

TREATMENT WITH WOMEN: ACTION SOCIO EDUCATIONAL AND FOR THE EMPLOYMENT IN PRISONS

EL TRATAMIENTO CON MUJERES: ACTUACIÓN SOCIOEDUCATIVA Y SOCIOLABORAL EN PRISIONES¹

TRATAMENTO DE MULHERES: ACTUAÇÃO SÓCIO-EDUCATIVA E SÓCIO-TRABALHISTA EM PRISÕES

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ABSTRACT: This article aims to study and analyze the set of programs that make up the landscape of Spanish prison environment. Here we will prioritize and classify programs that, with emphasis socio-educational and socio-labor, may have a greater impact on social integration or reintegration work, in contrast to the perception of women who participate in these programs. From a multi-method research methodology (538 questionnaires and 61 in-depth interviews of women prisoners throughout the country), this article discusses the categories and data used for intervention in prisons state of art, with powerful reflections for the specialized field of Social Education Penitentiary (ESP).

The conclusions drawn in this area are based on some small successes of the prison system as access and proliferation of software, or the presence of certain gender and socio-cultural programs. However, there remain major challenges within the recovering

constitutional purposes awarded to custodial sentences, within our democratic framework. The results show a role for recreational programs with leisure and recreational focus, to the detriment of socio-educational programs focus on emancipation and freedom. Similarly, there is an overwhelming failure of the itineraries that allow social and labor market participation in active employment in the period of release (perpetuating also traditional gender roles). This reality, therefore, shows that the Correctional Institution continues to exert multiple violence and exclusion toward people punished, that undermine the dignity and potential re-education and rehabilitation.

KEY WORDS: Social education; women; prison; insertion; programs

RESUMEN: Este artículo pretende estudiar y analizar el conjunto de programas que conforman el pa-

norama del ámbito penitenciario español. Aquí vamos a priorizar y clasificar los programas, que con énfasis socioeducativo y socio-laboral, pueden tener un mayor impacto en la inserción o reinserción socio-laboral, contrastando con la percepción de las mujeres que participan en dichos programas. A partir de una metodología multimétodo de investigación (538 cuestionarios y 61 entrevistas en profundidad a las mujeres reclusas de todo el territorio nacional), se analizan en este artículo aquellas categorías y datos que plantean el estado de la cuestión de la intervención en prisiones, con potentes reflexiones para el campo especializado de la Educación Social Penitenciaria (ESP).

Las conclusiones extraídas en este ámbito, se asientan sobre algunos pequeños logros del sistema penitenciario como el acceso y proliferación de los programas informáticos, o la presencia de ciertos programas de género o socioculturales. Sin embargo, quedan pendientes grandes retos dentro de los fines constitucionales recuperadores otorgados a las penas privativas de libertad, dentro de nuestro marco democrático. Los resultados extraídos presentan un protagonismo de los programas recreativos con enfoque lúdico-recreativo, en detrimento de los socioeducativos con perspectiva emancipadora y liberadora. Igualmente, existe una abrumadora insuficiencia de los programas e itinerarios socio-laborales que permitan la participación en el mercado activo de empleo en el período de semilibertad (perpetuando, además, roles tradicionales de género). Esta realidad, por tanto, continúa ejerciendo múltiples violencias excluyentes por la Institución Penitenciaria hacia las personas penadas, que merman la dignidad y las posibilidades re-educativas y de reinserción.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Educación social; mujeres; prisión; inserción; programas.

RESUMO: Este artigo tem como objetivo estudar e analisar o conjunto de programas que compõem a imagem do âmbito prisional espanhol. Aqui nós estamos indo de prioriza e classificar os programas, com a ênfase que educacionais e sócio- trabalhista, podem ter um impacto importante na inserção ou disso sócio-laboral, contrastando com a percepção das mulheres que participam em tais programas. Sobre a base de um método multi-método de investigação (538 questionários e 61 entrevistas em profundidade com os presos de mulheres de todo o território nacional; bem como), são discutidos neste artigo essas categorias e os dados que representam o estado da questão da intervenção nas prisões, com reflexos poderosos para o campo especializado da Educação Social Prisão (ESP).

As conclusões a que se chegou nesta área, são registradas em algumas conquistas pequenas do sistema prisional como o acesso e proliferação do software, ou a presença de certos programas ou gênero cultural. No entanto, existem ainda grandes desafios nos salvors constitucionais de fins concedidos penas privativas de liberdade, no nosso quadro democrático. Os resultados apresentaram extraídos de programas recreativos protagonismo com abordagem agradável- actividades recreativas, em detrimento da perspectiva com educação emancipatória e libertadora. Além disso, existe também uma terrível escassez de programas e itinerários profissionais que permitem a participação de um mercado activo para o emprego para o período de liberdade condicional (se perpetuar, para além disso, os papéis tradicionais de gênero). Esta realidade, portanto, continua a exercer violência múltipla excludentes da instituição prisional para pessoas punidas que minam a dignidade e o potencial de reabilitação e reintegração.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: Educação social; mulheres; prisão; inserção; programas.

1. Social Education in Prisons. An Introduction

Intervention in prisons is thought of, according to the regulations, as "treatment". This name, used in the Penitentiary Regulations (1996), presents a focus on a medical and physiotherapeutic type of social action, this idea still holding true in the present. In this sense, the socio-educational models or programs in the intervention of treatment in prisons historically had little significance due to the social criminalization (economic, political and cultural) as well as the, moral and judicial, that the sentences, the institutions, and the community granted to the prisons. The predominant thinking on prisons has been characterized by maintaining a strongly punitive and corrective position; in comparison with the socio-educational model (Del Pozo & Añaños, 2013), that is based on the risk factors associated with the processes of rehabilitation (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

One of the great impulses that modeled this situation in these last years came about during the socialist government, with Dr. Mercedes Gallizo Llamas, as Director and later Secretary General of the Penitentiary Institution, and Dr. Concepción Yagüe Olmos, as Assistant General Manager of treatment, both being from a humanistic conception of intervention, putting a special emphasis on psychosocial education models such as the Models of Respect (a program of equality in prisons) or alternative measures to traditional imprisonment. Currently, with the PP government, this progress is devolving, blocking and reducing possibilities of interventions as liberating as programmed outings or assemblies and coexistence programs (Circular I-1/12, etc.). Still, the trajectory of these last years and the intervention background of the contributing organizations, make sure that socio-educational models are present in many of the penitentiary settings.

A Social Penitentiary Education (SPE) would mean "the social education of the Penitentiary Administration and, fundamentally, of public and private entities, during the time of penitentiary internment, semi-liberty and definitive liberty; by means of individualized or group programs and actions developed by educators (especially non-penitentiary), favoring the recuperation, reeducation, social and labor reintegration and socialization for the reincorporation into their community" (Del Pozo & Mavrou, 2010, p.236).

The enormous participation of organizations, varying program typologies in prisons, and diverse development agents, make the analysis of socio-educational action and socio-labor integration programs in the penitentiary area difficult. As we have defined in the SPE, the intervention of treatment programs is realized by intra-penitentiary technical teams; as well as by the public and private collaborator organizations trying to compensate for the formative - socio-educational disadvantages, among others, that this population suffers (Caride & Gradaille, 2013).

This wealth of external participation makes a community "oxygenation" exist in this closed environment. The question still remains on some substantial issues: the possible welfare and/or voluntarism model of the programs, the limited professionalization of the intervening personnel or the delegation of the reintegration responsibility toward the third sector as principle protagonist, especially in moments of economic crisis, particularly in the Spanish society, where the number of unemployed people reaches 5.965.400. That is to say, the rate of unemployment increased to a catastrophic percentage of 26.02% in 2012 (INE, 2013; Jiménez, 2012a).

In the biennium 2012/2013 we were given authorization for the intervention in the General Administration of the State (GAS), 657 NGOs or non-penitentiary organizations, of which participate in 834 programs, with a number of collaborating people amounting to 7.009 (IIPP, 2012a). Despite the criticisms that we could make on this reality, the data shows us the importance of community development in the collective conscience, society understands, that the inmates also form a part of the community. In addition, the solidarity and dynamism of the third sector in Spain and the community commitment to the most vulnerable population are emphasized; especially when in a time of budget cuts and punitive or corrective politics the absolute right of education is relegated to the background (Scarfó, 2002).

2. Theoretical Approaches: Typologies of treatment programs from the social educational and social labor perspective in the penitentiary field

It would be an arduous and complex task to determine and analyze the whole of programs that form the variety of interventions in the penitentiary field. In this section we prioritized and classified the programs, which with a socio-educational and socio-labor emphasis could have a greater impact in the social and labor re/integration of the detainees.

For this reason, we did not approach programs that had a greater emphasis in psychotherapeutic, judicial, medical or other types of perspectives. Correspondingly, we will go into detail on the programs that we call *specifically socio-educational* and the programs of *Education for employment and labor re/integration*. We briefly address, in an introductory form, the rest of the existing programs in the big categories such as educational, gender or drug addiction.

2.1. Specifically Socio-Educational Programs

Although we present a section specifically about socio-educational programs in our study, the classifications developed on the official web page and in the official documentation on programs of the Department of the Interior (Penitentiary Institutions), not once do programs referred to as Social Education or socio-educational appear (Del Pozo & Añaños, 2013). Nevertheless, they exist in the grouping of programs that we deal with below, a profound socio-educational perspective, present in the fundamentals (contents, contexts, etc.), and methodologies and especially, for their agents, since these programs are developed for the educational staff of the center, even though they lack qualification, professionalization or the competencies of Social Education (SE) (Del Pozo & Gil, 2012).

2.1.1. Social Ability Programs

Although sometimes they form part of modules or blocks within socio-labor or training programs- with the development of principle contents based on communication, assertability and empathy skills- there exists, also, social skills programs. They are of great relevance in situations of marginalization and social exclusion, groups or contexts with a great participation of the penitentiary educational personnel or a non-penitentiary collaborator.

Principally they are developed with a population in risk of social exclusion: youths, abused women, handicapped persons, and drug addicts (ADHEX, 2011, Añaños, 2010).

2.1.2. Family Social Educational Programs

Work with families in the penitentiary environment is being principally carried out by social workers in order to contact, inform and evaluate the family situation and the suitability for shelter and tutelage of the inmates during the periods of semi-liberty. The educators enter in another plane of action: *the socio-educational*. Even though many of the programs have been put into practice principally by Psychologists, they come with many educational activities (Yagüe, 2011).

The educational function, as we pointed out earlier, has been relegated by the prevalence of management rather than the action itself. However, in these past years a road has been opened and family socio-educational programs have been developed, although they don't yet have results, by the educational staff of the Administration and the non-penitentiary entities in relation to:

- *Detained Families and child education*: The fundamental development of the intervention is implemented through working with couples that are interned in prison with or without children or with mothers that have children who are from 3 to 6 years old (in the second case in External or Dependent Mother Units).

Aspects such as child care and attention, evolutionary development of youth, family educational models, family responsibility, equality education, etc. are taken on in these programs. (Del Pozo, 2008a, 2008b, 2010).

- *Outside Families*: The intervention is directed, from Social Education, especially, in two levels: the preparation for family reincorporation and the action of the family bonds and ties in the re-establishment.
- *Family Reincorporation*: In these programs specific educational actions are carried out or interventions within the individualized treatment programs (ITP) of the penitentiary establishment, aiming toward the preparation of release and family reincorporation are carried out. Family models are analyzed; the possible causes of the family breakdown, in this case, the forms of chauvinism, the development of autonomy and responsibility, among others.

2.1.3. Sociocultural and Sport Programs

In the setting of the sociocultural spaces, there exists numerous and diverse programs, of which we could group in two large areas, sociocultural and sport. Among the biggest are: Reading animation, library activities, musicals and audiovisuals; rock groups, flamenco, video, video-forums, poetry workshops, magazine edition, theater, etc. (Del Pozo, 2011; Del Pozo & Añaños, 2013).

2.1.4. Gender Specific Programs

In an especially masculine setting plagued with a history of criminological and social penitentiary inequalities toward female inmates (Heidensohn, 2009) a program is presented in the Spanish environment that attempts to better this reality and reduce the multiple discriminations (Añaños, 2013). The Equality Program between men and women in the penitentiary medium, takes 122 interventions into account framed in these four points: 1. Organizational Level; 2. Permanent Observatory for the eradication of discriminatory factors based on gender; 3. Comprehensive attention to the needs of the female inmates and released prisoners; 4. Plans to favor the eradication of gender violence and ease its consequences (Del Pozo, 2012).

Within the last point there are two groups of programs which have been developed for women where the aim is to diminish the vulnerability of the female inmates to situations of violence and/or drug dependence; and to attend to the women with a history of gender violence; as well as programs aimed toward male aggressors convicted of distinctive types of violent crimes (Jiménez, 2012b). There are other programs with greater socio-educational impacts with groups of disabled persons or with foreigners, also contexts especially socio-educational such as; the models of respect, the therapeutic units or dependent mothers units.

2.2. Educational programs for employment and labor reintegration

The Social Education for Employment:

“aims to favor the learning directly related with the work world from a triple perspective: the initial job training that aims to facilitate the access to a first occupation, job training aimed at the unemployed who want to insert themselves into the job market and job training aimed at employed people who want to better their qualifications and their work conditions. We agree that Social Education should be centered in the two first subgroups of job training (facilitate the access to a first occupation or favor the integration or reintegration of the unemployed into the job world), especially in making reference to the socio-labor integration of people or groups that present necessities or special difficulties; while the work with other groups of the population present a non-specific character and is shared with other professions and areas of social action” (Gómez, 2003, p. 241).

Programs designated to job re/integration for prison inmates, are fundamentally concentered in two typologies: a) *Job Training*; and, b) *Occupational and/or paid work*. Even though these areas are not found to

be permanently delimited, it is important to classify and analyze them to understand job re/integration in a more pertinent way.

Classic as well as contemporary penitentiary studies take into account that work (employment) is crucial in order to reduce the commission of criminal acts and for the integration of the population. Glaser (1964) identified three behaviors positively related to the relapse of the released prisoners: a) *Obtaining a job after release*; b) *the duration of the position after release*; and c) *the level of specialization that the position requires* (Redondo, 1993, p.177).

The Secretary General of Penitentiary Institutions (SGPI) presents an Autonomous Agency for Prison Work and Training for Employment (AAPWTE) in their organization chart and functioning that is coordinated with the group of penitentiary centers of the GAS. Although it is true that the immense majority of the design and management of programs for employment are included in this branch, each center has autonomy to be able to coordinate with external companies or the collaborating institutions as well as a multitude of orientation and training possibilities and action for employment.

According to the constitutional mandate entrusted to the imprisonment of reintegration, the law (Ley Orgánica, 1979) develops in Article 27 everything related to training, employment and occupational work:

1. "The job that the inmates realize, inside or outside the establishments, will be understood in one of the following modalities:

- a) Those of professional training, to which the administration will give priority;
- b) Those dedicated to studies and academic training;
- c) Those of the production labor regime or through cooperatives or similar formulas according to the existing legislation;
- d) The vocational workshops that form a part of the treatment;
- e) The personal benefits in the joint auxiliary services of the establishment, and
- f) The artisan, intellectual and artistic job.

2. All work directly productive that the inmates realize will be paid and will be developed in the security and hygiene conditions established in the current legislation". Europe presents socio-professional and socio-labor integration as one of the essential challenges in the process of recuperation and reintegration of inmates (Combessie, 2005) and presents a special significance in the current crisis and national problem of unemployment in Spain.

In Table 1 some of the more developed program typologies for the achievement of professional development and active integration in the job world for inmates are organized. In the table there are two classifications:

- *The first*, where we find a great development of SE for employment or labor. This situated us in a group of professionalized measures and actions for an educational improvement and formatively the professional competence of people with greater access difficulties and work promotion.
- *The second*, in which we find other programs with less pedagogical characteristics, and that are fundamentally structured in: Productive workshops (with the development of instrumental tasks), Auxiliary activities or maintenance (that recognize all care tasks and building and penitentiary installation maintenance, work in the actual center in the kitchen or commissary, etc.); as well as in the exterior (in work employments through collaboration in companies or paid internships, etc.)

Table 1. Education for employment and programs for work re/integration

Job Training	Professional Training Courses (Autonomous Agency for Prison Work and Training for Employment (AAPWTE): <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Mid-level vocational training.- Professional Training Scholarships outside the prison.- Orientation for Job placement.- Individualized accompanying programs for probation or release.- “Entrepreneurial” Program.- Self-employment help.
Work and Job integration	Graphic Arts: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Graphic design- Editing work- Advertising Posters- Labels, etc. Artisan Work: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Ceramics, gifts, etc.- Auxiliary activities, maintenance Services: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Call center- Digitalization of documents- Woodwork and Metalwork- Furniture, Metal structural- Wood Carpentry- Welding, Casting and Mechanized rebar Dressmaking: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Work clothes- Curtains- Bed sheets- Quilts- Mattress covers, etc. Paid destinations in the correctional facility. <hr/> Work in companies and exterior programs. <hr/>

Source: Ad Hoc.

We will point out, in an introductory way, that there are two other programs that make up the treatment panorama in the penitentiary environment and that are of special importance for the achievement of the inmate integration process: The *regulated educational* programs of education and basic non-university regulated instruction (literacy, Primary, Secondary for adults, Spanish for foreigners, high school, mid and high level vocational training, Official School of Language), as well as university education (UNED) (National University of Distance Education) (IIPP, 2012b); and the *habit-breaking and/or drug detoxification programs*, in two modalities (IIPP, 2013; Plan National de Drogas, 2006, 2009):

a) *Ambulatory Intervention/Day Center*: in every module or in centralized dependence respectively.

b) Therapeutic or community intra-penitentiary, in independent modules, giving the inmates a general drug dependency treatment.

3. Investigation Methodology

3.1. Methodological focus

Despite all the operative and structural advances present in Spanish penitentiary treatment, some forms of more deceptive violence still continue in the mechanisms of inmate vulnerability. These faults are due to inattention or in the categorical forms of institutional exclusion. The development of this article begins from an interaction between a quantitative methodology (survey) and a qualitative one (structured interview to women), that pretend to visualize the effects of structural violence. They deal mainly with the most devastating effects of imprisonment and the vulnerability of the inmates in the treatment programs of the penitentiary centers in Spain.

Unlike Durkheim, who positioned punishment as an instrument of moral channeling and Marx, who observed punishment inside a class context, Foucault (2005) showed it as an instrument of power imposed on the population and analyzed the relationships of internal power of the penal process, the techniques and knowledge required, the forms of penal institutions' organization and the manner of exercising control (Jiménez & Jiménez, 2013). Like the Marxists, we consider the punishment tied to power and government relations, but unlike them, we study the issue of the penalty itself (Garland, 1999, p. 162), when it comes time to outline the socio-educational and socio-labor programs and the drug addiction treatment programs.

3.2. Questions, Hypothesis and Study objectives

Through this study, we expect to give a response to the question, *how do treatment programs in the penitentiary environment serve the inmates?* The *hypothesis that we defend is that prison is a punitive instrument that does not actively integrate inmates (in our case, women) into the society they come from, because of the damage caused by structural violence.*

The objective is to analyze, from the viewpoints of SE, critical criminology, and legal anthropology, how the prison sentence is a construction marked by violence (direct, structural, cultural and/or symbolic) and negatively conditions the reintegration processes.

3.3. Techniques and instruments

A survey and structured interviews were used for this study. After a complex process of authorization and coordination with the two penitentiary administrations in their national territory (State General Administration - Department of the Interior and the autonomous community of Catalonia- Government of Catalonia) a 92 item questionnaire was applied to the centers selected. The questionnaire was made up of four blocks: Block I: Sociodemographic, penitentiary and criminological data; Block II: Socio-labor, economic, educational-professional and family history; Block III: Prison Internment and; Block IV: Health and drug dependence. In all this content exists a gender mainstreaming and a socio-educational focus.

The questionnaire was able to be self-administered, guided or a combination of both, depending on the case. There were 538 valid questionnaires obtained, the data representing approximately 15% of the total female inmate population of Spain.

The study took 11 Autonomous Communities (of the 17 that exist) into account and visited 42 centers (from June to October in 2011), made up of Penitentiary Centers that take into account distinct modules and other resources of the Penitentiary Institutions (II.PP.) sentence completion in a semi-open environment. Quantitative and statistical methods were employed for the information analysis and a data base in the SPSS 15 and 20 (*Statistical Package for the Social Sciences*) versions was designed as well.

Figure 1. Data sheet on the questionnaires to the women

Scope	National
Universe	Women aged 18 and up in the field of study.
Sample Size	We obtained 538 questionnaires intersected by habitat/autonomous community strata and distributed in a way that was proportional to the total of each region, also representative of the resources-spaces specific to sentence completion. Applying to female gender quotas and the age at the last unit (participant).
Sample Error	Based on the criteria of simple random sampling, through its 95% level of confidence (which is generally adopted) and in the least favorable hypothesis of maximum indetermination ($p=q=50$), the margin of error of the data referring to the total sample is $\pm 5\%$.
Data Collection Method of the Information	Carried out entirely by the Group of Investigation of the ' <i>Drug dependent female inmates and their social reintegration. A socio-educational study and proposals for action</i> ' [EDU2009-13408] program.
Field Work	During the months of June to October of 2011.

Source: Ad Hoc

Equally, qualitative methods in the form of the interpretation and analysis of structured interviews were used. These ethnographic accounts have been developed through a field diary in which anything of relevance and anything that occurred in the period when the interviews were being carried out was noted. The data has been analyzed from the emergence of significant categories and their triangulations.

Sixty-one in depth interviews were obtained from the women. The following distinction appears for the legend of said interviews: AA: Active Addict; EX: Ex-Addict; NA: Non Addict; MM: Addict in MMP (Methadone Maintenance Program) and _E: Interview number. In this article we hope to get the subjects -the women- to speak and give their opinions on treatment.

The interview, in its structure and contents, took the following elements in relation to the coherence and achievement of the general and specific objectives of the investigation into account with 131 questions (Flick, 2004): Identificational data, penitentiary situation, experiences inside the center, drug use, childhood and family history, social relations, amorous relationships, relationships with their children, job training and socio-educational and job integration and hopes for the future.

3.4. Sample and profile of the women

The profile of the female participants was that of inmates in a national territory penitentiary environment, that participate in the programs of reintegration or treatment that, in Spain, is for inmates with a sentence in the second and third grade to complete. As there does not exist any census or material -not even from the II.PP.- that defines the population quantity of this specific profile, a sample scan directed at the whole population -all those who wanted to participate- was established. In this sample, inmates were chosen with the grade criteria of the 2nd and 3rd grade, as well as some of the 1st grade who had a special regimen and

participated in semi-open treatments. The sample represents the distinct geographic points of the country, which are located in determined modules or resources of greater population. Moreover, they had to have a basic understanding of Spanish so they could be interviewed.

4. Results Analysis

In this section we are going to point out the principal socio-educational programs and the socio-labor programs in which women are immersed.

4.1. Socio-educational Programs: Attention to recreational needs, challenges in socio-educational recuperation, family and gender equality.

From the results obtained from the national study, we find that the programs that most dealt with necessities and boast the most participation by the women are the sociocultural programs (22%) and the sports programs (20%).

The participation of these women corresponds with 22% in sociocultural programs. This is a response to the wide range of possibilities that are developed in the field by the Institution or the non-penitentiary collaborating organizations. These programs, on one hand, suppose that the artistic or cultural practices are highly demanded by the inmates. This information offers us the following analysis: *in such a punitive place, the expressive, creative and liberating possibilities of the socio-cultural programs invite high participation from the women.* On the other hand, these practices suppose the facilitation of the creative potential and skills as fundamental in penitentiary treatment. Equally, the sports activities, assume the strengthening of the motivational and preventative functions of the penitentiary treatment. As this female inmate points out,

“Well, I have always [...] gotten along well because I knew that if I was good and didn't think and was always in a class or in sociocultural activity programs I knew that the sentence always would go fast and I've always been with my friends, with cellmates always together and so that helped me a lot because I always got along well” (NA_E304).

Even so, we should declare a great concern regarding the attention to the necessities of the inmates from recreational and sociocultural programs that can better the personal and group capacities, but that do not tend to work in a professionalized form for the problems of risk, conflict, and for socio-labor integration. The consequence is reflected in the following utterance:

“There isn't work for anybody now, but I'm not gonna start committing crimes or sell drugs. There is no social reintegration. It's a lie” (EX_E212).

According to our national study, we know that 80% of the women have offspring, nevertheless, the family and child education programs only assume 7%, consequently, the family and confrontation strategies for family reincorporation with the children, is hampered. Even more so the gender programs (where they deal with contents related to coeducation, responsibility, chauvinism or sexism, or the prevention of gender violence, etc.) only have a participation of 6%.

Even more serious is the situation of inattention to the recuperation of the women who are victims of gender violence, that if also have been drug addicts, could form a serious vulnerability factor. The negligible participation of women (11%) in these programs suggests that, in Spain, they are not developing sufficient programs for abused women, practically 80% of these women being victims of violence before entering the prisons (Instituto de la Mujer, 2005). As one woman pointed out to us,

"It 's just that it doesn 't exist, because they don 't teach you that. You leave here crazier than ever. And you leave here, and if in some point in your life, that wasn 't me, but I saw it with my own eyes, if you have taken drugs and quit, you start taking them again here. Because I 've seen this, and I 've seen it with my husband, and I lived it with him. So, this doesn 't help you at all. Here there is no reintegration. It doesn 't exist" (NA_3411).

From this position, in part, we find ourselves with the necessity to implement programs for victimized women in order for a future socio-labor reincorporation that permits an empowerment born from the stabilization of women. On the other hand, we respond to the data on programs for victims of violence in national and European literature. There are not enough programs on this material, being practically imperceptible in some centers. That brings us to highlight,

"The reintegration is not always possible. Not always. It depends on each person. This goes with the person and with what you encounter in the street. The environment also influences on it. Let 's see, how I can explain it to you. This influence depends on the circle of people that you move in. I am lucky that in my case, my circle doesn't [...] my neighborhood is a place where people say "hello" and "goodbye" and aren 't interested in more. But I don't have friends, but if I only had friends in the circle of where I live, you will fall again, because that 's how it is. We put my brother in a center, and when he returned to the neighborhood, you return to how you lived before and you fall again. Sooner or later you fall again. You have to cut the ties a bit to what you were before all this. What I have done is eliminate a lot of people. The people who didn 't do anything for me before, and aren 't going to help me with anything now. And with these people I don 't have contact, no way, not at all, not at all" (EX_E410).

4.2. The socio-labor programs

The years 2009 to 2011, the labor commission of the national social penitentiary counsel of SGPI, as well as the technical labor personnel of the prisons and other collaborating agents, have supported, mediated or worked beginning with measures for labor re/integration of inmates into the labor market: such as administrative authorizations so the foreigners can work, increasing awareness to companies, an incentive for hiring inmates and ex-inmates reflected in the Spanish regulations, etc.

As well as programs in collaboration with organizations specialized in the labor sphere of employment counseling. It is advised that through the ECS Program (Employment Counseling Service) from 2007 to 2009, 2,179 beneficiaries have participated, 10.69% being women, above the percentage of female inmates (8%) (CSP, 2011).

4.3. Professionalizing and socio-labor educational plans, digital alphabetization for integration and traditional gender work roles for women.

After this general information, we know that in the specific case of female inmates, they suffer greater inequalities of gender work and integration difficulties in the active job world. If we analyze the data of female participation in the existing socio-labor programs in the penitentiary medium (Table 2) the following is deducted:

- *First*, the number of female participants and the percentage associated to the courses of job training that the women do are, from greater to less participation: 1º Computer technology (178 women, 24%); 2º sewing (135 women, 18%); 3º job search and orientation (121 women, 16%); 4º hairdressing (109 women, 15%) and hospitality with 12%.

- *Second*, it is observed that the women continue to sign up for professional courses (especially designed for them) based on feminine stereotypes like hairdressing, sewing, and hospitality even though a preferential election of the courses related to job integration like computer technology and job searching is also confirmed. Hospitality appears in fifth place, which could allow (according to the study of work life and profes-

sionalization before entering in prison) that they continue reproducing traditional gender roles. However, at the same time the training is specialized in a very professionally demanding schedule when they are incorporated to the life outside prison.

- *Third*, there is an ample participation in programs that consider professionalization plans by means of job search and orientation courses for active integration (16%), as well as professional training in activities and courses in hospitality, gardening, electrical or plumbing, accredited by a degree; although some of them are not official courses. Many of them are present in Table 1 and Table 2.

- *Fourth*, in the same way, the participation in courses of computer technology and digital alphabetization for socio-labor inclusion and reintegration of the inmate population is posed as a potential profession. Knowing the new technologies, utilizing them for document processing, communicating in social media sites, or promoting the job demand in the job boards or portals; are the new challenges of the current society.

Table 2. Types of socio-labor courses and percent of participation

Information Technology	24%
Sewing	18%
Job search and orientation	16%
Hairdressing	15%
Hospitality	12%
Gardening	6%
Scholarship Courses	4%
Electrical	3%
Plumbing	2%

Source: Ad Hoc from the questionnaires.

5. Discussing treatment intervention

As we noted in the development of the study, a great part of the wide range of programs and socio-educational and socio-labor interventions in prisons that we have described and analyzed related to women, are developed by non-penitentiary collaborating organizations. In the processes of integration, the labor of support for the male and female inmates that have a greater economic vulnerability is done mostly by the Obra Social “la Caixa” (social aid from Caixa Bank). The inmate scholarship program, initiated in 2006, under the name “Reincorpora” (or “reincorporate”) works on social and labor integration through the realization of a personalized plan of socio-labor integration. They include professional training courses outside the penitentiary center, the fulfillment of a supportive service project tied to the training and derivation of the participants of *Incorpora* (or *incorporate*), the labor integration program of the Obra Social “la Caixa” (IIPP, 2012c).

In this same line and in accordance with this study (CSP, 2011), we can take note of some of the entities that, at a national level (by forming part of the Social Penitentiary Board) develop a coverage of great impact in this field: ATENEA-GID Foundation, ASECEDI, ESLABÓN, Red Araña, Solidarios para el Desarrollo (Solidarity for Growth).

Equally, for the last four years, and concretely in the year 2011, the Obra Social “la Caixa” has been developing one of the labor programs in the Penitentiary Institution with the most coverage: “INCORPORA”. With various socio-labor integration plans, divided into professional training courses, support services and labor integration that already has facilitated the hiring of more than 44,000 people in risk of exclusion. They have invested 4.5 million euros this year to facilitate socio-labor integration plans to 1,364 inmates of peni-

tentiary centers from all over Spain that are in the last stage of their sentence, participating in a variety of socio-labor courses in which the women have also participated, just as we presented.

This reality favors “the community oxygenation” in prison participation that reinforces the focus of the theoretical framework, in addition to the expansion and development of the programs in the line of European recommendations for the women of its member countries (Parlamento Europeo, 2008). But, it delegates the principal responsibility of the constitutional mandate of the social reeducation and reintegration to the third sector, that is not always professional. This perspective in addition, continues maintaining vigilance and security as principal functions of the Institution treatment model. This is how one of the women expressed her perceptions on reintegration,

“But I won’t give up fighting for the people that are here inside. I will continue defending. People think that here we have a sports center, pool, psychological help, social workers, technical teams... all that is missing. It’s all pretty when we come out in the media and we ask for grants, but where are the grants? Just like how they go to the jobs, why don’t they go to the houses to see the family situations of each person? We are just another number for them and there doesn’t exist reintegration” (EX_E212).

Lastly, one of the principal questions on the table, is the insufficiency of interventions for the women, as well as the pertinence of the programs that tend to the necessities that the female inmates continue to have as a common international reality (QUNO, 2006) and that they have equally expressed with their own voices through the fragments of interviews presented.

Conclusion

We emphasize the following conclusions:

- *First*, the problems that we have previously pointed out and that Michel Foucault (2005) defined continue today with equal persistence, which brings us to conclude that the ideals of the penitentiary instruments are not achieved nor are the legislations in order to better the conditions of the inmates: prison is a violent place that punishes humans (Jiménez & Jiménez, 2013).

- *Second*, structural violence that the deprivation of liberty supposes hampers and reduces the treatment possibilities of the programs with inmates; much more so when, in many cases, we make it clear that the socio-educational and socio-labor interventions are insufficient, impertinent or inexistent.

- *Third*, the socio-educational programs take into account an ample group of sociocultural interventions with a recreational and entertainment focus. The female participation (22%) in them implies an expressive, creative and liberating possibility; which is indispensable in a punitive space. The other side of the coin, shows the need to develop socio-educational programs that improve the proactivity and trains them in sociability for the active integration in their community; as well as family and social reactivation; influencing in relapse prevention and attention to the female victims of violence. One of the women interviewed explains it categorically:

“Man, it’s just that I don’t know, when I get out I think I am going to be in a cloud, you know what I need?, therapy to be social, that would be great for me, yeah, social skills programs [...] because I don’t have conversation, I can talk to you about drugs and jail, but a conversation [...] to have a friend and have a conversation and laugh and go out, I don’t know” (EX_E313).

- *Lastly*, there is an urgent situation with the lack of socio-labor programs and professionalizing itineraries in the penitentiary environment that makes it impossible to reach the constitutional end of the reintegration. Although there is an ample range of education and job training strategies, the measures taken are clearly insufficient for job market reintegration, with a continuing of the traditional gender roles for the women although a great participation in digital alphabetization is starting to exist in the penitentiary field.

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Notes

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