

APPROACH TO THE CONTEXT IN PRISON. SOCIO EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

APROXIMACIÓN A LOS CONTEXTOS EN PRISIÓN. UNA PERSPECTIVA SOCIOEDUCATIVA¹

ABORDAGEM DO CONTEXTO EM PRISÃO. PERSPECTIVA SOCIAL E EDUCACIONAL

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ABSTRACT: The prisons don't only represent the architectural, administrative and functional elements of the penal system, but they also are important ecosystem contexts of socialization and education and reeducation, especially for interned people.

In this paper we present an approach to the Spanish prison reality from a gender and social educational perspective. We will highlight especially the system configuration, in order to know how it works, its organization and classification. For that reason we will analyze the different types of centers according to established life schemes, focusing on the conception of time and the impact of life in prison. This investigation is part of a national study conducted with women prisoners (Ref. EDU2009-13408).

The research methodology were both quantitative and qualitative in a sample of 538 valid ques-

tionnaires and 61 semi-structured interviews, noting that spaces are constituted as living entities that can influence in prison life in a positive way to promote a context, a time and a socio educational opportunity or they may be used as mechanisms of segregation, movement control, and as mechanism of power to implement "internal separation". The condemns times, along with the space, affect the experience and attitudes that determine how to deal with her reality and their preparation of their free life come back, so they have to be taken into account for the implementation of programs from the multiple realities of the protagonists. They have to be effective, comprehensive, to prevent recidivism and so on.

Furthermore, the paper left opened lines of intervention and unsolved issues that stand as challenges and outstanding issues for the administration, the society, the prisoners and social education.

KEY WORDS: Prison; time; context effect; segregation and exclusion; gender issues; delinquent rehabilitation and reintegration; socio educational action.

RESUMEN: Los establecimientos penitenciarios de cumplimiento de pena no sólo son entidades arquitectónicas, administrativas y funcionales del sistema penitenciario, sino que son contextos ecosistémicos, de socialización y de educación-reeducación de gran importancia, especialmente para las personas internadas.

En este trabajo se hace una aproximación a la realidad penitenciaria española, desde una perspectiva socioeducativa de género y, prestando especial atención a la configuración del sistema, con el propósito de conocer su forma de funcionamiento, organización y clasificación, así como analizar los distintos tipos de centros según los regímenes de vida establecidos, la concepción de los tiempos y los impactos de la vida en prisión, en el marco de una investigación nacional llevada a cabo con mujeres reclusas (Ref. EDU2009-13408).

Los métodos de investigación han sido tanto cuantitativos como cualitativos en una muestra de 538 cuestionarios válidos y 61 entrevistas semiestructuradas, observando que los espacios se constituyen como entes vivos que pueden influir en la vida en prisión de manera positiva al favorecer un contexto, un tiempo y una oportunidad socioeducativa, o pueden ser utilizados como mecanismos de segregación, de control de los movimientos, de poder y para implementar la "separación interior". Los tiempos de condena, junto con el espacio, inciden en la vivencia y las actitudes que determinan cómo enfrentarse a su realidad y la preparación para su reinserción; así éstos han de ser tenidos en cuenta para la implementación de programas desde las múltiples realidades de las/os protagonistas, basados en la evidencia, de modo que sean eficaces, integrales, que prevengan la reincidencia, etc.

Además, se dejan abiertas líneas de intervención y problemáticas no resueltas que se erigen como retos o cuestiones pendientes para la administración, la sociedad, los/las reclusos/as y la educación social.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Prisión; tiempo; efectos del contexto; segregación y exclusión; cuestiones de género;

rehabilitación y reinserción de presos/as; acción socioeducativa.

RESUMO: A prisão agências de execução de sentença, não só arquitetônica, funcional do sistema administrativo e penal, mas são contextos ambientais, socialização e educação, reeducação de grande importância, especialmente para as pessoas internadas.

Neste artigo apresentamos uma abordagem para a prisão realidade espanhola, a partir de uma perspectiva de gênero e atenção especial sócio para a configuração do sistema, a fim de saber como eles funcionam, organização e classificação, e analisar os diferentes tipos de centros de acordo com esquemas de vida estabelecidos, a concepção de tempo e de o impacto da vida na prisão como parte de um estudo nacional realizado com mulheres presas (Ref. EDU2009-13408).

Os métodos de investigação foram quantitativa e qualitativa em uma amostra de 538 questionários válidos e 61 entrevistas semi-estruturadas, observando que os espaços se constituem como entidades vivas que podem influenciar a vida na prisão de uma forma positiva para promover um contexto de tempo, e oportunidade sócio ou podem ser utilizados como mecanismos de segregação, controlo de movimento, e o poder para implementar "separação interna". Condena vezes, juntamente com o espaço, afetar a experiência e as atitudes que determinam como lidar com a sua realidade e se preparar para seu retorno, por isso têm de ser tidos em conta para a implementação de programas a partir das múltiplas realidades da / protagonistas do sistema operacional, com base em evidências, eficaz, global, para evitar a reincidência, etc.

Também deixou abertas as linhas de intervenção e questões não resolvidas que se apresentam como desafios e as questões pendentes para a administração, a sociedade, os presos e educação social.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: A prisão; o tempo; efeitos de contexto; a segregação e exclusão; as questões de gênero; a reabilitação ea reinserção dos presos; ação sócio-educativa.

Introduction

Criminal acts are frequently not about casual or timely acts but responses to multiple factors permeated by trajectories with different kinds of disadvantages and/or situations of vulnerability, risk or conflict (Amador y Monreal, 2010; Añaños, 2010, 2012; Bas, Pérez de Guzmán & Morón, 2011; Yagüe, 2007; Cervelló, 2006; Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz, 2006; EDIS, 2004; Parlamento Europeo, 2008; Juliano, 2010; Ortega, 2010), where, furthermore, women suffer greater consequences, inequalities and/or exclusions.

Penitentiary establishments are not only architectural, administrative, and functional entities with their own organization, but also eco-systemic contexts of socialization and education-reeducation of great importance, especially for inmates.

This has to do with an internal and “controlled” scene, where the lives of many people carried out, but also there are many external factors that influence, being political, ideological, economic or cultural and the conceptions around crime and justice, laws and specific regulations, focuses and intervention models, etc.

According to Matthews (2003), there are three nuclear elements that characterize the process of imprisonment; the space, time and the work. None of which are “neutral” or lacking of precise languages and significances, to the inside as well as outside the prison, and are material as well as symbolical (Rivera, 2003:11).

Knowing this initial conception, from our perspective, we understand that we could reinterpret and re-configure in “space, time and socio-educational action”, these being the interacting, interdependent and simultaneous systemic elements.

We want to distance ourselves from the concept of “work” because of the symbolic weight associated to the dedication of the inmate “doing or working”, and because time in prison can be conceived and established as time and space (context) constructive of social and education-reeducation processes, oriented toward the improvement of the quality of life in prison –present day-, and with perspectives above and beyond the punitive space and with influence in their personal, training, labor or cultural dimension.

The form of conceiving, articulating, designing, applying or evaluating these three elements refer to the functions of reclusion and sentence completion, where nothing is “casual”, “improvised”, or “neutral”, and therefore is important that we detain ourselves in the socio-educational and integration-reintegration configuration, in the different moments, situations, spaces and times in prison.

As such, this work is oriented to the penitentiary medium in order to know its forms of function and organization, analyzing the distinct types of centers, the times and the impacts of life in prison, within the framework of a national investigation carried out with female inmates (Ref. EDU2009-13408).

1. The prison context: organization, time and socio-educational action

The penitentiary environment is very complex. In these last years the system experimented with numerous quantitative and qualitative changes, in its structure as well as in the inmate population. In Spain, the growth and evolution of the population have been significant. According to the Secretary General of Penitentiary Institutions ([SGIP], 2013a) in January of 2013, there were 68,614 inmates. Equally, the characteristics of the inmates have diversified: foreigners, low danger profiles or not proceeding vulnerable and/or excluded (“normalized”) groups, and ethnic minorities, among others (Almeda, 2010; Añaños, 2010; Yagüe, 2010).

Every center has its own organization that permits internal functioning and makes possible the relationship and coordination with Central Services located in Madrid (General Administration of the State, -here onwards GAS-, Department of the Interior) with the exception of Catalonia which has had the power transferred to their own since 1984 (Justice Department, Government of Catalonia). Usually, they rely on collegiate authorities (Board of Directors, Treatment Council –on which the Technical Teams depend-, Disciplinary Commission, and the Economic-Administrative Council) and personal authorities.

The structure and function of the penitentiary system, as well as the centers and other prison resources are conditioned by the classification grade, penitentiary regimen, method of completion and intervention for each inmate. We will see how they are defined below.

1.1. The classification grades and life regimens

The admission into the penitentiary medium supposes the establishment of a group of measures and interventions for its protagonists. This mechanism starts to work when there is a “firm prison sentence”, giving place to its classification in one of the three penitentiary grades established by the laws (General Penitentiary Organic Law –here forward GPOL-; Penitentiary Regulation 190/1996 -here forward PR-; Penal Code 10/1995 and 5/2010). In grade determination different factors are considered, for example, the personality, penitentiary history (individual, family, social and criminal), the duration of the sentence given and, other factors established in the legislation. Each grade determines a *regimen of control and security measures* that go from the most severe to the most flexible.

This form of classification, according to the SGPI (2010), consists of a modification of the classic system, whose principal characteristic is *flexibility*, because it permits revision and reclassification based on the evolution during the sentence time, the progression or regression of the inmate. In this way, the inmate can be classified in:

- First Grade, which corresponds with a more restrictive regimen (closed regimen) of control and security measures, due to the danger they pose or the exhibition of maladjustment.
- Second Grade, that coincides with the ordinary regimen, where the inmates have personal and prison circumstances of normal coexistence, but without the ability to live, momentarily, in semi-liberty.
- Third Grade, that concurs with the open regimen, in any one of its modalities. They are inmates that, for their personal and penitentiary situations, are considered able to have a life regimen in semi-liberty. It hopes to be a model of reference in the social integration process through the coordinated and harmonious intervention of all social and community resources. In this way, they are permitted “Trips to the outside” (*ordinary permits, weekend excursions or trips in order to work or carry out specific treatments*). Furthermore, in this modality there exists other possibilities for sentence completion, such as the *Sentences and Alternative Measures* –“sentence suspensions” and “sentence substitutions”- (SGIP, 2013c), regulated by the Penal Code (OL 7/2003 and 5/2010), that offers sentences that avoid the admittance to prison, when the crimes are of low social risk and the sentence not superior to one year, with the objective of impeding the de-socialization effects of the prison and so that the sentenced can repair the damage caused.

The grade classification and the corresponding regimen definitions give place to an individual intervention (socio-educational action) named the “Individualized Treatment Program” (here forward ITP). The basis of the action in the measures of liberty and security deprivation is reeducation and social reintegration (Spanish Constitution, Art. 25.2.).

1.2. The time and actions of socio-educational intervention

Time is united to the definition of the prison as a mechanism for reforming delinquents. As a matter of fact, for Foucault (1977) it was, as well as a place of punishment, a time to produce discipline, incrementing the speed and efficiency of the socio-educational interventions. This way it could be productive, extracting the maximum utility of each hour and moment. However, for Goffman (1994) the institutions are “totalitarian” and the people share a delimited space, under timing and controlled interactions, giving themselves different articulations and/or adjustments, achieving these adjustments through the use of inside-outside tensions. Also producing relationships of power and inmate social status configuration (Chantraene, Scheer & Milhaud, 2012).

Time passed in freedom deprived spaces is not perceived, generally, as positive, but the complete opposite. According to Matthews (2003), the more time left in their sentence, the more inmates talk of “dead” time, “lost” time, time of “suffering”, etc. In the North American and English prison language the expression of “doing time” is used.

In prison three types of time are distinguished (Lefebvre, 1991): physical, mental and social. The physical refers to the actions, activities and bodily experiences tied to biological rhythms, influenced by the daily routines and the station changes. The mental or “internal” time alludes to the process of reflection or imagination. Traditionally, it was thought that penitentiary time should be silent and solitary, but the reality showed that it brought greater negative consequences (depression, suicide, mental pathologies, addictions, etc.). And lastly, the social time defines the continuous movement in between the past, present and future. It has to do with the complex daily process of the comprehension of change, though for the inmates the present is “suspended”, and therefore “lost”, in such a way that, in the opinion of Cohen and Taylor (1972), time, especially for those with long sentences, is reduced to a continuous present, running the risk of losing the sense of personal growth and future prospects. Paradoxically, the more time an inmate has of his sentence, the more their courage declines.

The advances in the penitentiary systems and the international legislation, the new focuses and intervention models, the development of rights, the incorporation of professional social educators, etc. (Del Pozo & Añaños-Bedriñana, 2013; Pérez Serrano, 1992), have given emphasis to the action and the rehabilitator and reintegration functions of the sentences that, in turn, have motivated the use of new more open and/or flexible forms of sentences, in the time and in the specific form of confrontation of the sentence. This development increased the power of the Administration and offered a control mechanism inside the prison, something that made the necessity of counting on a greater amount of information on the penitentiary population visible, because putting an intervention –“a treatment”- into practice would demand that information. That is, a detailed analysis of the context, the people, the pedagogical interventions, the previous realities of the action, etc. (Pantoja & Añaños, 2010; Sáez, 2010).

Today, the Spanish penitentiary system is situated, at least theoretically, in the path of reintegration and respect for the rights of the inmates. In this way, the “sentence time” gives the formative possibility, in the opinion of Gallizo (2010, p.7), “that provides the inmates with the appropriate skills so that in the future they can survive without relapsing into crime”. Also, he confirms that the prisons represented, in a certain way, the “failure of society”, to which Caride and Gradaïlle (2013) match to the “failure of freedom –and in part of education-, “which brings us to take on the field not only from a professional dimension but from one of commitment. Time and space that, according to Núñez (2010), generate “prison microcosms” of encounters between objectives and multiple universes, escapes and cultural refuges.

Socio-educational action in this context is located in the ITP, where all the inmates have the right to participate, so as to work at a personal level on social and labor skills, overcoming behavioral or exclusion factors, support measures for the treatment and other questions for the moment of liberation. The ITPs are regulated by the Instructions 12/2006 and 4/2009. The ITP assigns two levels of activity: Priority, aimed at supplementing the factors directly related with their criminal activity or their lack in basic trainings and; Complementary, which offers options to improve their quality of life and increase professional, educational and cultural focuses.

In the intervention, as well as the structure and organization of the penitentiary system a multitude of professionals (self-employed, contracted and external collaborators) also participate. In this context, multidisciplinary groups form and of which are formed in part by pedagogues and social educators.

2. Penitentiary spaces: the case of women

The isolation of delinquents in spaces created just for that reason is one of the distinctions of modern prisons as a form of punishment. It creates a separation from the rest of society that represents, also, a form of

physical, moral and social exclusion, which could make their reintegration processes difficult –tertiary exclusion– (Añaños, 2012).

At the same time, inside the prison, space serves to establish differences between the diverse types of inmates, known as “*interior separation*”, creating limits on the practice, “treatments” and daily routines, different coexisting models of intervention, behaviors, forms of control, rules, etc. For the same reasons, the displacement from one space to another is used as a means of control and as a part of an ample repertoire of rewards and punishments. This separation is established in function of the following criteria (SGIP, 2013b):

- Gender: men and women, except for mixed departments (family units, C.P. Aranjuez).
- Procedural condition: detained inmates and/or those in preemptive imprisonment while their case is judicially determined.
- Criminal situation: those who enter prison for the first time and repeat offenders.
- Age: juveniles in relation to the adults.
- Medical conditions: inmates with sicknesses, and physical or mental deficiencies.
- “Treatment” requirements: for example in the “therapeutic modules” or drug free programs, in the “respect modules”, “educational treatment units”, “mothers units” or others.

The construction and design of modern penitentiary spaces, was conditioned for distinct objectives: security, ventilation, reform, classification, inspection and continuous vigilance (Evans, 1982). Today, this joins the penitentiary conception that rehabilitation objectives are achieved through the separation of inmates. The models of space have evolved from radial, panoptic, telephone pole designs to ones referred to as “new generation”. These incorporate a capsular design or around a control bubble and the extensive use of technology, being a “more subtle” system, less controversial and more effective for regulating movements.

There is a great diversity of penitentiary establishments (Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Justícia, 2013; SGIP, 2013d): Penitentiary Centers (PC) –formed by units, modules and departments–, Psychiatric Penitentiary Centers (P), Social Integration Centers (SIC), Open Sections (OS), Dependent Mothers Units (DMU), External Mothers Units (EMU), Hospital Custody Units (HCU) and External Penitentiary Centers.

The prison structure, frequently, does not differentiate between the private and public life of the inmate. However, in some countries, like Spain, they permit visits, conjugal visits or the cohabitation of couples inside the prison, and there even exists a family unit of continual cohabitation for imprisoned couples (C.P. Aranjuez), in which the system considers the space and time reserved and equipped for this very reason.

2.1. Prison contexts for women: The impact of admission into prison

In general terms, the fact that there exists a minor presence of women in the penitentiary system explains, in part, the distinct disadvantages for the female inmates. Specifically, in January of 2013 there were 5,209 female inmates representing a 7.6% in comparison with the 92.4% of men in the penitentiary population in Spain (SGIP, 2013a). Traditionally, the prisons have been managed by and for men even though from that perspective spaces for women have been prepared or adapted, today Female Modules (FM). Unfortunately, in many circumstances the internal separation criteria are not applied, generating a complex context that is not very beneficial for social reeducation and reintegration. What is true is that there has been a special treatment given to the women with children younger than three in their care in prison, but there is still much more to be advanced in this theme. Here we present some specific resources:

Mothers Module/ Mothers Units (MU)

Structures and spaces separated architecturally that are in extinction, but until 2010 existed in almost all PCs (Art. 38 LOGP). Nursery schools for educational attention to children were established inside.

Family/Mixed Module (FM)

A space that enables couples who are both in prison, and, if applicable, their children under three years of age to be together. This module has an exceptional and innovational character, it only exists in the PC of Aranjuez (a city in Spain), extending the constitutional principle of family protection, and curbing family de-structuring.

Dependent Mothers Units (DMU)

External penitentiary resources in which 6-10 women and their children live together -in some cases, for up to 6 years- are a pioneer experience in Europe, whose objective is to create an appropriate environment so that the children can develop emotionally and educationally during the time of sentence completion. At the same time, the inclusion in socio-educational programs, the reactivation of family and socio-labor networks and community participation are favored. They offer an important model and reeducation and reintegration results, attending to needs and demands in an individualized way (Del Pozo & Mavrou, 2010; Del Pozo, 2010). However, due to budgetary cuts, the creation of External Mothers Units (EMU) and the current political model, only two of the eight original DMUs are still maintained (Madrid and Barcelona).

External Mothers Units (EMU)

These units are new penitentiary installations, with a greater capacity than the DMUs (22-23 cells-units), whose objective is that the children -up to three years of age- remain with their mothers while they are serving their sentence, in favorable conditions for their education, in a different environment than what is assumed of a traditional prison. Until now, three of these establishments have been created: Madrid, Seville, and Palma de Mallorca, although there is one finished in Alicante and construction advanced in Tenerife too, but the construction has been stopped and suspended because of budgetary conditions. The institutional purpose of the units for mothers is to definitively separate them inside the PCs. There is greater flexibility for visits to the children and the access of the mothers to external social resources is favored. Despite everything, it is about a specific prison for women and their children, in this way they can count on "non-aggressive" security measures, based on systems of electronic surveillance control that is sustained by cameras, alarms and motion detectors on the perimeters.

Furthermore, since the 90s a series of measures and actions were initiated that incorporate the perspective of gender. Subsequently, in 1996 the Health Intervention Program was developed from a gender focus, in 2007 the Practical Guide for Group Intervention was elaborated, and from 2009 the gradual implementation of the "Program of Actions for the Equality between Men and Women in the penitentiary environment" was initiated with specific and transversal actions aimed at (Ministerio de Interior, 2009):

- Overcoming the factors of vulnerability that influence criminal activity.
- Eradicating the factors of discrimination based on gender inside the prison.
- Paying complete attention to the necessities of the imprisoned women.
- Attacking gender violence, especially the consequences (psychological, medical, addictive, etc.) associated with the high prevalence of abuse and mistreatment.

Despite the advances, there still exists many differences between the men and women in prison, in respect to the confrontation, treatment, care, programs, structures, etc. (Almeda, 2010; Añaños-Bedriñana, 2010, 2012, 2013; Casares, González, Secades & Fernández, 2007; Cervelló, 2006; Cruells & Igareda, 2005; Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz, 2006; Delgado, 2008; Fernández Iglesias, 2008; Llopis, 2008; Martínez-Cordero, 2007; Orte, 2008; Parlamento Europeo, 2008; Ribas, Almeda & Bodelón, 2005; Roca & Caixal, 2002; Yagüe, 2007, 2010). Moreover, there is little information on the results, achievements and processes of the programs and plans instituted.

3. Methodology and results

The investigation project pretends, among other things, to study the women that are completing a sentence in the Spanish penitentiary environment, the multiple realities, the processes of reeducation and the preparation for liberty in relation with social reintegration. Concretely, through this work we hope to get close to the penitentiary system, with the purpose of knowing its functioning, organization and classification forms, analyze the distinct types of centers according to the established life regimens, the conception of the time and the impact of the prison life, in the framework of the national investigation carried out with female inmates (Ref. EDU2009-13408), in GAS as well as in the Government of Catalonia.

The study is centered on women in two life regimens (open and ordinary) in the penitentiary environment and that are classified in the 2nd or 3rd grade sentence. The population from which the sample frame was extracted was of 3,484 women. A stratified process was carried out with a roster proportional to the size of the female penitentiary population and according to geographic zones, the sample reaching approximately 15% of the population, equal to $0.15 \cdot 3.484 = 523$ women. The sample selection was chosen randomly among women from distinct selected centers that were previously informed and consented to participate voluntarily. The types of centers reflect the distinct spaces where the women are found in the penitentiary system, being:

Open Regimen: Social Reintegration Centers (SRC), Dependent Mothers Units (DMU), Open Sections (OS) and External Mothers Units (EMU).

Closed Regimen: Penitentiary Centers (PC) and Psychiatric Hospitals (P). Within the PCs we distinguish: Women's Module (WM), Respect Module (RM), Family Module (FM), Mothers Module (UM), Module or Community Therapy -in Catalonia DAE- (CT/DAE) and Educational Treatment Units (ETU).

The field work was carried out between June and October of 2011, visiting 42 centers from all over Spain. The instruments of analysis were: a questionnaire, composed of closed, multiple response, conditional and open questions, achieving 538 valid questionnaires. The sample error was 3.9. In the same way, 61 semi-structured interviews were obtained.

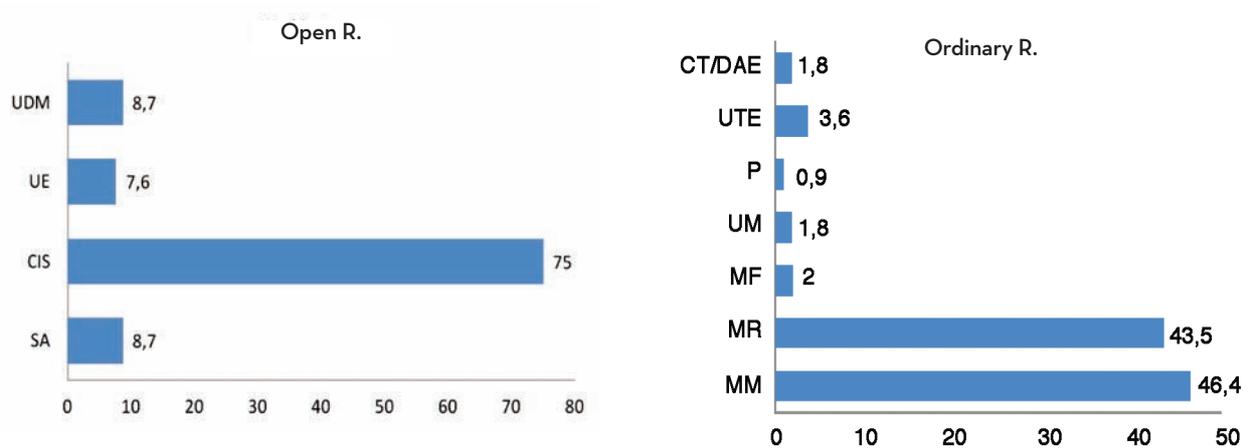
For the treatment of the information, the IBM SPSS program, versions 15 and 20, were used. The basic statistical analysis of this work consisted of a frequency analysis, contingency tables, contrasts of independency and homogeneity. For the interviews, qualitative methods of analysis were employed.

The results, reflected in continuation, respond to the defined objectives taking into count the spaces, length of sentences and the auto-perceptions of the impact of prison on the women. The most significant characteristics refer to the women in the age group between 19 and 64 (average 36.4), the majority single, separated or divorced (57.2%) and, 79.5% being mothers.

3.1. Penitentiary spaces and regimen

Of all the women given questionnaires, 82.9% are carrying out their sentence in the ordinary regimen and 17.1% in the open regimen, being classified in the 2nd grade (76.3%) and 3rd grade (23.7%) sentences. These data correspond closely to the national data, 81.9% in the 2nd grade and 18.1% in the 3rd (SGIP, 2013a). In the investigation, concentrating on those of the second grade, 96.4% are in the ordinary regimen; while in the third grade, 66.7% are in the open regimen.

Graphic 1. Global distribution of the women by type of center inside each regimen



Source: Ad Hoc.

Almost 90% of the ordinary regimen is concentrated in the Women's Module (WM) and the Respect Module (RM), while in the open regimen the great majority are in Social Reintegration Centers (SRC). This data reflects the population capacity of the centers or units and the type of intervention-programs realized.

How the spaces in prison are perceived shows in the experiences during the sentence completion, for example: *"many differences, they have nothing in common, each one has a different regimen. Me in this one... I feel like I am completing the sentence, Now I feel like a prisoner, I feel frustrated!..."* (EX_E315), or blunt affirmations such as *"Ufff, total prison...it is much harder"* (NA_301).

The availability of the resources and professionals in the centers in semi-liberty regimens is made evident with commentaries from the DMU like: *"Of course, the truth is that it is so small that we have many possibilities to be able to talk with all the people that can help us, because we are close to the educators, assistants, everything..."* (EX_E110) or through an evaluation of the EMU on the installations and equipment: *"It doesn't have a comparison, this looks like a hotel..."* (EX_E106). Also, the sensation and exercising liberty is emphasized in appreciations of the SRC such as: *"Well, this is better!, you have more freedom, you can go outside. There you have to see your family through the windows in the communications once a week"* (EX_E312).

On the other hand, the social or relational space is expressed through *"...and the worst place was...,but it's the people, not the prison, the prison makes the people, and in the prison there are a lot of lowlifes, the worst, is the hole..."* (EX_E503) and, the power mechanism or the statuses are given through *"...Here in... I am just one more, I have to adapt to what there is, now I am in a module where I don't have any privileges, but I can't complain..."* (EX_E213).

3.2 Maternity according to the regimen

In relation to the number of children, the women of the ordinary regimen have less children than those in the open regimen (Mann-Whitney U test, p-value < 4%), the average number of children being 2.4 and 2.93, respectively. Furthermore, the 95% confidence interval for the difference of means is (-0.854; -0.022). These results are explained by the lack of the deprivation of liberty and less opportunities for private interaction. There also exists significant differences if we consider the variable "presence of the children in the center" (Chi-squared test, p-value<1%), though the majority do not have children with them in prison, the women who do are mostly in the open regimen (16.3%). That fundamentally responds to the extra-penitentiary or open centers created for the mothers.

Table 1. Presence of children with mothers in the center, according to life regimen

	Center Regimen		
	Ordinary	Open	Total
No	94,6%	83,7%	92,8%
Si	5,4%	16,3%	7,2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Ad Hoc

The auto-perception of the prison in spaces prepared for the women and their children, dilutes the weight of the imprisonment, for example, *"I'll tell you the truth, I didn't know the prison because I came in with my daughter and the Mother Modules are basically like a school, ... so you are protected there, because we have children... Since I entered, for me it has been a change for the better"* (EX_E207). The children are a motivation for change *"... This year is much harder for me, because I do everything I have to do. I study, clean... I want to be with my daughter, because she is alone and I have to act right. Before, I didn't care about anything, but now I fight for parole and that takes work"* (EX_E407), while the fact of not having children or not being able to exercise the maternal role is lived very negatively *"Horrible!, I had to leave my children with my mother, my oldest daughter found out I was incarcerated, very bad!!"* (AA_E209).

3.3 Addiction and life regimen

In the EMU, DMU and FM the active addicts are not seen because in the programs where there is a presence of minors, it is required not to have a problematic use/abuse of drugs.

In prison, drug use is seen as a form of reality evasion and a way to pass time, so *"At the beginning when I was younger, I was drugged up all day, ... that way I didn't notice the sentence. I am noticing the sentence since my father died..."* (EX_E316).

At the time of the interview, respecting the participation in the treatment processes for quitting or controlling drugs, significant differences were seen in relation to the life regimen (Chi-square Test, p -value < 1%). In both cases it is much more the percentage of women that do not participate in treatments in relation to the percentage of women that do. Centering ourselves on those that do participate, the great majority (over 95%) are in the ordinary regimen, indicating that this inside context favors the participation in programs.

Although the programs are criticized *"... I am not in favor of the therapeutic programs, I never did them"* (EX_E204), there are women that have decided to quit drugs on their own *"... Being in prison I decided to give up methadone, because I saw that I was taking an authorized drug... but you are drugged!... I am one year clean, I quit in September..."* (EX_E102).

3.4 Time of sentence

In relation to the sentence time in prison (Chi-squared test; p -value < 4%; Mann-Whitney U test, p -value < 1%) there are differences according to the center regimen. Furthermore, the interval is (-1.156; -0.002) for the difference of means with a 95% level of confidence.

For the ordinary regimen, the trend is for women to have less than a year, while for the open regimen it is for a stretch of 1 to 2 years. The percentage of women that have been in prison a short amount of time (2 years or less) is greater in the case of the ordinary regimen (67%) than in the open regimen (50.6%). Furthermore, the percentage of women that have been in prison for more than 4 years is higher in the ordinary regimen (29.3%) than in the open regimen (20.6%).

Table 2. Time in prison and time left in sentence, according to center regimen

Stretch of time	Time in prison			Time left in sentence		
	Ordinary	Open	Total	Ordinary	Open	Total
Less than 1 year	36,1%	17,6%	33%	27,6%	27,5%	27,6%
1-2 years	30,9%	33%	31,3%	30,6%	50,5%	34,4%
3-4 years	18,7%	28,6%	20,4%	21,5%	15,4%	20,4%
5-6 years	18,7%	13,2%	6,7%	10,9%	5,5%	9,9%
7-8 years	5,4%	3,3%	3,6%	4,1%	0%	3,3%
9-10 years	2%	3%	2,2%	2,3%	0%	1,9%
More than 10	3,2%	1,1%	2,8%	3%	1,1%	2,7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Ad Hoc

Also, there are differences in the time left in prison (Chi-squared test: p-value <1%; %; Mann-Whitney U test, p-value < 2%) and the interval for the difference of means with a 95% level of confidence (0.33; 1.196). In both types of regimen, the trend is in the stretch of 1 to 2 years, the percentage being higher in the case of the open regimen. In the open regimen the percentage of women that have only a few years left (2 years or less) is 78% facing the 58.2% of the ordinary regimen. The perception of passing time is different according to the length of the sentence, being more intense in short sentences or when there is little left before getting out "I have been here only 3 months and it feels like I've been here for a year. I only have three months left, because I have six months..." (MM_E405), "I have 5 months left to, to throw up" (EX_E115). However, in long sentences, indifference is seen "I don't know, I think 15 years..." (AA_E205), or the obsession with occupying time "...I try to maintain occupied most of the time, I want the hours to pass, the days, the years... I have Saturday and Sunday to rest and I don't rest... because it is easy for me to go crazy at home... I don't want to have time..." (EX_E113).

3.5 Auto-perception of the impact in prison

The evaluation of the impact of prison on their life turns out to be surprising; since 37.2% of the women consider that the experience has been good or very good.

There are differences by center regimen (Chi-squared test, p-value<5%). The women that are in the open regimen consider that the experience has been better than the women in the ordinary regimen, since 77.1% believe that it has not been bad, while in the ordinary regimen this percentage is 64.4%.

Table 3. Evaluation of life according to center regimen

	Center Regimen		
	Ordinary	Open	Total
Bad	35,5%	22,8%	33,3%
Normal	27,5%	39,1%	29,6%
Good	27,7%	31,5%	28,4%
Very good	9,2%	6,5%	8,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: Ad Hoc

Therefore, on one hand we find testimonies that see the prison as a beneficial environment “Yes, it has been pretty fruitful for me, because I found myself,... I have felt that I am stronger walking in the street, that no one is worth more than me... and for me it has been very good to be in prison. It’s been my salvation! In an emotional way as well as in the drug use” (EX_E315), or as a satisfaction of basic needs “I saw paradise. I said: Hot food! -I came from the street-, I have friends! Something I have not had in 15 years,... I have the opportunity... to read an entire book, the possibility to sleep like a normal person, an entire night...” (EX_E404).

On the other hand, the negative impacts materialize in the assumption of the changes “Weird, weird, there is a hole. The distortion of one life to another, from being in the street and the day that one is here inside, it changes everything. A radical change...” (EX_E403), in the distancing of the environment, especially of children, “Depressing, really. Now it’s like half-fixed, because I left my girls, the smallest one was 1 year old and the biggest was 3, now they are 6 and 8.. This whole time I had a lot of depression, I started to take drugs again... It makes me want to cry, I’m also in another country and I think that is more difficult. I felt alone, misunderstood...” (EX_E105), or when they visualize the diverse losses “Many...from losing it all, I don’t have a house, I don’t have underwear to put on, the work, I don’t know... I don’t have photographs of when my children were small, I lost it all, all...” (EX_E105).

4. Final reflections and pending issues

The analysis of the literature, specialized sources and the results of our study, bring us to point out the following issues.

The majority population presence in ordinary –“inside”- spaces, in comparison with the life regimens in semi-liberty –open- or in alternative measures to prison, show that we have a punitive system whose priority focus is the imprisonment of people who have committed a crime. The spaces, in addition to situating and distinguishing the inmates with an “interior separation”, are controlling contexts of displacement and social power.

The experience of the family relational and social isolation is a very critical and difficult issue for the inmates. Furthermore, the *separation from their children and family* is a painful reality that the women suffer more in prison, due to the implication, responsibility and the assumed traditional gender roles, living it with a lot of frustration and mixed feelings, frequently provoking diverse types of problems (depression, anxiety, addiction, etc.).

Only 2.4% of the population is in specialized drug treatment spaces (CT/DAE) while 60.8% have or have had a problematic and/or addictive relationship with drugs. The least problematic spaces for drug use are the DMU, UM and EMU for the requisites of the program, due to the presence of minors, which is established as an unquestionable factor of protection. The rest are distributed in the distinct spaces of the penitentiary system, which shows the cross-directional character of the problem. Furthermore, the attention and coverage of the programs is usually partial and of an inferior to the quality of those offered to the men, except for in the female prisons, where the attention is specific and complete (Añaños, 2010; Defensor del Pueblo Andaluz, 2006; LLopis, 2008).

The perception of time and the impact on the life of the women offer contradictory characteristics, on one hand, a confrontation of the negative and painful form of internalization, especially for the women with family burdens and children outside the prison. On the other hand, a resigned, indifferent, adapted or positive life, especially when they come from a very deficient-problematic environment or when their sentence is very long.

However, many problems still remain in relation to, among others, the spaces, treatments, and/or views in the penitentiary environment that raise the society, inmates, and social-education as challenges or pending issues for the administration.

Therefore, for example, we point out some of the pending problems in the Spanish prisons in relation to the theme of this study:

Firstly, the issue of *overcrowding or overpopulation*. This is an important structural problem, especially for the women that are imprisoned in more reduced spaces or environments adapted/added to those of the men. This fact gives place to a lack of or limited privacy, limitations or difficulties for health treatment and/or personalized interventions, etc.

Secondly, *location or space distribution problems inside the prison modules* continue to exist, considering that many times the criterion of the “internal separation” are not respected, ending in women with distinct criminal profiles, ages, sociocultural origins, sicknesses and/or addictions all living together. These situations can give place socialization problems, mental and physical health risks and problems in their life evolution in prison, among others. Although the improvements of the system have settled, especially in women with some profiles or concrete circumstances, above all when there is the presence of small children in prison, there still is a long road to run in favor of equality.

Thirdly, another barrier is the *insufficient number of women 's centers* as well as *the geographic location of them*, considering that the distance is lived like a great relational and displacement problem for the visits. This is due to the expenses, time, frequency and, mostly, the difficulties of public transportation, because many prisons are located outside of the cities. Furthermore, the creation of the EMU has signified the movement of many women with children from diverse prisons. Frequently, they are conditioned to stay in the PC without their child or go to the EMU in order to maintain the child with them.

This distance makes the reintegration after leaving the prison difficult, in addition to the problems of personal-family-social, emotional and geographical interaction. This is because a network and/or anchoring alternative in the context of where they will return was not generated, a situation that is made worse in the case of foreigners.

Lastly, considering the socio-educational intervention/action, we still have a traditional focus and a limited offer of socio-educational programs and/or activities, saying, that the range of formation alternatives -outside of basic teachings-, preparation for employment, occupation of free time, sociocultural, etc. are more limited in activities that have an impact on the traditional gender roles and are far from the demand of the external labor market.

Through the Equality Plan and other measures, the balance of actions, in relation to the men, offering specific options that respond to the necessities of the female inmates, but sadly they still do not have results and more so, with the situation of the current crisis, cut-backs on programs and actions in the socio-educational and reintegration line can be seen.

The data and situations found directly influence the implementation of programs related to reeducation, but evoke questions and criticisms, because they limit or make difficult the search and offer of less harmful options for the inmates and their families. New options that really respond to a better link in the processes of social integration-reintegration, to the assumption of responsibilities and the repair of damage or to the prevention of relapse, having in mind at least their realities, needs, problems, limitations, competencies, demands, interests, likes, enjoyment, limits... and their willfulness.

In consequence, the configuration of a spatial, temporary and socio-educational action framework is discerned, that dignifies the person, as well as being de-totalitarian, interdisciplinary, integral, gender specific and that promote autonomous, critical, free people... aimed at taking or retaking the reins of their life in a society that segregated (excluded) them, but at the same time have never stopped being a part of.

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