criminal justice system increased for inside students and positive attitudes about incarcerated people increased among outside students, such that at the end of the course, the differences in attitudes between the two groups were no longer significant. Additionally, outside students' punitive attitudes decreased throughout their participation in the course. Overall, the magnitude of the changes experienced by each student group were different, such that outside students experienced more significant changes in attitudes and beliefs about crime and criminal justice than did inside students.

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## INTRODUCTION

The beauty of learning is that it takes place anywhere and everywhere. In and outside of the classroom, there is opportunity for experiences and dialogue which have the potential to impact us deeply. Literature on experiential and place-based learning indicates that the environment in which classes take place can have dramatic effects on student learning. The prison classroom in particular offers a transformative educational opportunity for incarcerated and non-incarcerated students alike.

Educational pedagogy includes a variety of “place-conscious” educational theories, including place-based and experiential learning theories (Gruenewald, 2003). Scholars have explored ways in which the classroom can be an “insulated space” or a means of “escape” from the harsh and oppressive prison environment (Conti, Morrison, and Pantaleo, 2013; Werts, 2013; Wright and Jonson, 2018). Dialogic spaces within prisons may allow incarcerated individuals to “carve out” a space that is insulated from the hypermasculinity of inmate culture, as well as the power dynamics between themselves and the correctional officers (Werts, 2013). The creation of “insulated spaces” through the use of place-based learning pedagogy allow for personal growth amid the oppressive prison environment and deeper learning for all students (Allred, 2009; Conti, Morrison, and Pantaleo, 2013).

Additionally, experiential learning theory, another subsection of environmental learning, posits that learning develops when an experience is transformed into knowledge through reflection, relearning, and resolving a cognitive conflict (Kolb, 1984). The prison classroom offers a unique opportunity for university students to gain knowledge through

experiential learning. Prison tours are commonly used as an experiential learning opportunity for criminal justice students. Carceral tours, though, are often criticized as being too short-term an experience for students to learn anything deeper than the superficial environment of a prison (Meisel, 2008; Piche and Walby, 2010; Smith, 2013). A longer experience inside a prison classroom may increase the knowledge formation experienced by non-incarcerated, as well as incarcerated students.

One such option for transformative learning, which utilizes place-conscious educational theories, is the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program. Inside-Out includes a semester-long college course held within prisons and jails that emphasizes collaboration, problem-solving, and changing attitudes and perceptions regarding crime and criminal justice among students. Half of the students are currently incarcerated – the inside students – and the other half is comprised of campus-based undergraduate students – the outside students. Over 30,000 students from both inside and outside of the prison walls have participated in Inside-Out courses since its inception in 1997. While this immersive, prison-based learning opportunity has been around for over two decades, evaluations of its impact on students have been limited.

Furthermore, intergroup contact theory posits that contact between in-groups and out-groups reduces prejudicial attitudes as experiential knowledge replaces stereotypes (Allport, 1954; Williams, 1947). In Inside-Out, the inside and the outside students both occupy roles as members of the in-group and the out-group. By bringing these groups together on an “equal playing field,” research on intergroup contact theory suggests that intergroup contact may reduce intergroup prejudices (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006).

Previous research posits that the use of place-based learning, experiential learning, and the engagement of students in intergroup contact all benefit students as it makes the course material more meaningful for students, engages them in real-world problem solving, and develops students' ability to think critically (Allport, 1954; Kolb, 1984; Sarkar and Frazier, 2008).

The current study uses pre- and post-intervention surveys of inside and outside students to examine differences and changes in self-control, self-efficacy, punitive attitudes, and perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system between and within student status groups (inside or outside) and time points (before or after course completion). The broader purpose of this work is to expand the discussion of programmatic outcomes beyond recidivism and prison misconduct measures, by examining impacts of prison programs in terms of attitudinal changes for both incarcerated and non-incarcerated students.

## BACKGROUND

### *Incarcerated students*

Some barriers to participation in education classes, as well as other prison programs, include the distracting and constraining prison environment and an inmate culture (Palmer, 2012; Utheim, 2016). This harsh environment and hypermasculine culture discourage vulnerability and emotional expression and may reduce one's willingness to develop trusting relationships (De Viggiani, 2012). However, the prison classroom may be a space for students to escape from the inmate code. Place-based



learning discusses how the environment in which learning takes place may be a resource for learning (Podder, 2016). By making the classroom look similar to classrooms outside of the prison walls, individuals are removed from the punitive environment in which they live, which may encourage learning for students (Wright and Jonson, 2017). Similarly, Rule (2004) and Conti and colleagues (2013) discuss dialogic spaces in prison, which encourage learning and dialogue in a space that has been transformed to be culturally different from the surrounding correctional facility.

A large body of research examines the impact of prison education programs on the future behavior of people who are incarcerated. While various studies find that certain education program types differentially impact specific outcomes, in general, this body of literature finds that participation in prison education programs reduces recidivism (Chappell, 2004; Davis et al., 2014; Pompoco et al., 2017; Wade, 2007; Wilson et al., 2000), decreases violent prison misconduct (Pompoco et al., 2017), and results in greater employment rates upon release (Wilson et al., 2000). A meta-analysis from the RAND Corporation concluded that the costs of reincarceration are greater than the costs of providing correctional education (Davis et al., 2014). When incarcerated people participate in educational programs, they are often successful in making academic progress (as defined by test scores) (Reed, 2015), and this participation may contribute to future academic success.

Prison education, then, is not only beneficial because of its relationship with future academic success, employment, and desistance (see, for example, Lagemann, 2016), but also because of its ability to create a space which insulates participants from

prison culture during their incarceration. By creating “insulated spaces,” people who are incarcerated may be able to participate more deeply and meaningfully in the programs that are offered to them. Wright and Jonson (2017, p. 9) describe the prison classroom as “a place where the knowledge and skills needed to alter criminal trajectories can be obtained, while simultaneously establishing connections to the community beyond the prison walls.” Social supports cultivated in prison education classrooms may protect students from criminogenic factors, increase informal social support in the prison (Cullen, 1994), and connect students to the outside world (Zoukis, 2014).

Inside-Out creates a dialogic space wherein students can engage in meaningful discussions about crime and criminal justice. Previous research finds that such dialogue in Inside-Out develops both students’ ability to challenge stereotypes and their critical thinking skills (Long and Barnes, 2016). Through these theoretical mechanisms, then, inside students’ optimism about the future of the criminal justice system may improve throughout course participation. Previous literature finds that Inside-Out increases students’ feelings of connection to their community (Pollack, 2016), which may be evidence of the deep learning and unique knowledge formation that results from such experiential and place-based learning opportunities. Additionally, the connection to community and the social support that is provided by educators (Wright and Jonson, 2017) may be even greater in Inside-Out because in- and out-groups are interacting, which the contact hypothesis posits will alter stereotypes and attitudes each group holds about the other.

*Nonincarcerated students*

Prison education programs offer a variety of benefits for people who are incarcerated, but education in the prison classroom may also be impactful for non-incarcerated students. Research examining learning inside the prison walls for university and college students often discusses carceral tours as an experiential learning opportunity. Experiential learning theory defines learning as "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb 1984, p. 41). Experiential learning theory is based on six propositions-which acknowledge that learning is a process, requiring relearning, resolution of cognitive conflicts, and interaction between a person and their environment. Carceral tours are often criticized as being too short-term an experience for students to learn anything deeper than the superficial environment of a prison (Meisel, 2008; Piche and Walby, 2010; Smith, 2013).

Place-based learning also discusses the importance of the environment in which learning takes place (Podder, 2016). Immersion in the environment being studied is essential for deeper learning and understanding for students. Place-based learning, then, not only applies to the incarcerated students stepping into a different cultural environment when they enter a classroom, but also to the university students who enter the correctional setting which they seek to understand.

Intergroup contact theory (ICT) posits that contact between in-groups and out-groups reduces prejudicial attitudes as experiential knowledge replaces stereotypes (Allport, 1954; Williams, 1947). While most research around ICT examines racial bias, out-groups or target groups have also included homosexuals, the elderly, the mentally ill, those with physical disabilities (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), and the homeless (Lee,

Farrell, and Link, 2004). In Inside-Out, the inside and the outside students both occupy roles as members of the in-group and the out-group. Inside students may hold biases against the “privileged” university students, and outside students may hold stereotypes of the “dangerous” inmate. By bringing these groups together on an “equal playing field,” research on ICT suggests that intergroup contact may reduce intergroup prejudices (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006).

Experiential and place-based learning, as well as the mechanisms of intergroup contact theory, are included in the structure and content of Inside-Out courses. The environment in which the course takes place, coupled with the dialogue that students produce creates a dialogic space and room for both place-based and experiential learning to take place. The current study explores the impact of Inside-Out on not only attitudes about incarcerated people, but also student beliefs about the purpose of the criminal justice system, self-efficacy, and self-control. It argues that Inside-Out will alter punitive attitudes - especially of the outside students - because research finds that criminal justice majors have greater punitive attitudes compared to other majors (Mackey and Courtright, 2010). However, after interaction with the “out-group” of people who are incarcerated and learning more about the collateral consequences of incarceration, these attitudes are likely to change.

Previous Inside-Out research examines self-efficacy, or one’s belief in their abilities to mobilize motivation and resources to meet goals and situational demands (Gist & Mitchell, 1992, p. 194). While Allred, Harrison, and O’Connell (2013) find that self-efficacy improved and changed more for inside students throughout their course

participation, Long and Barnes (2016) instead find that self-efficacy improved most for the outside students. Therefore, it is expected that self-efficacy will change for all Inside-Out students throughout their participation in the course, but it is unclear for which group these changes will be most significant.

Self-control has yet to be studied in relation to Inside-Out. Whether self-control changes across the life-course or not is a continuous debate. Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime posits that self-control is stable after age 8. Hay and Meldrum (2016), however, suggest that rather than being stable, self-control is more similar to a muscle that can be built up or exhausted throughout the life-course. By participating in a collegiate course, in prison, and all the reading and homework it entails, it is possible that self-control may change for each student group throughout the semester-long Inside-Out course.

### *Inside-Out as a Connection through Walls*

Connections between incarcerated populations and the outside world are important for the mental well-being of people who are incarcerated, as well as beneficial for their reentry experience. Whether through visitation, programming, or education, finding an “insulating space” in prison allows the person to momentarily escape from the hypermasculinity of the inmate code and the oppressive environment of prison. While many incarcerated people develop prosocial supports with incarcerated peers (see Kreager et al., 2017), social supports from outside the prison walls can be impactful as well. Prison education classes offer social supports and a connection between the incarcerated students and the outside world. Many educators in prison classrooms view

themselves as agents of change who care about their students' success (Wright, 2004). These social supports may protect students from criminogenic factors, increase informal social support in the prison (Cullen, 1994), and connect students to the outside world (Zoukis, 2014). Wright and Jonson (2017) note that "insulating individuals from the damaging prison environment, offering social support, and providing prosocial opportunities that individuals can connect with are consistently recognized as important factors in accomplishing cognitive and behavioral change (p. 13)."

One prison education program which encourages these connections in an environment that promotes transformative learning is the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program. Inside-Out is hosted in 10 different countries and 44 states in the US, plus the District of Columbia, and involves partnerships between over 100 higher education and correctional institutions. Nearly 800 instructors have been trained to teach Inside-Out classes, over 600 courses have been offered since Inside-Out's inception involving more than 30,000 students (The Inside-Out Center website). Classes include roughly 30 students, where students complete the same reading and writing assignments, and the classes are dialogic (i.e. courses facilitate impactful dialogue between students), encouraging conversations that challenge stereotypes and preconceived notions about crime and punishment. The program was started in 1997 by Professor Lori Pompa from Temple University after Paul Perry, a man incarcerated at the Pennsylvania State Correctional Facility had suggested the idea to her. Pompa has since written several papers discussing the goals of this immersive educational experience (Pompa, 2004; Pompa, 2013). She notes that the Inside-Out program is not a charity, not voyeurism, and

not to study incarcerated people or to help them, but rather a community-based learning opportunity in which all students contribute and consume knowledge. The program is an educational program, not advocacy or activism, and student interaction is limited to the classroom setting and only the semester that the students are enrolled in the class. She describes the Inside-Out classroom as a space where the walls of the prison break down as students engage in a dialogue which confronts their stereotypes and promotes social change.

There is a small body of literature examining the impact of Inside-Out participation on students. Most of the research involving Inside-Out includes anecdotal accounts from former Inside-Out students (Davis & Roswell, 2013; Werts, 2013) and Inside-Out facilitators (Davis & Roswell, 2013; Pompa, 2004; Pompa, 2013; Shay, 2012), and small qualitative studies. Additionally, a number of these qualitative studies include content analyses of student reflection papers from Inside-Out class sessions (Allred, 2009; Hilinski-Rosick and Blackmer, 2014) and interviews with Inside-Out students (Pollack, 2016). This literature generally finds that Inside-Out students report reduced stereotypes, creation of a sense of community, a drive for social action (Pollack, 2016), increased empathy, and changes in perceptions of the criminal justice system such as decreased punitive attitudes and changes in beliefs about punishment (Hilinski-Rosick and Blackmer, 2014).

While the anecdotal and small-scale qualitative studies present positive and supportive findings regarding the impact of Inside-Out, it is important also to explore quantitative measures of the impact of this program. Quantitative research provides

evaluations that allow the universities and correctional facilities that support Inside-Out to see how their resources are impacting students. To my knowledge, there are only two quantitative evaluations of Inside-Out at the writing of this thesis. Allred, Harrison, and O'Connell (2013) use a pre/post self-report survey design to examine baseline differences and changes in student self-efficacy within student groups throughout Inside-Out participation. Their sample included 95 students from three different Inside-Out courses. The researchers found that inside students report increased self-efficacy after class participation compared to before class participation, suggesting that even the short time a student spends in a semester-long class can impact the student's self-efficacy. This impact on self-efficacy was not found among outside students. Nevertheless, the increase in self-efficacy among inside students is notable, as studies find that higher self-efficacy is related to successful reentry (Bahr et al., 2010) and lower recidivism rates (Cuevas, Wolff, and Baglivio, 2017).

Secondly, Long and Barnes (2016) conducted a pilot evaluation of Inside-Out programs in the Philadelphia Area. This study explored not only student self-efficacy, but also critical thinking ability, self-awareness, ability to challenge stereotypes, feeling connected to one's community, as well as measuring demographics of students and the fidelity of program implementation. The sample in Long and Barnes study included 248 students and 13 facilitators from 10 different Inside-Out courses and the study used a pre/post self-report survey design. The majority of the correctional institutions included in this sample were jails. The researchers found that about 75% of the inside students were male, while about 75% of the outside students were female. Also, 59% of the inside



students were black, while 59% of the outside students were white. While these differences are stark, the proportions are generally reflective of incarcerated and university populations respectively. The researchers found that while all students experienced changes across a variety of measures, the inside students experienced more academic outcome gains, such as critical thinking ability, and outside students experienced more non-academic outcome gains, like self-efficacy, and awareness of the institutional or interpersonal structures of power, privilege, and identity.

The two quantitative evaluations of Inside-Out have been landmark studies for the program. Several additional components could build on the foundational knowledge that each produced. Allred, Harrison, and O’Connell (2013) focused on self-efficacy changes within student status groups. While this study examined both baseline differences and changes throughout Inside-Out course participation, the outcome examined was limited to self-efficacy. Long and Barnes (2016) conducted a pilot evaluation of Inside-Out programs in the Philadelphia area, examining the demographics of Inside-Out participants, program implementation fidelity, and both academic and non-academic outcomes. While this study examined changes across a variety of dependent variables, baseline differences between student status groups are not analyzed in the report. Furthermore, both of these evaluations find differences in experiences for inside compared to outside students, but neither have examined the *magnitude* of the changes compared to one another.

## CURRENT FOCUS

Prison education, namely Inside-Out, offers a unique transformative learning opportunity for students inside and outside the prison walls. Intergroup contact theory posits that interaction between inside and outside students in the prison classroom may reduce punitive attitudes among students, improve students' attitudes about incarcerated people, and increase students' optimism about the future of the criminal justice system. Experiential learning theory and research on dialogic spaces suggests that immersive education like Inside-Out may increase students' drive for social action and their connection to their community. Previous research examining Inside-Out not only support these changes in perceptions about crime and the criminal justice system, but also find that participation in Inside-Out changes students' self-efficacy as well.

Forty-four students, both inside and outside students, completed pre- and post-participation surveys in two Inside-Out courses in Arizona. The current study uses these surveys to examine differences and changes across a variety of critical constructs, including self-efficacy, self-control, and several perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about crime and criminal justice. I explore baseline differences as well as differences between inside and outside student at the end of the course, changes within student status groups throughout course participation, and differences in the magnitude of changes experienced by inside compared to outside students across all dependent variables.

This study examines four hypotheses: 1) there will be baseline differences between inside and outside students, 2) there will be differences within groups at the completion of the course, 3) there will be changes between pre- and post-participation for

inside and outside students, and 4) there will be differences in changes experienced by inside compared to outside students between pre- and post-participation surveys.

## DATA AND METHODS

### *Data*

This study includes participants of two semester-long Inside-Out courses held by Arizona State University and hosted by the Arizona Department of Corrections. The Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program is open to all undergraduate students at Arizona State University, though is advertised to and primarily attracts criminal justice and psychology majors. There is no restriction on class standing to enroll in the course, but it is listed as a 300 and 400-level course. All students who wish to enroll in the class undergo an application and selection process. Outside students submit an application, which addresses why they want to take the course, what interests them about it, and their goals for the future. Responses on the application are used to determine which students would be appropriate and conducive to a productive class experience for Inside-Out. Twenty students are then interviewed by Inside-Out program facilitators, after which 10 outside students are selected to enroll in the course.

Inside students send a letter to a CO III (the title of the programming/case managers at ADC facilities) in charge of the IO program. These letters are then screened based on selection criteria. Inside students must have a high school diploma or GED (as this is a college-level course), they must not be convicted of any sex offenses and must have no minor disciplinary infractions within the last six months (e.g., disrupting count), nor a major disciplinary infraction within the last twelve months to enroll in the course

(e.g., assault on staff). Then, inside applicants are interviewed by the CO III, an ASU volunteer, and the Deputy Warden to assess why they are interested in the course, what they hope to get from the course, and what they think they can contribute to the course. Following this interview, selected applicants are screened by the Special Services Unit (SSU) to ensure that none of the potential inside students are suspected of being involved of suspicious behaviors such as drug use, gang involvement, or violent behaviors. All selected applicants are then interviewed by the IO course facilitators, after which facilitators make their final admission decisions. Thus, both sets of students go through similar selection processes. To give an example of the selections process, in the spring of 2017 when data collection began, 77 outside applications were submitted to enroll in the course, 20 of which were selected by the application review committee to be interviewed in person by ASU instructors, after which 10 undergraduate applicants were selected to be enrolled in the course. Similarly, roughly 50 inside applications were submitted for this same semester, 20 of which were then interviewed by ASU instructors, and 12 of which were selected to participate in the course. It is important to note that the prison at which the courses are held are all-male facilities. In the spring of 2017, the Inside-Out course was held at a medium-security yard and the fall 2017 course was held at a minimum-security yard. Arizona State University and the Arizona Department of Corrections – Florence yards are diverse in terms of racial and ethnic distribution.

Anonymous, self-report surveys were administered to all students at the beginning of the course semester and again at the end of the course semester to evaluate changes in self-control, self-efficacy, and beliefs about crime and the criminal justice system. This

pre/post-intervention measure design allows for the examination of how perceptions and attitudes change from before the Inside-Out intervention (baseline) compared to after the immersive, place-based learning course (Cook, Campbell, & Shadish, 2002). The survey includes a total of 61 questions, assessing constructs such as self-control, self-efficacy, punitive attitudes, attitudes about incarcerated people, and perceptions regarding the death penalty.

### *Sample*

Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample across student status, semester of course participation, and pre/post-survey completion. No demographic or identifying information was collected, aside from birth year and an identification code, which were used only to match pre- and post-surveys to measure individual changes in students across the semester. This was done for two reasons. First, due to the small class sizes, such information would undermine the confidentiality of the surveys. Second, race/ethnicity, gender, and age variables are almost entirely split along student group lines in this sample, such that most inside students are older, minority men, while most outside students are younger, white females. Therefore, the demographic information gathered would be unlikely to yield useful comparisons between groups across these control variables.

While demographic information was not gathered, outside applicants for these Inside-Out courses typically include more criminology and criminal justice as well as psychology majors, and more female than male applicants. Given the host facilities for this sample are all-male facilities, all inside students in this sample are males. Though the

sample size is small (44) there was a 100% response rate from all Inside-Out students for all periods of data collection.

Table 1. Distribution of sample across student status, semester of course, and pre/post-survey completion

	Spring 2017 (medium security)	Fall 2017 (minimum security)	Total
Inside	24	24	48
Outside	20	20	40
Pre	22	22	44
Post	22	22	44
Total	88 surveys completed 44 students participated		

### *Key Variables*

Several of the questions asked in the survey to measure the dependent variables were combined into summative scales. Exploratory factor analyses were conducted, and the factor loadings are presented in Appendix 2. The *self-control* scale includes 13 items from the Brief Self-Control Scale (Tangney et al., 2003) including questions like “I am good at resisting temptation” and “Sometimes pleasure and fun keep me from getting work done” (1=low self-control; 5= high self-control). Self-control scale variables in this study are highly interrelated and load on a single factor (eigenvalue of 4.44; all loadings above .3), with a high reliability ( $\alpha = .862$ ). The *self-efficacy* scale is an 8-item scale (1=low self-efficacy; 5=high self-efficacy), including questions such as “In uncertain

times, I usually expect the best,” and “I believe that my presence impacts those around me positively.” Higher scores on this scale reflect greater self-efficacy. Self-efficacy variables are highly interrelated (eigenvalue of 3.66; all loadings above .3) with high reliability ( $\alpha = .862$ ). The *punitive attitudes* scale is a 10-item scale measuring punitive compared to rehabilitative attitudes (1=rehabilitative; 5=punitive). This scale includes questions like “I believe that the best way to stop crime is to get tough on offenders” and “I believe that rehabilitation programs are worth the money that they cost to run.” Punitive attitudes variables are highly interrelated (eigenvalue of 2.80; all loadings above .3) with high reliability ( $\alpha = .756$ ). Higher scores on this scale reflect more punitive attitudes. Nineteen other survey questions were also analyzed in this study. These questions explore themes such as *attitudes about the criminal justice system* (“In general, the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime,” “I am optimistic about the future of the criminal justice system”), *perceptions of crime* (“Disobeying the law is rarely justified,” “I believe that most crime involve violence”), *attitudes about incarcerated people* (“A person can be a positive role model to their children from prison,” “I believe a person serving a significant amount of time incarcerated can return to society as a productive citizen”), *prosocial measures* (I have a desire to help change social issues,” “I am comfortable being in new environments”) and *academic self-efficacy* (“I am confident that I can get good grades”). For all items lower scores indicate less agreement with or belief in a statement, while higher scores indicate strong agreement.

### *Analytic Strategy*

The current study uses several t-tests to examine four hypotheses. Independent samples t-tests examine between-group differences at pre- and post-participation surveys. Such analyses show in which ways the attitudes and beliefs of the inside and outside students differ before class participation and which differences remain after course completion. A difference score was created (post-participation survey response minus the pre-participation survey response) to examine changes within groups using one-sample t-tests. These analyses show in which ways each group independently changed throughout course participation. The difference score was also used to compare the differences in the magnitude of changes experienced between the two student status groups, examining if perhaps one group changed on a particular measure more compared to the other group.

## RESULTS

### *Baseline Differences*

Table 2 shows the results from independent samples t-tests examining baseline differences between inside and outside students before their participation in the Inside-Out course. There are no baseline differences between inside and outside students among the scaled variables for self-efficacy, self-control, or punitive attitudes. However, exploring other survey questions reveals that there are significant baseline differences between inside and outside students in attitudes and beliefs about crime and criminal justice. Compared to inside students, outside students report greater optimism for the future of the criminal justice system ( $t = -3.19$ ;  $p < .01$ ) and stronger agreement that the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime ( $t = -2.49$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Compared



to outside students, inside students more strongly agree that they believe crime is rising in America ( $t = 2.84$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Inside students have more positive attitudes about incarcerated people at baseline compared to outside students. Specifically, inside students agreed more than outside students that a person serving time incarcerated can return to society as a productive citizen ( $t = 2.17$ ,  $p < .05$ ), that a person can be a positive role model to their children from prison ( $t = 3.29$ ;  $p < .01$ ) and that all prisoners should be eligible for parole ( $t = 2.58$ ;  $p < .05$ ). There were no baseline differences between student status groups across the prosocial-themed questions, but interestingly inside students reported more confidence in their ability to get good grades compared to outside students ( $t = 2.51$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Table 2. Independent Samples T-test showing baseline Differences between Inside and Outside Students at Pre-participation.

	Inside		Outside		<i>t-value</i>
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
Self-efficacy scale	4.1	(.55)	4.02	(.44)	0.47
Self-control scale	3.67	(.58)	3.74	(.56)	-0.40
Punitive scale	1.96	(.42)	2.12	(.67)	-0.92
<i>Attitudes about CJS</i>					
<b>1. I am optimistic about the future of our criminal justice system.</b>	<b>2.75</b>	<b>(.89)</b>	<b>3.70</b>	<b>(1.08)</b>	<b>-3.19**</b>
<b>2. In general, the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime.</b>	<b>1.88</b>	<b>(.85)</b>	<b>2.55</b>	<b>(.94)</b>	<b>-2.49*</b>
3. The criminal justice system treats people fairly.	1.96	(.62)	2.25	(.79)	-1.37
<i>Perceptions of crime</i>					
4. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right.	2.42	(.97)	2.45	(.60)	-0.13

5. Disobeying the law is rarely justified	2.50 (.78)	2.90 (.85)	-1.62
6. You can't blame a person for breaking the law if they can get away with it.	4.35 (.65)	4.20 (.41)	0.88
7. You can't blame a person for breaking the law to feed or protect their family.	2.92 (1.10)	3.20 (.77)	-0.97
<b>23. I believe that crime is rising in America.</b>	<b>3.50 (1.41)</b>	<b>2.50 (.76)</b>	<b>2.84**</b>
24. I believe that most crimes involve violence.	2.54 (1.02)	2.15 (.93)	1.32
<i>Attitudes about incarcerated people</i>			
<b>14. A person serving a significant amount of time (incarcerated) can return to society as a productive citizen.</b>	<b>4.42 (.65)</b>	<b>3.80 (1.19)</b>	<b>2.17*</b>
<b>15. A person can be a positive role model to their children from prison.</b>	<b>4.46 (.66)</b>	<b>3.55 (1.14)</b>	<b>3.29**</b>
<b>17. All prisoners should be eligible for parole.</b>	<b>3.79 (.98)</b>	<b>2.95 (1.19)</b>	<b>2.58*</b>
<i>Prosocial measures</i>			
52. I have a desire to help change social issues.	4.29 (.91)	4.60 (.50)	-1.35
53. I am able to put myself in other people's shoes and relate to them.	4.17 (.76)	4.45 (.51)	-1.42
54. I am comfortable being in new environments.	3.92 (.72)	4.00 (.79)	-0.37
55. I can disagree with someone and still view them positively after.	4.08 (.65)	4.30 (.57)	-1.15

56. I share my opinion with others, even if their opinion is different.	4.29 (.46)	4.20 (.16)	0.52
<i>Academic self-efficacy</i>			
51. I am confident in my writing skills.	3.96 (.22)	4.20 (.14)	-0.89
<b>59. I am confident that I can get good grades.</b>	<b>1.75 (.79)</b>	<b>1.25 (.44)</b>	<b>2.51*</b>

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*t p < .10; \* p < .05; \*\* p < .01; \*\*\* p < .001*

### *Post-participation Differences*

Table 3 shows the results of an independent samples t-test examining the differences in attitudes and perceptions about crime and criminal justice among students after participation in an Inside-Out course. At baseline, there were significant differences in attitudes about the criminal justice system, but at the end of the course, those differences are no longer significant. There were no differences in perceptions of crime at baseline, but after participation, inside students disagree more with the statements “people should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right” ( $t = -2.14$ ;  $p < .05$ ) and “disobeying the law is rarely justified” ( $t = -2.79$ ;  $p < .01$ ), while outside students agree with these statements more than they did at baseline. Belief that crime is rising in America is the only question that was significant at baseline and is still significant after course participation, with inside students agreeing with the statement more than outside students ( $t = 4.37$ ;  $p < .001$ ). While there were significant differences between inside and outside students’ attitudes about incarcerated people at baseline, these differences are no longer significant at the end of the course. Lastly, there were no significant differences in prosocial measures at baseline, but after completing the Inside-

Out course, outside student more than inside students report a desire to help change social issues ( $t=-3.19$ ;  $p < .01$ ) and being comfortable in new environments ( $t=-3.00$ ;  $p < .01$ ).

Table 3. Independent Samples T-test Showing Post-Participation Differences between Inside and Outside Students.

	Inside		Outside		<i>t-value</i>
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
Self-efficacy scale	4.03	(.13)	4.11	(.11)	-.42
Self-control scale	3.74	(.14)	3.47	(.16)	1.33
Punitive scale	1.99	(.08)	1.84	(.18)	.80
<i>Attitudes about CJS</i>					
<b>1. I am optimistic about the future of our criminal justice system.</b>	<b>3.58</b>	<b>(.19)</b>	<b>4.05</b>	<b>(.17)</b>	<b>-1.80†</b>
<b>2. In general, the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime.</b>	<b>2.46</b>	<b>(.20)</b>	<b>2.40</b>	<b>(.22)</b>	<b>.20</b>
3. The criminal justice system treats people fairly.	2.08	(.18)	1.80	(.17)	1.13
<i>Perceptions of crime</i>					
4. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right.	2.21	(.17)	2.70	(.15)	-2.14*
5. Disobeying the law is rarely justified	2.29	(.19)	3.15	(.24)	-2.79**
6. You can't blame a person for breaking the law if they can get away with it.	4.42	(.12)	4.35	(.11)	.40
7. You can't blame a person for breaking the law to feed or protect their family.	2.96	(.22)	2.65	(.21)	1.00
<b>23. I believe that crime is rising in America.</b>	<b>3.63</b>	<b>(.25)</b>	<b>2.20</b>	<b>(.20)</b>	<b>4.37***</b>
24. I believe that most crimes involve violence.	2.50	(.20)	1.85	(.20)	2.30*

*Attitudes about incarcerated people*

<b>14. A person serving a significant amount of time (incarcerated) can return to society as a productive citizen.</b>	<b>4.04 (.22)</b>	<b>4.30 (.22)</b>	<b>-.82</b>
<b>15. A person can be a positive role model to their children from prison.</b>	<b>4.13 (.21)</b>	<b>4.35 (.23)</b>	<b>-.72</b>
<b>17. All prisoners should be eligible for parole.</b>	<b>3.67 (.21)</b>	<b>3.75 (.26)</b>	<b>-.25</b>

*Prosocial measures*

52. I have a desire to help change social issues.	4.38 (.12)	4.85 (.08)	-3.19**
53. I am able to put myself in other people's shoes and relate to them.	4.21 (.15)	4.50 (.14)	-1.43
54. I am comfortable being in new environments.	3.50 (.21)	4.35 (.18)	-3.00**
55. I can disagree with someone and still view them positively after.	4.13 (.14)	4.45 (.14)	-1.66
56. I share my opinion with others, even if their opinion is different.	4.13 (.15)	4.15 (.20)	-.10

*Academic self-efficacy*

51. I am confident in my writing skills.	3.88 (.20)	4.30 (.15)	-1.64
<b>59. I am confident that I can get good grades.</b>	<b>1.67 (.13)</b>	<b>1.45 (.11)</b>	<b>1.82†</b>

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†  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Note: Bold text indicates significant differences at baseline

*Changes within Student Groups*

Table 4 shows the results of independent samples t-tests examining the ways in which inside and outside student groups changed after their participation in the Inside-Out course. Inside students significantly increased their optimism about the criminal justice system ( $t = 5.82$ ;  $p < .001$ ) and belief that the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime ( $t = 2.60$ ;  $p < .05$ ) after their participation in the Inside-Out course. Outside students experienced decreases in their punitive attitudes ( $t = -3.15$ ;  $p < .01$ ) as well as decreases in their self-control ( $t = -3.29$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Following their participation in Inside-Out, outside students, but not inside students, reported less agreement with the statement “you can’t blame a person for breaking the law to feed or protect their family” ( $t = -2.98$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Outside students reported reductions in their belief that the criminal justice system treats people fairly ( $t = -2.13$ ;  $p < .05$ ), but more desire to help change social issues ( $t = -2.52$ ;  $p < .05$ ) after their participation. Outside students’ attitudes about incarcerated people improved throughout the Inside-Out class. Outside students’ agreed more after their participation in the course that a person serving time can return to society as a productive citizen ( $t = 2.70$ ;  $p < .05$ ), that a person can be a positive role model for their children from prison ( $t = 4.30$ ;  $p < .001$ ), and also that all prisoners should be eligible for parole ( $t = 4.30$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Inside students agreed less after their participation in the course that a person can be a positive role model to their children from prison ( $t = -2.32$ ;  $p < .05$ ), while outside students agreed with this statement more ( $t = 4.30$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Inside students reported a decrease in their comfort being in new environments ( $t = -2.63$ ;  $p < .05$ ), but outside students reported almost the same change in the *opposite* direction ( $t = 2.67$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Taken altogether, it appears that participation in Inside-Out reduces negative perceptions inside students have about the criminal justice system, improved outside students' attitudes about people who are incarcerated, and reduced punitive attitudes among outside students. These results support intergroup contact theory that interaction between and in- and out-groups decreases negative stereotypes about out-groups.

Table 4. One-sample T-test Examining Changes Between Pre- and Post-Participation Within Student Status Groups

	Inside			Outside		
	Mean	(SD)	t-value	Mean	(SD)	t-value
Self-efficacy scale	-.06	(.32)	-.85	.14	(.43)	1.42
<b>Self-control scale</b>	.08	(.33)	1.18	<b>-.27</b>	<b>(.37)</b>	<b>-3.29**</b>
<b>Punitive scale</b>	.03	(.35)	0.42	<b>-.28</b>	<b>(.40)</b>	<b>-3.15**</b>
<i>Attitudes about CJS</i>						
<b>1. I am optimistic about the future of our criminal justice system.</b>	<b>.83</b>	<b>(.70)</b>	<b>5.82***</b>	.35	(.93)	1.68
<b>2. In general, the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime.</b>	<b>.58</b>	<b>(1.10)</b>	<b>2.60*</b>	-.15	(1.23)	-.055
<b>3. The criminal justice system treats people fairly.</b>	.13	(.90)	.68	<b>-.45</b>	<b>(.94)</b>	<b>-2.13*</b>
<i>Perceptions of crime</i>						
4. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right.	-.21	(.83)	-1.23	.25	(.79)	1.42
5. Disobeying the law is rarely justified	-.21	(.72)	-1.42	.25	(1.12)	1.00
6. You can't blame a person for breaking the law if they can get away with it.	.13	(.63)	1.00	.15	(.37)	1.83†

<b>7. You can't blame a person for breaking the law to feed or protect their family.</b>	.04	(1.30)	.15	-.55	<b>(.83)</b>	<b>-2.98**</b>
23. I believe that crime is rising in America.	.13	(.99)	.62	-.30	(.86)	-1.55
24. I believe that most crimes involve violence.	-.04	(.91)	-.23	-.30	(.66)	-2.04†
<i>Attitudes about incarcerated people</i>						
<b>14. A person serving a significant amount of time (incarcerated) can return to society as a productive citizen.</b>	.38	(1.17)	-1.57	<b>.50</b>	<b>(.83)</b>	<b>2.70*</b>
<b>15. A person can be a positive role model to their children from prison.</b>	<b>-.33</b>	<b>(.70)</b>	<b>-2.32*</b>	<b>.80</b>	<b>(.83)</b>	<b>4.30***</b>
<b>17. All prisoners should be eligible for parole.</b>	-.13	(1.29)	-.48	<b>.80</b>	<b>(.83)</b>	<b>4.30***</b>
<i>Prosocial measures</i>						
<b>52. I have a desire to help change social issues.</b>	.08	(.97)	.42	<b>.25</b>	<b>(.44)</b>	<b>2.52*</b>
53. I am able to put myself in other people's shoes and relate to them.	.04	(.46)	.44	.05	(.69)	.33
<b>54. I am comfortable being in new environments.</b>	<b>-.42</b>	<b>(.78)</b>	<b>-2.63*</b>	<b>.35</b>	<b>(.59)</b>	<b>2.67*</b>
55. I can disagree with someone and still view them positively after.	.04	(.55)	.37	.15	(.49)	1.37
56. I share my opinion with others, even if their opinion is different.	-.17	(.64)	-1.28	-.05	(.94)	-.24
<i>Academic self-efficacy</i>						
51. I am confident in my writing skills.	-.08	(.88)	-.46	.10	(.55)	.81
59. I am confident that I can get good grades.	-.08	(.50)	-.81	.10	(.45)	1.00



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†  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

### *Differences in Magnitude of Changes between Student Groups*

Table 5 shows the results of a paired samples t-test examining the differences in changes experienced by inside compared to outside students. Overall, outside students experienced more significant changes in attitudes and beliefs about crime and criminal justice, as well as in self-control, self-efficacy, and punitive attitudes scales. The self-efficacy of outside students increased more than that of the inside students ( $t = -1.71$ ;  $p < .10$ ), though this relationship is only approaching significance. Outside students' self-control ( $t = 3.32$ ;  $p < .01$ ) and punitive attitudes ( $t = 2.68$ ;  $p < .05$ ) decreased more compared to inside students. Outside students experienced a negative change in their beliefs that the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime ( $t = 1.09$ ;  $p < .05$ ) and that the criminal justice system treats people fairly ( $t = 2.06$ ;  $p < .05$ ) compared to inside students, meaning outside students' perceptions about the criminal justice system decreased after their participation in the course. Attitudes about incarcerated people changed more among outside students, meaning outside students' attitudes about incarcerated people improved more than these attitudes changed for inside students. Specifically, outside students' beliefs that a person serving time can return to society as a productive citizen ( $t = -2.80$ ;  $p < .01$ ), that a person can be a positive role model to their children from prison ( $t = -4.90$ ;  $p < .001$ ), and that all prisoners should be eligible for parole ( $t = -2.75$ ;  $p < .01$ ) increased more than inside students'. Finally, outside students experienced more changes with being comfortable in new environments ( $t = -3.63$ ;  $p < .001$ ) compared to inside students.

Table 5. Differences in Magnitude of Changes between Inside and Outside students from Pre-participation to Post-participation (T2-T1)

	Inside		Outside		<i>t-value</i>
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	
Self-efficacy scale	-.06	(.32)	.14	(.43)	-1.72 <sup>†</sup>
<b>Self-control scale</b>	<b>.08</b>	<b>(.33)</b>	<b>-.27</b>	<b>(.37)</b>	<b>3.32**</b>
<b>Punitive scale</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>(.35)</b>	<b>-.28</b>	<b>(.40)</b>	<b>2.68*</b>
<i>Attitudes about CJS</i>					
1. I am optimistic about the future of our criminal justice system.	.83	(.70)	.35	(.93)	1.95 <sup>†</sup>
<b>2. In general, the criminal justice system does a good job at preventing crime.</b>	<b>.58</b>	<b>(1.10)</b>	<b>-.15</b>	<b>(1.23)</b>	<b>1.09*</b>
<b>3. The criminal justice system treats people fairly.</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>(.90)</b>	<b>-.45</b>	<b>(.95)</b>	<b>2.06*</b>
<i>Perceptions of crime</i>					
4. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right.	-.21	(.83)	.25	(.79)	-1.86 <sup>†</sup>
5. Disobeying the law is rarely justified	-.21	(.72)	.25	(1.12)	-1.64
6. You can't blame a person for breaking the law if they can get away with it.	.13	(.63)	.15	(.37)	-0.12
7. You can't blame a person for breaking the law to feed or protect their family.	.04	(1.30)	-.55	(.83)	1.76 <sup>†</sup>
23. I believe that crime is rising in America.	.13	(.20)	-.30	(.86)	1.50

24. I believe that most crimes involve violence.	-04 (.91)	-.30 (.67)	1.06
<i>Attitudes about incarcerated people</i>			
<b>14. A person serving a significant amount of time (incarcerated) can return to society as a productive citizen.</b>	<b>-038 (1.17)</b>	<b>.50 (.83)</b>	<b>-2.80**</b>
<b>15. A person can be a positive role model to their children from prison.</b>	<b>-033 (.70)</b>	<b>.80 (.83)</b>	<b>-4.90***</b>
<b>17. All prisoners should be eligible for parole.</b>	<b>-013 (.26)</b>	<b>.80 (.83)</b>	<b>-2.75**</b>
<i>Prosocial measures</i>			
52. I have a desire to help change social issues.	.08 (.97)	.25 (.44)	-0.71
53. I am able to put myself in other people's shoes and relate to them.	.04 (.46)	.05 (.69)	-0.05
<b>54. I am comfortable being in new environments.</b>	<b>-042 (.78)</b>	<b>.35 (.59)</b>	<b>-3.63***</b>
55. I can disagree with someone and still view them positively after.	.04 (.55)	.15 (.49)	-0.68
56. I share my opinion with others, even if their opinion is different.	-017 (.64)	-005 (.94)	-0.48
<i>Academic self-efficacy</i>			
51. I am confident in my writing skills.	-008 (.88)	.10 (.55)	-0.81
59. I am confident that I can get good grades.	-008 (.10)	.10 (.45)	-1.26

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*t*  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

## DISCUSSION

The prison classroom offers ample opportunity for transformative learning, both for the incarcerated students, and for those on the outside. Place-conscious education recognizes the importance of the learning environment to encourage deeper knowledge formation and the creation of an “insulated space” for students to develop a prosocial culture, even amid harsh conditions of confinement. The prison classroom is an opportunity for those incarcerated behind the prison walls to stay connected to the outside world and develop pro-social supports (Wright and Jonson, 2017), and participation in prison education is related to greater reentry success (Chappell, 2004; Davis et al., 2014; Pompoco et al., 2017; Wade, 2007; Wilson et al., 2000). The Inside-Out Prison Exchange program is one experiential learning opportunity that can impact both incarcerated and university students by bringing in- and out-groups together to engage in a dialogue. The current study examined differences between inside and outside students both before and after participation in a semester-long course, as well as changes within groups and the magnitude of those changes. Based on the results, there are three broad conclusions to this study.

First, this study expands on the small body of existing literature examining Inside-Out. Allred, Harrison, and O’Connell (2013) report that inside students’ self-efficacy increased significantly throughout course participation, but outside students’ self-efficacy did not change. Long and Barnes (2016), however, find that outside students’ self-efficacy increased significantly, while inside students experienced no change. The current study finds no changes experienced by either student status group on the self-efficacy

measures. The students in the sample on average reported high levels of self-efficacy at the pre-intervention survey. This may be a result of social desirability bias or could be a product of the application and selection process students go through to enroll in the class. Students who are willing and able to enroll in the class may be the “cream of the crop” among the incarcerated and university students who already feel that they can succeed in specific situations.

Results from this study seem to suggest that self-control decreased for outside students after participating in Inside-Out. However, both inside and outside students are reporting fairly high self-control (outside students  $M = 3.74$ ,  $SD = .56$ ) at the baseline survey. This could be due to social desirability, wherein outside students at the start of class are responding to the survey with favorable rather than accurate responses. It is also possible that this difference in self-control has less to do with the Inside-Out course, and more to do with the time at which the surveys were administered in the semester. Students at the start of the semester may have overestimated their time-management skills, and at the end of the semester, reflecting on things like self-discipline and making good choices (questions included in the self-control scale) they are recognizing they have lower self-control than they originally thought. Put simply, the decline in self-control may be an experience for all university students, not just outside students.

Second, the current study finds support for the intergroup contact theory. After in- and out-groups engaged in a dialogue, attitudes about the criminal justice system, attitudes about incarcerated people, and punitive attitudes changed among all students. Changes in punitive attitudes is a finding in previous Inside-Out literature (Hilinski-

Rosick and Blackmer, 2014). After interacting with incarcerated people, getting to know them on a more emotional level, and experiencing a bit of prison life, students may start to doubt the utility of the retributive goals of corrections and begin to favor more of the rehabilitative goals. As many of the outside students intend to become criminal justice actors after they have completed their education, this relationship between Inside-Out participation and punitive attitude decreases could be substantial.

Additionally, inside students became more optimistic about the future of the criminal justice system and its ability to prevent crime. It may be that as justice-involved men interact with students who will be future police officers and lawyers, their prejudices about future criminal justice actors decrease. Outside students' beliefs that the criminal justice system treats people fairly decreased after Inside-Out participation, as did their beliefs that "you can't blame a person for breaking the law to feed or protect their family." This is likely due to the personal experiences shared by the inside students and the course reading materials that may point out systemic issues which disadvantage certain populations. The dialogue that takes place in Inside-Out classes encourages students to confront and transform preconceived notions each student group held for the other.

Third, this study explores the impact of experiential learning opportunities for college students and the role of place in the learning process, finding that Inside-Out can be an impactful experiential learning program for inside and outside students. The changes experienced by each student status were not equal, but rather the current study finds that Inside-Out participation impacts *outside* students more than *inside* students on most of

the items. Specifically, outside students reported changes in attitudes about people who are incarcerated, an increased drive for social action, and greater comfort being in new environments. These differences in changes reported by student status groups may be a result of experiential learning – while many of the outside students in this sample studied criminology and criminal justice, having never experienced corrections or the human consequences of the criminal justice system, Inside-Out class dialogues may be particularly impactful for this student group.

Inside-Out participation impacted all students' feelings of comfort being in new environments, but not in the same direction. This change in feeling comfortable in new environments changed more for inside than outside students. This may be related to inside students' insecurity about re-entry for those that are not serving a life term. Outside students have entered a strange place – prison – and enjoyed the class experience thus are feeling more confident in a new environment. However, class discussions about the difficulties of the reentry experience may have decreased the confidence of inside students in their ability to “make it” outside of the familiar prison environment.

### *Limitations*

This study, of course, is not a complete evaluation of the Inside-Out Prison Exchange program, but rather one of several small steps leading to broader program evaluations for Inside-Out. The sample size in the currently study is small, it is a unique sample with a 100% response rate from Inside-Out program participants in Arizona in 2017. Additional surveys are still being administered and collected as courses are offered. Because of the application and selections process, Inside-Out participants may not be

representative of all university students nor the incarcerated population in terms of attitudes about crime and criminal justice. Therefore, the sample may not be representative of attitudes and beliefs of students and people who are incarcerated outside of the southwest US. However, ASU is large and is considered representative of the population of Arizona in terms of racial and ethnic diversity.

Additionally, the two courses were held in facilities with different security levels. While several of the inside students at the medium-security facility are serving a life term, all of the students from the minimum-security yard will be returning to the world outside of the razor-wire fence within five years. The experiences and dialogue that took place in the two courses may be different. While course materials read and discussed between the two courses differ, it is also likely that the differences in the changes measured in the current study may be a reflection not of the differential impact of the course materials, but rather a reflection of the age differences between inside and outside students. The university students are generally younger than the inside students and are in a very transformative period of their lives. The inside students are older and perhaps are less likely to change their perceptions as quickly from a one semester-long class, meeting once a week for three hours.

A final limitation of this study is that individual changes were not explored. The analyses used assessed average group changes but were not able to examine for whom the class was beneficial, for whom it was detrimental, and for whom it had essentially no impact. To explore this further, nonparametric tests were performed. Wilcoxon signed-rank test is a nonparametric paired samples t-test which compares two groups on a



dependent variable. This test offers an alternative means of assessing the impact of Inside-Out participation (Wilcoxon, 1945), allowing the current study to add supplemental analyses examining what works for which students under which conditions. Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were used to compare the differences between pre- and post-participation survey responses examining student self-control, self-efficacy, and punitive attitudes. Using a difference score (post-test minus pre-test), the test compares the changes in *each individual student's responses* before and after Inside-Out participation. The results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank tests, indicating the number of respondents that agreed more, disagreed more, or responded in the same way between pre- and post-participation surveys are shown in Table 6. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show changes in individual responses along the scale variables between pre- and post-participation surveys.

Table 6. Wilcoxon Signed-rank test for difference scores across scale variables

	Negative ranks		Positive ranks		Zero ranks		z-score	p-value
	obs	(SR)	obs	(SR)	obs	(SR)		
<b>Self-efficacy scale</b>	15	(388)	18	(437)	8	(36)	-0.319	0.750
<b>Self-control scale</b>	22	(533.5)	17	(402.5)	4	(10)	0.792	0.429
<b>Punitive scale</b>	23	(555.5)	13	(290.5)	5	(15)	1.720 <sup>†</sup>	0.085

<sup>†</sup>  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

The Wilcoxon signed-rank test combining inside and outside students reveals that the changes in the t-tests in this study are not due to a small number of students changing significantly while the majority remained unchanged. Instead, these tests reveal that many students' self-control, self-efficacy, and punitive attitudes improve while many diminish across these scale variables. A significant p-value indicates that the sum of

negative changes exceeds the positive changes. For punitive attitudes, the negative changes exceed the positive changes, but this change is only approaching significance in this test. Although exploring the data in this fashion is insightful, the next step is for research to determine the correlates of who increased, who decreased, and who stayed the same on these critical attitudes.

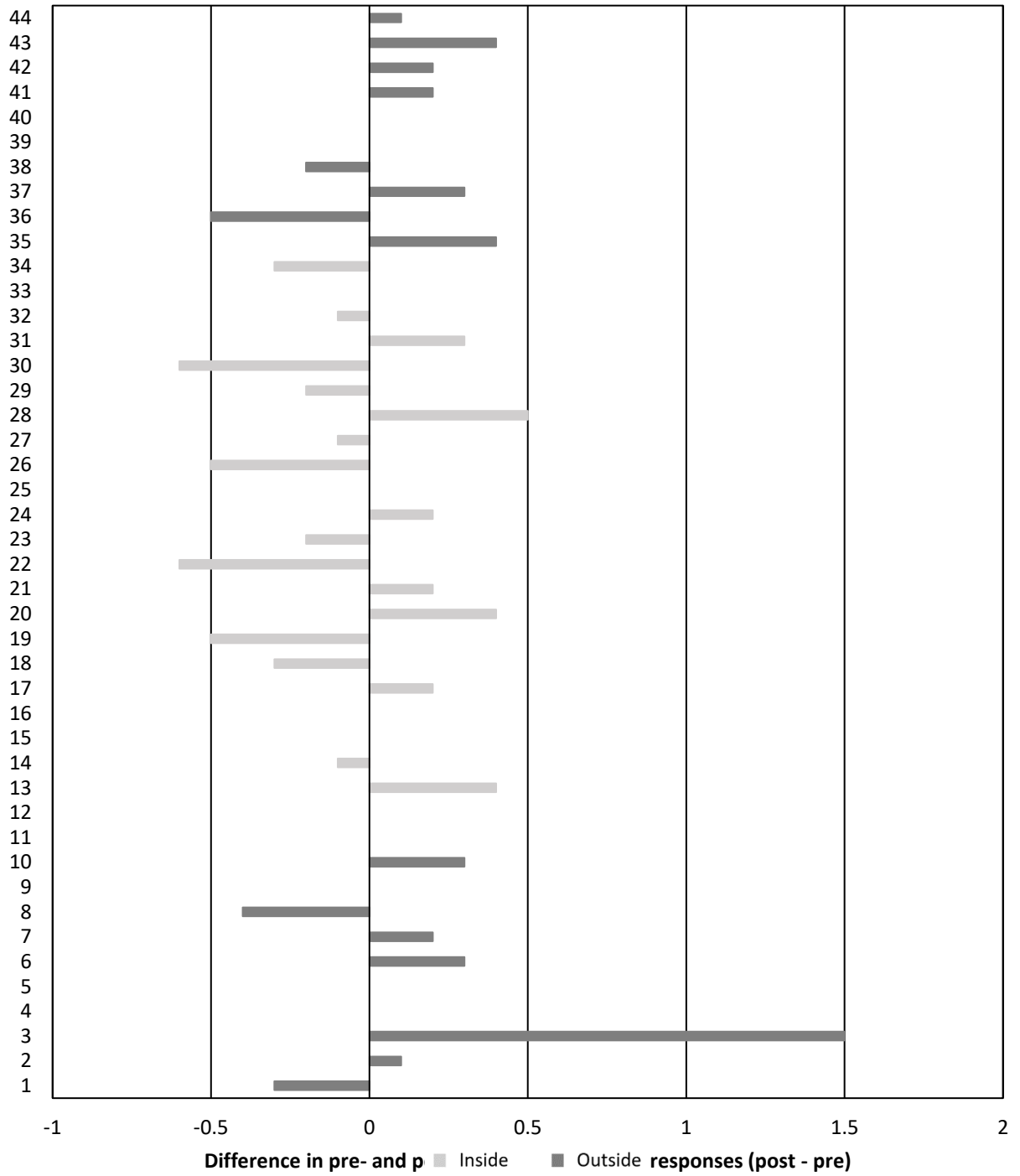


Figure 1. Sorted line plot of self-efficacy changes per respondent

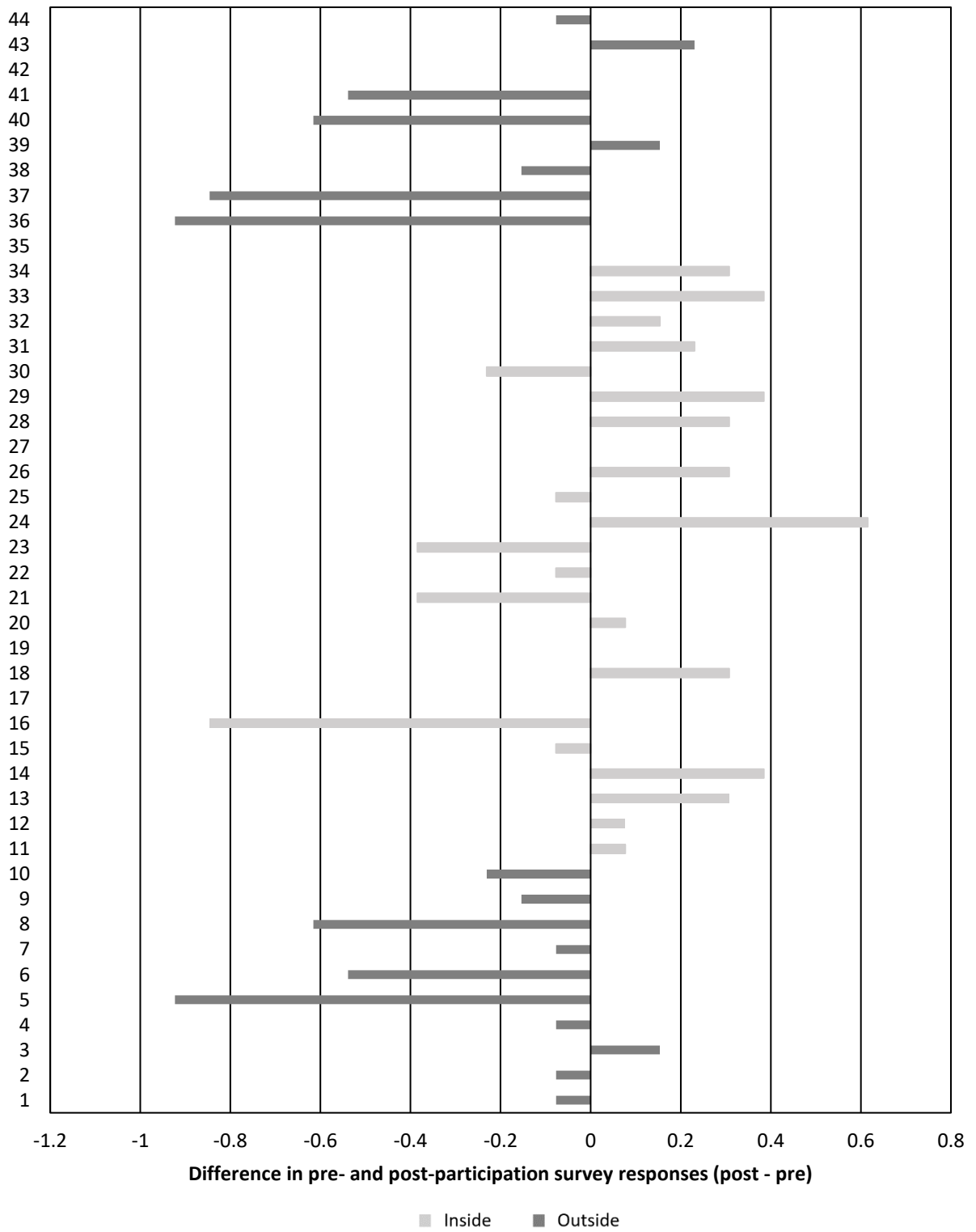


Figure 2. Sorted line plot of self-control changes per respondent

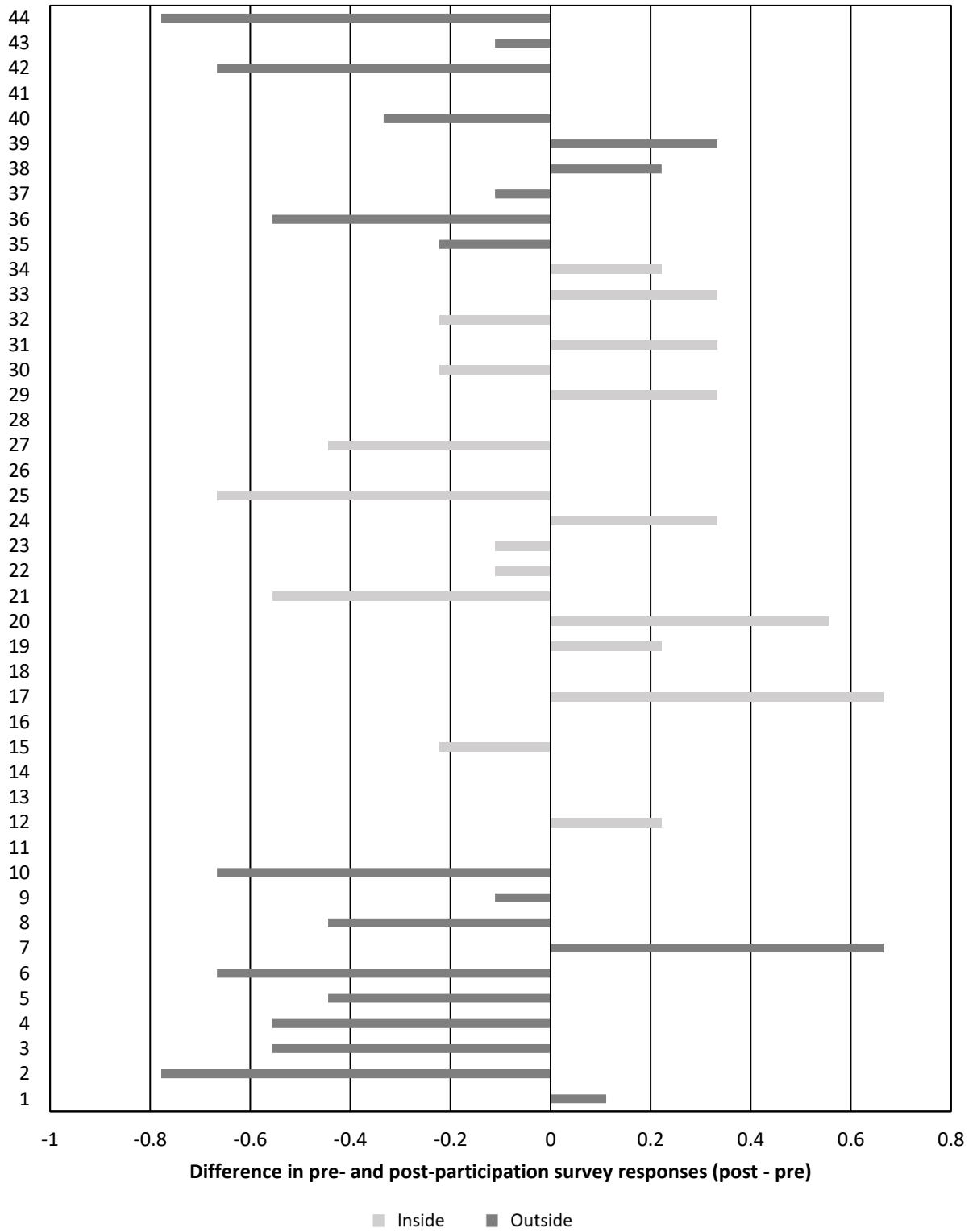


Figure 3. Sorted line plot of punitive attitude changes per respondent

### *Future research*

Inside-Out has been offering classes for over twenty years, yet the body of literature which examines its impact remains relatively small. More quantitative evaluations exploring the broad impacts of Inside-Out should be conducted. Future studies should seek to include a matched comparison group for both the inside and outside students. Those individuals who applied for Inside-Out and were interviewed but were ultimately not selected for participation would be excellent candidates that have already been identified. It should be noted, however, that the university students who applied but were not selected to participate in the Inside-Out courses included in this thesis were contacted. As only three students responded to the survey, the current study does not include a matched comparison group.

The survey used in the current study will continue to be administered to Inside-Out students in Arizona, but more impact evaluations using different higher education and correctional facility relationships, as well as Inside-Out courses in disciplines outside of criminal justice should be conducted. Furthermore, diverse samples including different demographics, such as women's facilities and a variety of correctional facility security levels should be included in future analyses. Large scale program evaluations should be a goal of future Inside-Out research as well, surveying courses throughout the US and at the international Inside-Out programs. A limitation of the current study is its small sample size, but it is encouraging how many significant relationships the current study found given this small sample. As samples grow and become more diverse, we will get a

better understanding of what impacts the Inside-Out Prison Exchange Program has on its participants.

More broadly, prison education research should examine outcomes beyond merely recidivism and prison misconduct. By examining “insulated spaces” and the culture that is created therein, prison education research may learn more about how to overcome the inmate code and hypermasculinity that may impede successful program participation (Morse, 2017), as well as ways in which facilities can lessen the pains of imprisonment for incarcerated men and women. Additionally, prison classrooms are a valuable but under-utilized opportunity for undergraduate students of law and social sciences to glean valuable experiences, insight, and knowledge.

The prison classroom offers opportunities for students both inside and outside of the prison walls that have infrequently been utilized. The unique experiences and cultures they create should be explored as well should the impacts of classes like Inside-Out on students. Literature on prison education has focused on outcomes like recidivism and prison misconduct, but quality of life and attitudinal impacts should also be explored in correctional studies. This thesis began to explore the impacts of dialogic education inside prisons on perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about crime, criminal justice, and incarcerated people. The dialogue inherent in Inside-Out classes changes student perceptions about one another and the out-groups from which their classmates come. Discussion of the human impacts of both crime and criminal justice changes the punitive attitudes of university students, many of whom will become criminal justice actors after completing their education. There are undoubtedly a myriad of additional impacts that

future research should explore, as well as differences in the impact of Inside-Out in different classes and locations.



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APPENDIX I  
DATA COLLECTED JANUARY-DECEMBER 2017













Not at all

Very Much

**46. I often act without thinking through all the alternatives.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**Using the scale provided, please indicate how much the following statements reflect how you typically are or how you feel about the future.**

**47. In uncertain times, I usually expect the best.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**48. If something can go wrong for me, it will.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**49. I am always optimistic about my future.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**50. I hardly ever expect things to go my way.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**51. I rarely count on good things happening for me.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**52. Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad.**

1  
Not at all

2

3

4

5  
Very Much

**Using the scale provided, please indicate how much the following statements reflect your beliefs in yourself and the world around you.**





Factor and Reliability Analysis of Scale Measures

---

Scale

Factor  
loadings

Rotated  
factor  
loadings

---

<b>Self-efficacy</b>		
In uncertain times, I usually expect the best.	.689	.434
If something can go wrong for me, it will.	.579	.474
I am always optimistic about my future.	.735	.236
I hardly ever expect things to go my way.	.658	.811
I rarely count on good things happening for me.	.585	.795
Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad.	.739	.614
I believe that my presence impacts those around me positively.	.631	.202
I have the initiative to make a real difference in the world.	.444	-.012
I am able to get along with most types of people.	.525	.083
I am confident that I can go the rest of my life without committing a major crime.	.347	-.006
	<b>Alpha</b>	<b>.838</b>
<b>Self-control</b>		
I am good at resisting temptation.	.532	.103
I have a hard time breaking bad habits.	.637	.198
I am lazy.	.473	.133
I say inappropriate things.	.345	.575
I do certain things that are bad for me, if they are fun.	.679	.672
I refuse things that are bad for me.	.713	.578
I wish I had more self-discipline.	.612	.041
People would say that I have iron self-discipline.	.500	.190
Pleasure and fun sometimes keep me from getting work done.	.632	.271
I have trouble concentrating.	.649	.342
I am able to work effectively toward long-term goals.	.454	.031
Sometimes I can't stop myself from doing something, even if I know it is wrong.	.721	.222
I often act without thinking through all the alternatives.	.518	.061
	<b>Alpha</b>	<b>.862</b>
<b>Punitive</b>		
I support the death penalty.	.379	.097
Prisons should be punitive.	.511	.077
I believe that current sentences given to most criminals are too lenient.	.314	.026
I believe that the best way to stop crime is to get tough on offenders.	.732	.351
I support three-strikes-and-you're-out laws.	.720	.448
I believe that rehabilitation programs rarely work for offenders.	.419	.588
I believe that rehabilitation programs are worth the money that they cost to run.	.557	.764

I believe that rehabilitation programs should be funded, even if this means raising taxes.	.723	.739
I believe that serving time is the best way to punish offenders (not including those eligible for the death penalty).	.488	.006
<b>Alpha</b>		<b>.756</b>

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## APPENDIX III

### WITHIN-GROUP CHANGES ALONG SELF-CONTROL SCALE ITEMS

Table 5. One sample t-test of changes within groups along items included in the self-control scale

	Inside			Outside		
	Mean difference	(SE)	<i>t-test</i>	Mean difference	(SE)	<i>t-test</i>
32. I am good at resisting temptation.	.17	(.14)	1.28	-.20	(.17)	-1.17
33. I have a hard time breaking bad habits.	.46	(.18)	2.54*	-.35	(.21)	-1.68
34. I am lazy.	.13	(.13)	1.00	-.05	(.15)	-.33
35. I say inappropriate things.	0	(.13)	0.00	-.40	(.23)	-1.71
36. I do certain things that are bad for me, if they are fun.	.17	(.12)	1.45	-.30	(.18)	-1.67
37. I refuse things that are bad for me.	.09	(.20)	.44	-.55	(.22)	-2.46*
38. I wish I had more self-discipline.	0	(.25)	0.00	-.20	(.19)	-1.07
39. People would say that I have iron self-discipline.	.33	(.16)	2.14*	.35	(.20)	1.79
40. Pleasure and fun sometimes keep me from getting work done.	.08	(.25)	.34	-.55	(.15)	-3.58**
41. I have trouble concentrating.	-.17	(.22)	-.75	-.40	(.18)	-2.18*
42. I am able to work effectively	0	(.17)	0.00	0	(.10)	0.00

toward long-term goals.

43. Sometimes I can't stop myself from doing something, even if I know it is wrong.	-0.25	(.23)	-1.10	-0.50	(.20)	-2.52*
44. I often act without thinking through all the alternatives.	0	(.22)	0.00	-0.35	(.15)	-2.33*

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†  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$