Chapter 2: Scoping review: Participation in prison programmes: Encouraging and discouraging factors
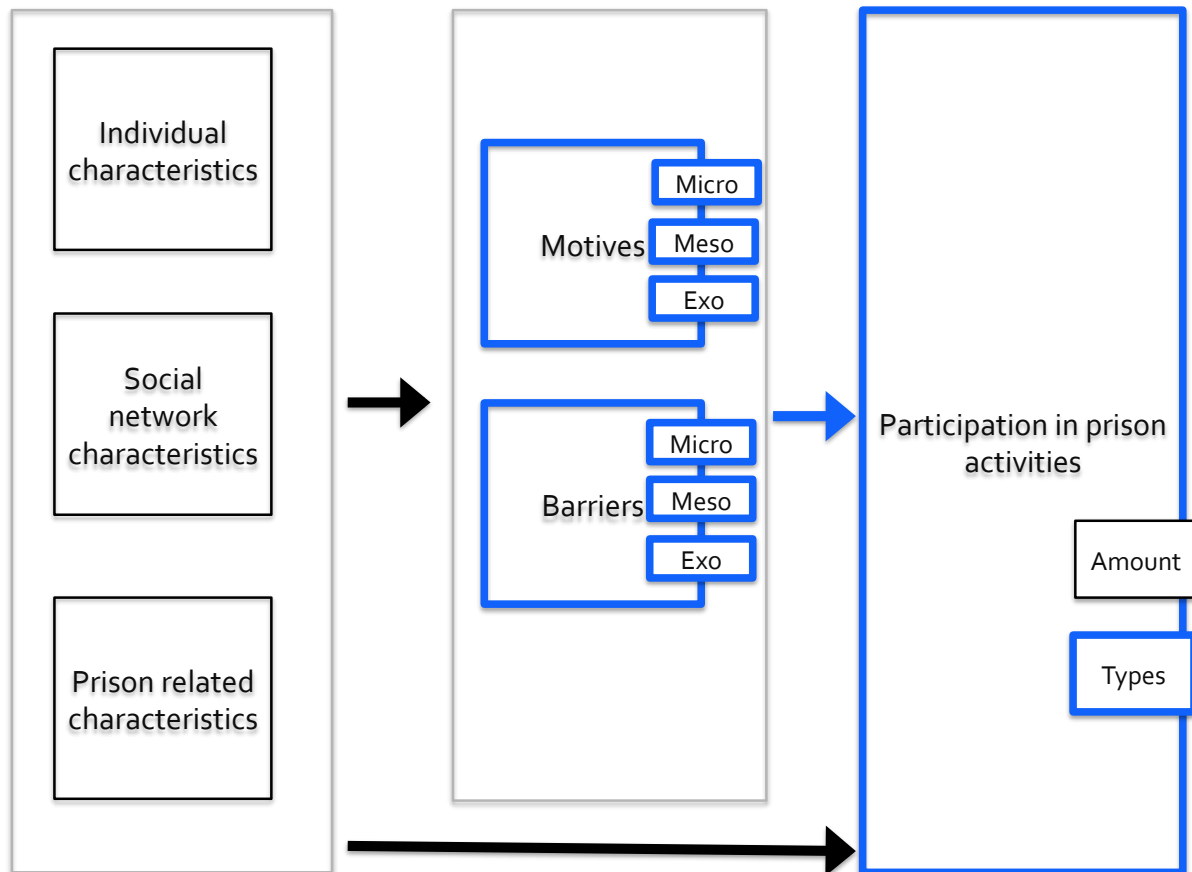

Figure 3. Situation of the study within the research framework

Brosens, D. (2013). Participation in prison programmes: Encouraging and discouraging factors. In P. Ponsaers, A. Crawford, J. De Maillard, J. Shapland, & A. Verhage (Eds.), *Crime, violence, justice and social order. Monitoring contemporary security issues* (pp. 257-298). Antwerp: Maklu.[1]

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[1] The paper included in this dissertation is a slightly adapted version

Abstract

This study aims to provide a literature review of the motivations and barriers of prison inmates to participate in education, vocational training, sports, wellbeing and health, and cultural activities. The majority of studies concerning prison activities focus on positive outcomes such as contribution to self-worth, better health, and reduction in recidivism. The purpose of the present study is to investigate prisoners' motivations and barriers to participation in prison programmes. Therefore, this paper draws on a systematic literature review and qualitative content analysis. In total, 24 studies were retrieved and analysed. The motivations and barriers are situated in an ecological framework, with categorisation on the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-level. The results indicate that research on the participation of prisoners is rather scarce, especially in relation to determinants on the meso- and macro-level. In conclusion, substantial attention is paid to outlining possible implications and guidelines for future research.

Key words: Participation; Prison programmes; Motivation; Barriers; Ecological framework

1   Introduction

Prisons accommodate a heterogeneous population that faces various social problems such as a lack of literacy (de Maeyer, 2005), anti-social behaviour (Digennaro, 2010), diverse ethnic-cultural backgrounds (Harris, Hek, & Condon, 2006), health problems (Møller, Stöver, Jürgens, Gatherer & Nikogosian, 2007), poverty (Coyle, 2009), and unemployment (Zybert, 2011). Furthermore, prisons are challenging institutes due to the tensions between providing security on the one hand and rehabilitation/recreation programmes and health care on the other hand (Shaw & Humber, 2007). The latter programmes are often considered to be a privilege for those incarcerated (Robertson, 2001). Public opinion often holds the view that recreation programmes are a luxury and that prisoners do not deserve such privileges (Carter & Russell, 2005). Historically, prisons were discouraged from providing these types of activities. It is only recently that prisons have been encouraged to offer activities that allow prisoners to alleviate the unvarying prison life and release tensions (Frey & Delaney, 1996). After all, losing freedom through incarceration does not mean that inmates should completely lose all of their rights as citizens (Lee, 1996). It is important that prisoners maintain some autonomy and that the criminal sanction does not destroy their capacity to make thoughtful choices (Lippke, 2003). Since 2000, Flemish prisons (in Belgium) have been obliged to provide an integral and high-quality offer of assistance and services regarding education, sports, vocational training, health, culture and wellbeing.

In Belgium's prisons, the aim is to offer services that are similar to those offered in society to contribute to the social and intellectual functioning and health of prisoners (Coyle, 2009; Polfliet, 2009). It is increasingly recognised that participation in prison activities has positive effects on a number of outcomes, including self-worth (Coyle, 2009), improvement of wellbeing and social capital (Digennaro, 2010; Lippke, 2003), and recidivism (Petersilia, 2003). Given these multiple benefits, it is crucial to identify factors that might lead to greater participation (Hall & Killacky, 2008; Johnsen, 2001; Rose, 2004). The present systematic literature review aims to provide insight into the motivations and barriers that prisoners face in deciding to participate.

Motivations are generally defined as stimuli through which people are encouraged to take action. Unmotivated people feel no impetus to act; conversely, motivated people are stimulated to take action (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Messemer (2011) emphasises that the study of the motivations of participation also assumes the study of the opposite phenomenon: the barriers that prohibit prisoners' participation. However, research on such determinants is relatively fragmented, and there is no integrated overview.

A useful model for classifying motivations and barriers to participation is the ecological model (figure 4). Bronfenbrenner (1979) was the first to develop such an ecological approach for research on human development, but it has since been widely adopted in other disciplines to understand and describe the context in which a phenomenon occurs or as a framework for data analysis (e.g., risk factors for depression: Abrams, Theberge, & Karan, 2005; risk factors for bullying: Hong & Garbarino, 2012; educational needs: Paul & Sanders, 2010). The ecological theory has also been applied in criminological research, for instance, in studies on violence against women (Heise, 1998), to describe the relationship between youth violence and child maltreatment (Jonson-Reid, 1998), and as a model to document the impact of parental incarceration (Arditti, 2005). The model clarifies the interconnectedness between the behaviour of an individual and the environment wherein a person lives. Several levels of the environment are considered to affect our behaviour, as follows: micro, meso, exo and macro level. The micro level is the smallest level and refers to individual characteristics (e.g., educational level). The mesosystem refers to the social interactions in the immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner,1979). In prison, for example, such social interactions occur between fellow prisoners, prison guards, activity providers, family and friends outside of the prison, prison directors, and lawyers. An exosystem is defined as an extension of the mesosystem beyond the immediate environment, recognising the role of organisations (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In a prison context, this level consists of prison conditions and institutional practices (Arditti, 2005). Finally, the macrosystem stresses the importance of broader culture, norms, values, policy etc. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Cross & Hong, 2012). A macro-level factor in prison is, for instance, the national regulation and policy (Arditti, 2005). However, research into the motivations and barriers to participation in prison programmes has not utilised the ecological framework. The current literature review aims to explore whether this framework is suitable for this research area.
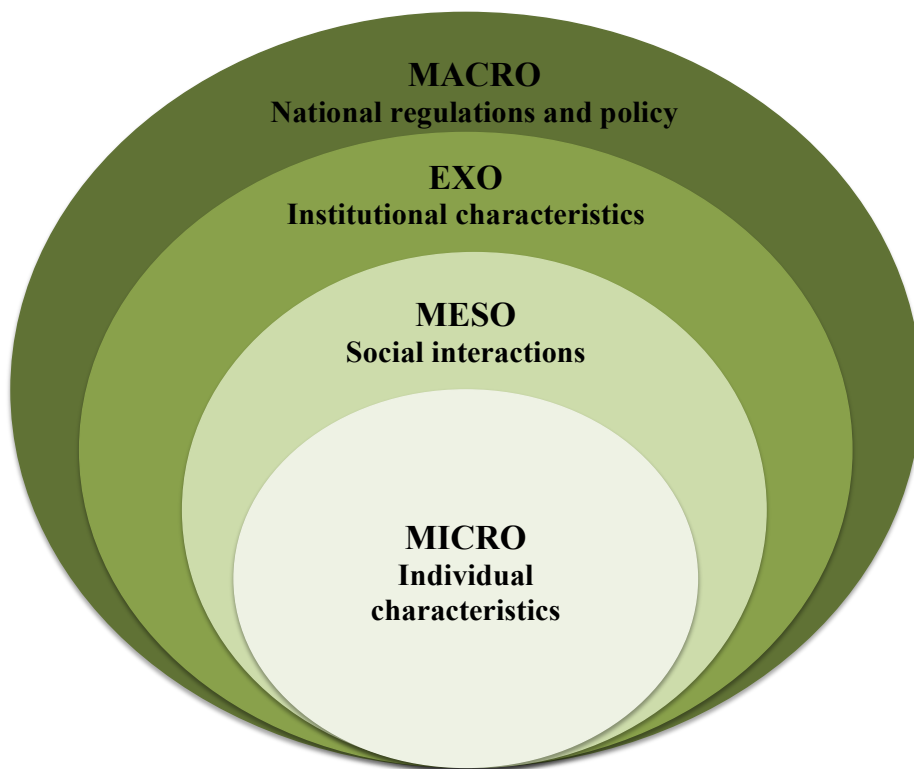
Figure 4. An ecological model of participation in prison programmes

1.1. Research goals

This article attempts to provide insights into the research about factors that influence prisoners' decision to participate in correction programmes. Both the encouraging and discouraging factors for participation in education, vocational training, wellbeing and health courses, cultural and physical activities are investigated. Due to the Belgian legal framework (i.e., Flemish plan - Polfliet, 2009), religious programmes are excluded. This paper reviews relevant literature on motivations and barriers to participation in prison programmes and uses the ecological model as a framework for the data analysis; in other words, it aims to situate the influencing factors in this model. This literature review addresses the following two key questions:

1. What are the motivations and barriers that prisoners face in deciding to participate in prison programmes?

2. Are there differences in motivations and barriers according to the type of prison activities (e.g., education, vocational training, physical activities, wellbeing and health, and cultural activities)?

2   Methodology

An extensive, systematic literature review of studies relevant to the above-described research questions was conducted during the spring of 2012. Inclusion criteria were developed that determined whether the literature would be included in the review. This review focused on studies that addressed at least one of the sectors included in the Flemish plan (e.g., education, vocational training, physical activities, wellbeing and health, and culture). Studies on correctional settings for juveniles were excluded on the basis that the programmes offered in these settings cannot be generalised to prison programmes for adult offenders. Furthermore, we did not include studies on religious programmes because they are not included in the Flemish legal framework. No restrictions on the publication date or period were defined, although most studies were from recent decades.

Based on the inclusion criteria, the following keywords for the literature search were derived:
- Prison, jail, correctional institution, behind bars, correctional facility, inside, detention facility, penitentiary, house of correction, jailhouse, penal institution;
- Prisoner(s), inmate(s), prison inmate(s), offender(s), incarcerated, captive(s), detainee(s);
- Correctional programmes, prison programmes, activities, leisure, participation, participate, rehabilitation, engagement, correctional recreation, prison life, entertainment, interventions, penitentiary programmes;
- Education, learning, educational activity, vocational education, vocational training, sport, physical activities, exercise, wellbeing, welfare, health, health care, treatment, culture, arts, services;
- Motivators, motivating factors, motivation(s), motives, reasons, motive force, thresholds, barriers, obstacles.

The keyword search was put into practice by combining the words and by the use of multiple channels. First, the search began within scientific databases. The following databases were consulted: EBSCOhost, Elsevier ScienceDirect, Eric, NCJRS, Psychiatric Services, PubMed, Sage Journals, SpringerLink, SwetsWise, Taylor & Francis Online, Web of Science, and Wiley online library. The articles were screened through a review of the abstracts based on the inclusion criteria. In addition to the database search, a target Internet search via Google Scholar and Google books was accomplished. Furthermore, dissertations were searched. Only contributions in English and Dutch are included.

Following this, each literature hit from the search process was qualitatively analysed. A brief check list of quality criteria was developed to determine the quality and the appropriateness of the information provided:

- Is the reference a study on prison programmes?
- Does the study address motivations and/or barriers to participation?
- Does the study include the perspectives of prisoners and/or service providers and/or other prison staff?

If it was possible to answer all questions with 'yes', a full review of the literature review item was carried out if the full text was available. Only the articles and studies that qualified based on the quality assessment were fully reviewed.

3 Results

Table 1 provides an overview of the literature on prison programmes and motivations and barriers to participation in correctional programmes. In total, 24 studies were identified throughout different regions. There was almost equal research attention on this topic in America (Canada and different states: n=12) and Europe (Belgium, France, Italy, Norway, Spain, The Netherlands, and UK: n=10). Some studies occurred in Australia (n=2). The table summarises whether each study examined motivations or/and barriers, the concerning sectors and whether they began from or developed a theoretical framework. The sectors are abbreviated as E (education), VT (vocational training), S (sports), WH (wellbeing and health), and C (culture). Furthermore, the table provides information about the methodology, sample size and respondent group(s) of the reviewed studies.

Table 1 demonstrates that there are large differences in research attention on the different sectors, i.e. 9 focused on education, 7 considered sports, 6 wellbeing and health courses, 5 cultural activities and 3 vocational training. Furthermore, it became apparent that motivations to participate were primarily studied. Of the 24 reviewed studies, 18 focused on encouraging factors, of which 6 examined education, 6 sports, 5 wellbeing and health, 4 culture and 3 vocational training. Conversely, studies on barriers that hinder prisoners from becoming engaged were more rare; only 12 of the reviewed studies addressed this topic. Most of these studies investigated education (5), followed by wellbeing and health (4), culture (2), vocational training (2), and sports (2).
The majority of studies on participation in prison programmes lacked a theoretical framework. Only 10 of the 24 studies were theoretically driven.

There were substantial differences in the methodology adapted in the various studies. The results of most of the reviewed studies were based on qualitative interviews with prisoners (N= 12). Surveys (N= 10), observations (N= 3), and focus groups (N=1) were less common. In 22 of the 24 reviewed studies, prisoners were the subject of inquiry, in contrast with 5 studies with activity providers or administrators and 3 with prison guards.

Table 1. Studies concerning participation in prison programmes

Country	Author(s)	Year of publication	Motives	Barriers	E	VT	S	WH	C	Theoretical framework(s)	Methodology	N	Respondent group(s)
Australia	Daveson & Edwards	2001	/	X	/	/	/	/	X	/	Surveys	6	Prisoners
Australia	Spark & Harris	2005	X	X	/	X	/	/	/	/	Interviews	31	Prisoners
Belgium	Baerten	2010	X	X	X	/	/	X	X	/	Focus groups	24	Prisoners
Canada	Boshier	1983	X	/	X	/	/	/	/	• Force-field analysis (Miller, 1967) • Model for participation in education (Boshier, 1979) • Typology of Houle (1961)	Surveys	102	Prisoners
Italy	Digennaro	2010	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	Sport-bases interventions and their major themes	Case studies: observations	2	Prisoners
Norway	Johnsen	2001	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	Theories about crime & punishment: • Biological determinism, psychological reasons, discourse, social defence and retribution, theories about gender, men and masculinity • Biological sex-roles, social sex, and theories about power • Juridical-political model, and Foucault's understanding of power	Interviews	13 7	Prisoners Prison guards
Norway	Manger et al.	2010	X	/	X	/	/	/	/	Push- and pull dimensions in educational sociology	Surveys	467	Prisoners

Country	Author(s)	Year of publication	Motives	Barriers	E	VT	S	WH	C	Theoretical framework(s)	Methodology	N	Respondent group(s)
Spain	Alós et al.	2011	X	X	/	X	/	/	/	/	Database of Ministry of Justice	3225	(Former) prisoners
											Interviews	11	Prison guards, experts & employees
												25	(Former) prisoners
Spain	Martos-Garcia et al.	2009	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	/	Interviews	20 12 5	Prisoners Educators Prison guards and other officials
											Observations Document analysis		
The Netherlands	Nelissen	1998	X	/	/	/	/	/	X	/	Surveys	226	Prisoners
The Netherlands	Oud & Oostdam	2007	X	/	/	/	/	/	X	Constructivist theories about learning, and educational functions of drama (Vane, 1996)	Surveys & interviews	?	Prisoners, activity providers and artists
UK	Condon, Hek & Harris	2008	X	X	/	/	X	X	/	Priority areas of 'choosing health'	Interviews	111	Prisoners
UK	Hunter & Boyce	2009	X	/	/	X	/	/		/	Interviews	28	(Former) prisoners
US	Batchelder & Pippert	2002	/	X	X	/	/	/	/	/	Interviews	169	Prisoners
US	Carter & Russell	2005	X	/	X	/	X	X	X	/	Surveys and interviews	/	Administrators staff and prisoners

Country	Author(s)	Year of publication	Motives	Barriers	E	VT	S	WH	C	Theoretical framework(s)	Methodology	N	Respondent group(s)
US	Leigey	2007	/	X	/	/	X	/	/	/	Interviews Survey	25 18326	Prisoners Prisoners
US	Maggioncalda	2007	X	/	X	/	/	/	/	PEPS (Boshier, 1983)	Survey	206	Prisoners
US	Messemer	2011	/	X	X	/	/	/	/	Barriers to literacy education (Quigley, 1997)	/	/	/
US	Morgan et al.	2007	/	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	Survey	418	Prisoners
US	Pelissier	2004	X	/	/	/	/	X	/	/	Database Interviews & surveys	221 9	Prisoners Prisoners
US	Rose	2004	/	X	X	/	/	/	/	/	Trend studies/ surveys	?	Prisoners
US	Rosen et al.	2004	X	X	/	/	/	X	/	Texas Christian University Treatment Motivation Model	Interviews	220	Prisoners
US	Sabo	2001	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	/	Own experiences & observations	/	Author as teacher
US	Schlesinger	2005	X	X	X	/	/	/	/	Various achievement motivation theories (e.g. reinforcement theory of Hull, social cognitive theory of Bandura, expectancy x value theory of Atkinson, locus of control theory of Rotter, causal attribution theory of Weiner, self-worth theory of Covington, intrinsic motivation of Piaget & Maslow, self-determination and internalized motivation theory of Deci, goal theory of Dweck, and sociocultural theory of Vygotsky).	Interviews	15	Prisoners

Note: *X The study included information about this topic*

/ The study did not yield information about this topic

In the following sections, we present an analysis of the reviewed studies on motivations and barriers to participation in prison programmes. Furthermore, we situate these encouraging and discouraging factors in an ecological framework, categorising them on micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-level. An overview can be found in tables 2, 3, 4 and 5. The authors and the concerned sectors are also indicated. We use the same abbreviations for the sectors as those used in table 1.

Table 2. Motivators and barriers on micro-level

MICRO-LEVEL	Author(s)	E	VT	S	WH	C
Motivators						
To acquire knowledge and skills – cognitive interests – pleasure to learn	Manger et al. (2010) Baerten (2010) Boshier (1983) Maggioncalda (2007) Nelissen (1998) Oud & Oostdam (2007)	X	/	/	/	X
To apply the knowledge after release	Schlesinger (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To avoid psychological harm	Boshier (1983)	X	/	/	/	/
To be liberated from the cell	Schlesinger (2005) Martos-Garcia et al. (2009) Baerten (2010)	X	/	X	X	/
To bring variation in prison life	Baerten (2010)	/	/	/	/	X
To change behaviour	Pelissier (2004)	/	/	/	X	/
To desire for help once the problem is recognized	Rosen et al. (2004)	/	/	/	X	/
To develop oneself	Baerten (2010) Nelissen (1998)	/	/	/	X	X
To distract	Condon et al. (2008) Digennaro (2010)	/	/	X	/	/
To exchange smuggled goods	Schlesinger (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To get a diploma or certification	Schlesinger (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To get a job after release	Schlesinger (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To get more control over own life	Boshier (1983) Johnsen (2001)	X	/	X	/	/
To handle frustrations	Carter & Russel (2005)	X	/	X	X	X
To have a passion for the activity	Oud & Oostdam (2007)	/	/	/	/	X
To have an alternative to be bored in cell – to fight against boredom	Schlesinger (2005) Condon et al. (2008) Digennaro (2010) Baerten (2010)	X	/	X	X	/
To have an alternative to drugs use	Martos-Garcia et al. (2009)	/	/	X	/	/
To hope for an effective reintegration – to get a second chance	Schlesinger (2005) Alós et al. (2011)	X	X	/	/	/
To increase self-esteem and self-confidence	Carter & Russel (2005) Spark & Harris (2005)	X	X	X	X	X
To maintain or improve wellbeing	Digennaro (2010)	/	/	X	/	/

To make provisions for the future	Baerten (2010)	X	/	/	/	/
To obtain some job qualifications	Alós et al. (2011)	/	X	/	/	/
To pass/ fill time	Martos-Garcia et al. (2009) Sabo (2001) Baerten (2010)	/	/	X	/	X
To realize educational goals	Maggioncalda (2007)	X	/	/	/	/
To relax	Condon et al. (2008) Digennaro (2010)	/	/	X	/	/
To release/ burn energy	Martos-Garcia et al. (2009)	/	/	X	/	/
To relieve/ encounter stress	Carter & Russel (2005)	X	/	X	X	X
To remain healthy	Spark & Harris (2005) Sabo (2001)	/	/	X	X	/
To resist against the prison system/ to cause problems	Johnsen (2001) Boshier (1983) Maggioncalda (2007)	X	/	X	/	/
To self-express	Nelissen (1998)	/	/	/	/	X
To sell drugs or other things	Schlesinger (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To spend the day in a meaningful manner	Baerten (2010)	X	/	/	/	/
To withdraw from tensions between other prisoners	Hunter & Boyce (2009)	/	X	/	/	/
Barriers						
Do not want to compete with younger prisoner	Leigey (2007)	/	/	X	/	/
To be on remand	Spark & Harris (2005)	/	X	/	/	/
To be pessimistic about employment chances	Spark & Harris (2005)	/	X	/	/	/
To be refused access to the activity	Condon et al. (2008)	/	/	X	/	/
To find it difficult to combine parenting and employment after release	Spark & Harris (2005)	/	X	/	/	/
To have a negative attitude towards the activity	Messemer (2011)	X	/	/	/	/
To have a too short sentence	Alós et al. (2011)	/	X	/	/	/
To have low levels of self-esteem	Daveson & Edwards (2001)	/	/	/	/	X
To rely on self or close others	Morgan et al. (2007)	/	/	/	X	/

Note: X The study included information about this sector

/ The study did not yield information about this sector

Table 3. Motivators and barriers on meso-level

MESO-LEVEL	Author(s)	E	VT	S	WH	C
Motivators						
Enthusiasm of the teacher	Spark & Harris (2005) Oud & Oostdam (2007)	X	/	/	/	X
To be threatened as human beings	Spark & Harris (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To experience a positive atmosphere in the group	Oud & Oostdam (2007)	/	/	/	/	X
To get in contact with the outside world	Boshier (1983)	X	/	/	/	/
To get recognition from others (e.g. family members)	Schlesinger (2005) Spark & Harris (2005)	X	X	/	/	/
To have the possibility to meet other prisoners	Schlesinger (2005) Condon et al. (2008) Oud & Oostdam (2007)	X	/	X	/	X
To interact with other prisoners	Maggioncalda (2007) Schlesinger (2005) Spark & Harris (2005)	X	X	/	/	/
Barriers						
To be afraid that asking help is associated with weakness	Morgen et al. (2007)	/	/	/	X	/
To be resist against talking in group	Baerten (2010)	/	/	/	X	/
To have no connections with other prisoners	Daveson & Edwards (2001)	/	/	/	/	X
Unwillingness or lack of prison guards	Flynn & Price (1995) in Wilson (2000)	X	/	/	/	/

Note: *X The study included information about this sector*

/ The study did not yield information about this sector

Table 4. Motivators and barriers on exo-level

EXO-LEVEL	Author(s)	E	VT	S	WH	C
Motivators						
To get school pay	Schlesinger (2005)	X	/	/	/	/
To reduce prison sentence	Pelissier (2004)	/	/	/	X	/
Barriers						
A lack of economic resources like books and computers	Batchelder & Pippert (2002)	X	/	/	/	/
A lack of educational programmes – To have no courses on the appropriate level	Baerten (2010) Rose (2004)	X	/	/	/	/
A lack of space	Batchelder & Pippert (2002)	X	/	/	/	/
A lack of teachers	Batchelder & Pippert (2002)	X	/	/	/	/
To not understand and speak the teaching language	Baerten (2010)	X	/	/	/	/
To have an out-dated offer in the library	Baerten (2010)	/	/	/	/	X
To have preferences to do prison work	Batchelder & Pippert (2002)	X	/	/	/	/
To lack information about how long the treatment will be and not knowing how, when and why get access to services	Morgan et al. (2007)	/	/	/	X	/
To question staff quality	Morgan et al. (2007)	/	/	/	X	/
To question the quality of the programmes	Rose (2004)	X	/	/	/	X

Note: X The study included information about this sector

/ The study did not yield information about this sector

Table 5: Motivators and barriers on macro-level

MACRO –LEVEL	Author(s)	E	VT	S	WH	C
Motivators						
To influence the parole board	Rosen et al. (2004)	/	/	/	X	/
Barriers						
A lack of public funding	Batchelder & Pippert (2002)	X	/	/	/	/
The current policy restrict participation	Rose (2004)	X	/	/	/	/
To be released from prison/ parole	Messemer (2011) Rosen et al. (2004)	X	/	/	/	/
To be transferred to another prison	Messemer (2011)	X	/	/	/	/

Note: X The study included information about this sector

/ The study did not yield information about this sector

The results demonstrate that motivations are mainly studied on the micro-level. The total number of motivations found by previous scholars is 33. On the meso-level, we detected 7 encouraging factors. Motivations on the exo- and macro-level received the lowest research attention up to now; only 2 factors were found on the exo-level and only 1 on the macro-level.

Regarding research on barriers, previous scholars found 27 factors. Barriers on the exo-level (10) and micro-level (9) were especially investigated. Barriers on the meso-level and macro-level received less research attention. On both levels, 4 barriers were discovered.

There are also substantial differences in research attention for the different sectors. We found 38 reasons to participate (or not) in educational activities, followed by sports (17), wellbeing and health (16), culture (15), and vocational training (10). In the following sections, we consider the literature on these sectors.

3.1. Education

3.1.1. Motivating factors

Authors who study the motivations of educational participation use a number of categories to classify these motivations. A first classification was made by Boshier (1983). Boshier developed the Prison Education Participation Scale (PEPS), building on the general classification of motivations for learning (Houle, 1961). Five significant factors for participation are personal control, self-assertion, self-preservation, cognitive interest and outside contact. The first four are personal motivations (micro-level); the last one can be considered relational (meso-level). Personal control refers to the desire to obtain more control over their own life; self-assertion signifies the possibility to cause problems for the prison system; self-preservation concerns the protection of self against the negative climate in prison and avoidance of psychological harm; cognitive interest refers to learning for the inmate's own interest; and outside contact refers to participation because of the possibility to have contact with the outside world. Maggioncalda (2007) built upon the theoretical frameworks of Houle and Boshier in investigating the potential relationship between different underlying factors that influence participation and the actual participation of prisoners. He determined four motivational factors. The factor of cognitive control was the greatest influencing factor, respectively followed by goal orientation, activity orientation and avoidance posture. Cognitive control, goal orientation and avoidance posture are influencing factors on the micro-level and activity orientation is a factor on the meso-level.

Another classification is used by Manger et al. (2010), who distinguished the following three motive categories to participate in education: to prepare for life upon release, to acquire knowledge and skills, and reasons unique for the prison context (micro-level) and social reasons (meso-level). The two first categories are factors of the 'pulled-from-the-front' view, which states that educational choices are made in accordance with intentions. If prisoners are faced with multiple options, they weight them and make a choice in accordance with future rewards. The third motive category belongs to the 'push-from-behind' view. Educational choices are made based on social or psychological causes that push them towards a certain action or course.

Schlesinger (2005) used another classification and made a distinction between educational and non-educational reasons that prisoners weigh in their decision process. He only indicated educational goals on the micro-level. Examples are obtaining a good job after release, obtaining a diploma/certification, the possibility to apply the knowledge after release, and receiving a second chance. Baerten (2010) confirmed similar educational goals, including acquiring knowledge and skills and making provisions for the future. In addition to these reasons, Schlesinger (2005) indicated several non-educational reasons to participate. The most frequently reported reason was the possibility to meet other prisoners. In addition, family can have an important influence on the decision-making; for example, some prisoners want to be a role model for their children (meso-level). Non-educational motivating factors on the personal level (micro-level) are being liberated from the cell, the possibility to exchange smuggled goods and sell drugs or other things during the classes, and education as an alternative to boredom in the cell. Baerten (2010) also reported that some prisoners participated in educational programmes because they want to spend their days in a meaningful way. A non-educational motivation on the organisational level is to receive school pay (Schlesinger, 2005).

3.1.2. Barriers
As with the studies that focused on motivations, 5 of the 12 studies that addressed barriers to participation in prison programmes focused on educational programmes (see table 1). Organisational-level barriers to participating in educational activities include: a lack of classroom space, guards, teachers, and economical resources such as books and computers (Batchelder & Pippert, 2002), the lack of study material (Schlesinger, 2005), a limited offer of courses such that not all prisoners have the opportunity to follow a course on their appropriated level (Baerten, 2010; Rose, 2004), and the quality of the programmes (Rose, 2004). Some barriers extend beyond the learning environment and are situated on the macro-level, including: parole, release from prison and

transfer to another prison (Messemer, 2011), lack of funding (Batchelder & Pippert, 2002) and the current policy (Rose, 2004). A barrier on the relational level is the unwillingness or lack of prison guards (Flynn & Price, 1995 in Wilson, 2000).

Furthermore, at times, inmates must choose between following a course and performing paid prison work. This choice can possibly influence inmates' education possibilities (Batchelder & Pippert, 2002). Finally, the language of the programme also determines prisoners' participation. If a foreign prisoner cannot speak and understand the teaching language, the prisoner is unable to participate (Baerten, 2010).

3.2. Sport

3.2.1. Motivating factors

Sport in prison has received little research attention (Johnsen, 2001). In particular, research on the meanings of sport is scarce (Martos-García, Devís-Devís, & Sparkes, 2009). Most research papers focus on the positive outcomes. Nevertheless, a few studies have examined the motivating factors to participate. A number of determinants on the micro-level have been indicated. A major reason to participate in sports activities is to cope with imprisonment. Through practising sport, inmates can maintain control over their own lives and resist the prison system (Johnsen, 2001). For some prisoners, participating in sports activities is a survival strategy to remain healthy (Sabo, 2001). During sports, prisoners are distracted, can relax, fight against boredom and release energy (Condon, Hek, & Harris, 2008; Digennaro, 2010; Martos-García et al., 2009). Martos-Garcia et al. (2009) called this 'escaping time and space'. By participating in physical activities, prisoners are liberated from the cell. Engaging in sport activities is a means of passing or filling time, i.e., a means of getting to the end of the day (Martos-García et al., 2009; Sabo, 2001). Another personal motivating factor for participation is that it offers an alternative to drug use (Martos-García et al., 2009). Furthermore, one driver is found on the meso-level: the possibility to meet other inmates (Condon et al., 2008).

3.2.2. Barriers

The literature on the experienced barriers in sport activities is even more scarce. Only 2 of the 24 reviewed studies focused on this topic and indicated only barriers on the micro-level. Some older prisoners do not participate in sport because they do not want to compete with younger inmates (Leigey, 2007). Furthermore, in some prisons, this group is refused access to sport activities because they are not sufficiently fit (Condon et al., 2008).

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According to Johnsen (2001), more research on inmates' perspectives of participating in sport in prison is needed. Furthermore, prisoners who do not participate should be included and given a voice.

3.3.   Wellbeing and health

A third sector in which the participation of prisoners can be stimulated is programmes concerning wellbeing and health. Such programmes enclose various aspects, for example, substance use treatment, psychotherapy, medical consultation, mental health, providing links with family and the outside world, and self-management (e.g., Coyle, 2009; Grella & Rodriguez, 2011; Morgan, Steffan, Shaw, & Wilson, 2007).

3.3.1.   Motivating factors

Pelissier (2004) described "motivation to change" as the decisive factor for participation in wellbeing and health programmes. Prisoners can be both extrinsically and intrinsically motivated to participate in a substance use treatment programme. The parole board can be an external motivation (macro-level). An example of personal internal motivations (micro-level) is problem recognition, which may cause a desire for help and an expectation for treatment to alter their behaviour (Pelissier, 2004; Rosen et al., 2004).

3.3.2.   Barriers

Studies have also found a number of discouraging factors that impede participation in wellbeing and health programmes on the micro-, meso-, and exo-level. People who rely on self or close others can experience problems appealing mental health services (micro-level). Resistance against disclose during group activities (Baerten, 2010), concerns about confidentiality of service providers and fear that requesting help will be associated with weaknesses (Morgan et al., 2007) are relational barriers. On the organisational level, inmates often do not know how, when and why they would obtain access to the services or there is a lack of information about the length of the treatment (Morgan et al., 2007).

3.4. Culture

A fourth sector considered in this paper is culture. Cultural activities include aspects such as the opportunity to go to a library, play music, drama, art, and other creative activities. Through participation, prisoners can develop their sense of self-worth (Coyle, 2009). The literature indicated personal and relational drivers to participate.

3.4.1. Motivating factors

Examples of personal motivating factors to participate (micro-level) are: watching a movie to provide variation in prison life, going to the library to beguile time (Baerten, 2010); self-expression by painting or playing music; the pleasure to learn; the possibility to use what they have learned in the future; to reduce the pains of imprisonment and self-development (Nelissen, 1998); improve learning; joy in feeding one's passion for music (Oud & Oostdam, 2007). Relational motivations (meso-level) include the possibility of the meeting other prisoners, the teacher's enthusiasm, and the positive atmosphere in the group (Oud & Oostdam, 2007).

3.4.2. Barriers

Nevertheless, there are also barriers related to participation in cultural activities. Some prisoners do not visit the library because of the out-dated offer (exo-level) (Baerten, 2010). In addition to the barriers in enrolling in activities, several factors influence drop-out. For example, low levels of self-esteem (micro-level) and lack of connection with other participants (meso-level) are factors that influence prisoners to pull out of music therapy (Daveson & Edwards, 2001).

3.5. Vocational training

Vocational training consists of programmes that are developed to prepare prisoners for work after their release from prison and are of particular interest to those close to their release date (Greenberg, Dunleavy, & Kutner, 2007). Examples of such programmes are courses about how to apply for a job, how to deal with rules and regulations in the workplace, basic skills, and how to manage conflicts and stress in the workplace (Lawrence, Maers, Dubin & Travis, 2002).

3.5.1. Motivating factors

The hope to effectively reintegrate and obtain job qualifications are personal (micro) motivations to participate (Alós, Esteban, Jódar, & Miguélez, 2011; Hunter & Boyce, 2009). In addition to employment-related motivations, prisoners can be driven by non-employment factors such as care about mental health and self-esteem (Spark & Harris, 2005) or to withdraw from tensions between

other prisoners (Hunter & Boyce, 2009). A second category of motivating factors to participate in vocational training is situated on the relational (meso) level. The human treatment by teachers and the resulting feeling of not being in prison is one example. Additionally, prisoners can engage with teachers and other prisoners such that they do not feel like a number. Furthermore, the desire to connect and/or to satisfy family members and the possibility to give something back to their family members is an important motivation (Spark & Harris, 2005).

3.5.2. Barriers

There are a number of factors that impede prisoners' participation in vocational training. However, only personal barriers are found. Inmates who are on remand, for example, are less likely to follow vocational training compared to convicted prisoners (Spark & Harris, 2005). Furthermore, prisoners with shorter sentences participate less compared to those with longer sentences because their time to the labour market is shorter (Alós et al., 2011). Furthermore, pessimism about employment chances and expectation of difficulties in finding a well-balanced distribution between parenting and employment after release are important barriers according to female prisoners (Spark & Harris, 2005).

4   Discussion

To our knowledge, this is the first comprehensive literature review on the motivations and barriers associated with participation in prison programmes. Because multiple levels of the environment affect behaviour, an ecological framework is used to present the (de)motivating factors. The findings demonstrate that studies mainly concentrate on personal (micro) and organisational factors (exo). Factors on the group or relational level (meso) and policy/cultural level (macro) are seldom taken into consideration. Furthermore, the literature gives unequal attention to the different sectors. To date, correctional education has received the most research attention, respectively followed by sports, wellbeing and health, culture and vocational training.

In regards to our second research question, it can be concluded that differences in motivations and barriers are found according to the type of activity. Regarding motivations and barriers on the micro-level, the factors are related to re-integration, personal development, and prison life. Whereas motivations and barriers related to personal development and prison life are found in all sectors, motivations and barriers related to re-integration are only found in terms of (vocational) education. On the meso-level, several social networks are indicated, including service providers,

family, the outside world, fellow inmates and prison guards. The first 3 groups relate positively with participation, prison guards negatively, and fellow inmates both in a positive and negative manner. Concerning factors on the exo- and macro-level, vocational training, sports and culture have not received (much) research attention thus far. Education, in particular, in addition to wellbeing and health, is more often the subject of research.

4.1. Implications for practice and policy

This review provides insights into the factors that influence prisoners' decision to become engaged in prison activities. Based on this knowledge, activity providers can adapt their offer and strive to meet inmates' participation needs in terms of recreation and rehabilitation. The more that activity providers understand the reasons why prisoners do (not) participate, the better able they will be to design interventions and programmes based on the participation needs of their target groups. Providers must be aware of the different levels of the environment that affect behaviour and must anticipate these levels.

First, on the micro-level, the literature review indicates the normalising effect of participation (e.g., to distract, to spend the day in a meaningful manner). Activity providers can emphasise this normalising character of activities in the announcement of their offer and, thus, persuade prisoners to participate. Another category of personal reasons why prisoners participate is the possibility to realise personal goals (e.g., to develop oneself, to remain healthy, to self-express). Activity providers can allot more time during the activities for realising such goals.

Second, on the meso-level, the literature indicates that social contacts are reasons why prisoners participate. The possibility of meeting other inmates and treatment as a human being are motivations that must be taken into consideration during the development and implementation of the activity offer. Another attempt that can be made by the providers to make the activities more appropriate for prisoners is to work with various stakeholders such as family members, other activity providers, religious personnel, prison guards, and prison director. All of these stakeholders have a role to play, for instance, in the announcement of the offer. This assumes that all who enter a respective prison must be informed about the offer and be aware of its added value. The stakeholders can also work together to discover the participation needs of inmates. Cooperation is needed to improve the variety of activities according to needs of participation.

In addition to serving as a framework for practice, the ecological framework has a number of implications for policy. Policy makers must be aware of the added value of prison programmes, including the possibility to realise personal goals, personal development, normalisation, and options for social inclusion. When they are aware of the added value, policy makers can bridge the gap between inside and outside of the prison through anticipation at the micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-level.

On the micro-level, the literature review indicates that obtaining a diploma or certification after completing an educational course is an important motivation. Such resources can also be given when prisoners participate in other activities, for example, when an individual has followed aggression control with success, they can receive a certificate that they can present to future employers. Prisoners can use such personal resources outside of prison, which can increase their opportunities for work and social inclusion.

On the meso-level, the review indicates the possibility to have contact with the outside world as a reason for participation. Policy makers can stimulate this by forming partnerships with associations outside of the prison such as sporting clubs, drama clubs, and educational organisations to realise supported projects (Coyle, 2009).

To anticipate on the exo- and macro-level, policy makers must be aware of the participation rights of prisoners and implement this in their policy documents. They can create possibilities for the development and implementation of an activity offer in which there are sufficient courses on different levels, economic resources, space, activity providers, etc. Because many prisons have financial difficulties and lack funding, it is important to consider low-cost and efficient solutions (Digennaro, 2010).

4.2.   *Limitations of this review*

We acknowledge that there are limitations to this systematic literature review. Although every attempt was made to obtain access to relevant literature, some studies or dissertations were not available through scientific databases, Google Scholar or Google Books. Therefore, unpublished studies have been missed. Furthermore, the literature search was only carried out in English and Dutch. It remains uncertain whether all of the relevant papers have been found. Thus, the conclusions from this systematic literature review may alter based on additional unpublished papers or papers in other languages.

4.3. *Paths for future research*

Several issues for future research can be identified. First, despite the abovementioned studies, Hall and Killacy (2008) emphasise the need to identify the unheard perspectives of prisoners. What are their personal and unique motivations? Why do some prisoners participate or not? We have categorised the motivations and barriers using an ecological framework. However, more research is needed to see which factors have the strongest impact, especially on the meso- and macro-level. These research questions should be further addressed (Rose, 2004; Spark & Harris, 2005).

Second, the review demonstrates that the majority of the studies on participation in prison programmes lack a theoretical framework. Only a few studies are theoretically driven. In addition, the comparison of the methodologies used in the various reviewed studies has shown that interviews with prisoners are most commonly used. A challenge for the future is to conduct more extensive survey research. Because prisoners are difficult to reach for participation in research projects and the classical survey is not always adapted to their educational level, it is essential to search for new methodologies that emphasise the participation of prisoners in all stages of the research project (e.g., Burdon, St De Lore, & Prendergast, 2011).

Furthermore, it is important to investigate whether different groups (men/women, prisoners/ internees, younger/ older prisoners etc.) participate for different reasons. For example, Harris et al. (2006) stress the importance of recognising that women, younger prisoners, older prisoners and ethnic minority groups have different health needs. Women have greater mental health needs, younger prisoners pose higher levels of risky behaviour, older prisoners have greater physical and mental health needs, and the needs of ethnic minority groups are far from clear. However, the question of whether these groups have different motivations and barriers remains unanswered.

Finally, it is important to ensure that both prisoners who do and do not participate in prison programmes are questioned (e.g., Johnsen, 2001). Having insights into the factors that are related to participation is indispensable for service providers to adapt their offer and meet the participation needs of inmates.

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