

Educating in prison through theater and literature: Examples from Italy and the United States

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Abstract

This paper discusses how *Devised Theater* projects have brought new educational programs to prisoners and detainees (men and women) in both the U.S. and Italy in recent decades. This overview of these experiences led by the Universities of Oklahoma, Connecticut, and Massachusetts and by Regions in Italy (Marche and Tuscany) offers opportunities to reflect on the concept of the "pedagogy of reciprocity" (Bruner) and theater as a site of learning in the Prison system.

Il contributo esplora come le iniziative del *Devised Theater* negli ultimi decenni abbiano diffuso negli USA e anche in Italia nuovi programmi educativi per detenuti/detenute. La panoramica su queste esperienze condotte dalle università dell'Okhlaoma, Connecticut e Massachusetts e dalle regioni italiane (Marche e Toscana) offre elementi di riflessione sul concetto della "Pedagogia della reciprocità" (Bruner) e sul teatro come luogo di apprendimento nel Sistema penitenziario.

Keywords: educational practices; workshops; devised theater; prison system; pedagogy of reciprocity

Parole chiave: pratiche educative; laboratori; devised theater; sistema penitenziario; pedagogia della reciprocità

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*Sore grief assail'd
My heart at bearing this, for well I knew
Suspended in that Limbo many a soul
Of mighty worth.*

Dante Alighieri (Inferno – Canto IV. Verses 39–42)

Introduction

In the complex context of today's multicultural and multi-ethnic society with its high degree of diversity, theatrical and literary languages make excellent resources. Theater and literature can forge a dialogue between all age groups, nationalities, and free and incarcerated people.

This paper seeks to highlight the need to foster social and cultural change and public awareness of processes of inclusion, maximizing individual creative potential. We will consider theoretical-practical approaches, methods, and points of inquiry in the prison setting by examining a few representative examples from the United States and Italy.

Expressive languages are well-suited to recognizing the rights of people, facilitating the cross application of skills, recognizing differences, and adopting cooperative teaching approaches. The work, which moves beyond narrow confines, fosters open identities through research that uses qualitative methods and individual case studies.

The data collected gives some useful insights and documents some of the most significant educational practices in prisons.

Incarceration is punitive in that it deprives individuals of their right to self-determination, removes their freedom and, most importantly, their responsibility for their dignity.

At this time in Italy, despite Article 27 paragraph 3 of the Italian Constitution¹, in most cases, prison conditions have unfortunately deteriorated due to the lack of adequate facilities, space, and educational activities for personal growth. There is also endemic overcrowding, which has contributed to an increase in suicide rates both among the inmates and the prison staff².

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A 2013 ruling of the European Court of Human Rights strongly condemned Italy and its prison system for “violation of Article 3 of the European Convention” which prohibits “inhuman and degrading treatment.”³

Though there was an immediate partial improvement, more recent data are not encouraging⁴. We can look at other perspectives through comparisons with other situations, such as the effective examples from the U.S. scientific community.

In dialogue with the United States

Walter Valeri (2009) compared the Italian example of theater in prison to that in the United States over the last 70 years. He identified traits they had in common and specific differences related to the different ways of conceiving penal enforcement in the two countries.

In 2014, I had the chance to see these differences in person through meetings with some key figures in bringing the arts to prisons, including in Boston with Jean Trounstine of Middlesex Community College, pioneer of the Shakespeare Behind Bars program, in Middletown with Ronald Jenkins of Wesleyan University, creator of a workshop at the Pesaro District Prison in the two-year period 2014–2015 of the “Lo Spacco” prison theater company, and a 2016 educational project using the *Divine Comedy* for the inmates of the prison of Sollicciano in Florence.

In 2015, Jodi Jinks of Oklahoma States also came to Pesaro, Italy, to see the workshop organized by Teatro Aenigma for a group of inmates and compare it to experiences in Oklahoma and Texas. As a professor in the Theater Department of the Oklahoma State University, she started the *ArtsAloud – OSU program*, which uses “devised theater,” based on the life stories of men and women inmates for original group performances in which the actors are co-creators. In the U.S., the collaborative method and creative process based on the improvisation of devised theater is widespread.

In the United States, which has the highest number of inmates in the world, there has been a recent surge in thinking about issues such as reforms, reduced sentencing, alternatives to prison, and the ethics of the death penalty. Oklahoma has an especially high number of federal, state, and private prisons, placing it high in rankings of the number of inmates, women in particular.

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Jodi Jinks and Devised Theatre

After Obama's much-anticipated visit to the federal prison in Oklahoma, a riot broke out at the Cimarron Correctional Facility, leaving four people dead and 11 injured. The federal government reacted by segregating fifty-three prisons for six days and confining over 28,000 men and women to their dormitories for a hundred and forty-four hours.

The episode illustrates the official practices adopted by the U.S. prison system.

In Oklahoma and Texas, there are also limited educational programs, limited mainly to religious programs, and lacking psychological and psychiatric support. Adding to this situation are the long prison sentences for non-violent crimes and the privatization of prisons.

In 2007, Jinks responded by planning autobiographical performances for the women of the Lockhart Correctional Facility in Texas and residents in shelters, addiction rehabilitation centers, and detention centers. In 2011, Oklahoma State University extended the *ArtsAloud* program to two men's prisons. The workshops were carefully designed to develop individual expressiveness through varied material. They might use, for instance, programs from National Public Radio, poems, or novellas to be discussed. Or they might start with an improvisation or prompt, such as "The tragedy of memory is..." or "The beauty of mess is..."

From these foundations, the group experimented with exercises, improvisations, and theater games. Jinks noticed that inmates loved to use their bodies peacefully though they were hesitant in exchanges involving touch.

In the play, *The Key of Me*, participants' writings were around different definitions on the term "hell." Some interpreted it metaphorically: hell could be "raking leaves in the Oklahoma wind." Others were literal: "hell means being African-American in a racist culture."

Rethinking the idea of *hell* led to discussing another key idea, that of empathy, which was a point of intense debate, including in relation to Islamic extremists. A performance emerged from this about the power and hope of "the American dream," or rather, about the falseness of the American dream for those excluded from it.

Jinks chose several students from the Oklahoma State University to put on a play for the inmates who then saw their lives told by the students.

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This performance was inspired by Roger I. Simon who, in *A Pedagogy of Witnessing*, supported transforming the past into memory through narration to ensure that memories survive and are shared, the key idea of *devised theater*.

Showing images of a past that is hard to document⁵ suggests a stimulating idea of cultural pedagogy that can form a dialectical bridge between the past and present, affect and thought, a reflection on the meaning of collective and personal histories:

To witness in a manner that opens the possibility of altering the existence of that to which it bears witness requires a dialectical coupling of affect and thought, implicating the self in the practice of coming to terms with the substance and significance of history (Simon, 2012, p. 200).

Most of the inmates have little education, and many also have symptoms of untreated mental illnesses. Their stories of despair proliferate in one of the richest countries in the world. This is why *ArtsAloud* chose to give the name “Give Back” to the theater exchange between the OSU students and the prison students.

At this point in the prison process, intense archetypes of stories about father/son fishing trips, first kisses, and the attraction of drugs when everything else is going wrong. The profound inequity of our country emerges full force [...] all the limits fade into smiles and sometimes tears, and the project organized by the university manages to shake the consciences when the two groups meet and put the evidence of it on stage, confronting their humanity.⁶

The *ArtsAloud* program had a major impact on the lives of inmates, putting on original performances with a cooperative approach, using personal and collective stories, poetry, music, and other expressive forms that foster empathic experiences and the ability to plan for the future.

In 2015, in Pesaro's prison, Jinks experienced the Italian prison system, particularly after the effects of the Gozzini law of 1986 aimed at reintegrating former prisoners into the community.

Many programs have brought inmates and the public into contact. This was the origin of a multi-ethnic group of fourteen male and female students, which would have been

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impossible in Oklahoma and Texas because men's and women's facilities are strictly separated.

Jinks said that this experience with educational theater in Pesaro with the involvement of preteens and inmates in a performance inspired by Franz Kafka's *America*.⁷ had a profound effect on her: "My life has been changed. It's a bit bigger now. And my work will never be the same again⁸."

Ronald Jenkins and Dante Alighieri

Ronald Jenkins of Wesleyan University (Middletown, Connecticut) brought the *Divine Comedy* into New York prisons.

His interest in theater in prison started after he was arrested in Johannesburg for demonstrating against apartheid. He discovered there that the demonstrators in the cells reacted by dancing, singing, and acting out satirical scenes (Jenkins, 1994), teaching him that the inner space of freedom was necessary to survival. In this way, he kept an experience going that brought him to Shakespeare and, especially, Dante.

Through the *Changing Lives Through Literature*⁹ program, he worked in several prisons of the Gates Correctional Institute in New York, and he also offered Dante to the Kerobokan Prison (Indonesia), and the Prison District of Sollicciano (Florence, 2016).

After our first meeting in Middletown in 2014, I saw him again at the 15th Conference of the "Catarsi—Theaters of Diversity" Journal, where he organized a seminar on the *Divine Comedy* for inmates of both genders in the Pesaro prison.

The multi-ethnic group of twelve, led by Teatro Aenigma members¹⁰, was engaged with the conflicts of life in 14th-century Florence, the city's powers, exploitation, Dante's exile, the loss of loved ones, and the journey into the afterlife.

These topics elicited a great deal of interest both among young Muslims, who question the truth of the story, citing the Koran, and among the audience who asks: "Dante condemned his time. Did he take God's place in judging sinners?" Others say that Dante criticized the society of his time, putting people in Hell who had recently died and even those still alive.

An interesting passage is about the punishments inflicted, the meaning of sin as punishment, the deformities of the soul, the cruelty of the punishments, and the burden of guilt.

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Someone asked, “Why is it called the *Divine Comedy*?”

Jenkins used their curiosity to focus the group’s attention on the encounter between the despairing Dante and the reassuring Virgil.

“If you were Dante, who would you want to help you? Think of a hero you have always admired but never met.” The answers were varied: “Dante, because for me he is like Virgil for Dante, and also because he already knows Hell”; “Mazzini because he was an anarchist, against the power”; “My father, because he was my hero, or Martin Luther King”; “Mandela”; “Michael Jackson because he became Muslim”; “An angel or Cassius Clay”; “Father Pius”; “My cellmate because he always cheers me up, even in my darkest moments”; “Che Guevara.”

First, Jenkins solicited improvisation exercises from those who identified with Dante’s despair and those who took on Virgil’s role as protector. Cassius Clay also comes onto the scene telling us to “pick yourself up” “when things go wrong and you’re down on the ground.”

In the next part, Jenkins brought up the animal-obstacle, Dante’s she-wolf, which was first taken as a metaphor for one’s “ego” and then for “drugs that is an octopus, a beautiful, fascinating animal but that once it gets you won’t let you go,” and then “a dog as big as an elephant, like a prison wall.”

And then there were all the ways we can overcome fear of the “beast.”

Jenkins’s final question, “What did you learn from Dante?” met with some interesting answers, “The idea that someone stays with us, like Virgil, to be able to go forward”; “Our fear, because no one is self-sufficient, and everyone needs others”; “People seek a spirit-guide who is actually inside them like a mirror.”

All seem to share the awareness that poetry and the hope of Paradise saved Dante.

In Pesaro and in New York (in the maximum-security prisons of Sing Sing), men and women inmates identified with the misfortunes of the characters in Dante: power, love, war, and politics.

Several participants rewrote scenes and monologues.

[...] from those who society has erased to respected people...free to love their families...to make a living, to plan a future that has nothing to do with crime and prison. Of course, not everyone in prison dreams of being transformed...The men and women willing to

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take the risk of getting on the stage discover that the skills required in theater and those needed to change their lives are not so different: dedication, determination, discipline, concentration, listening carefully, speaking clearly, controlling their emotions, being aware of the consequences of an action, decoding the multiple meanings in a conversation's subtext, setting a goal as precisely as possible and working diligently to achieve it (Jenkins, 2011).

In 2016, in Florence's Sollicciano prison, Jenkins produced *Diligite Justitiam* (from the Latin "Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram"; Love justice, you who rule the earth). He was impressed by the powerful energy with which the inmates "took ownership" of the *Divine Comedy* under the evocative wing of Gregorian chants and other sacred music mentioned in the poem.

The chorus's involvement created a sound structure that supported the actors in evoking the ambiguity of Dante's text and their personal experiences of crime and punishment. For example, the song *Asperges Me* inspired the actors to invent gestures symbolizing cleansing their bodies in a scene that simulated the action of washing oneself with invisible drops of water. The combination of songs and gestures recreated the sense of mercy contained in Dante's poem. The inmates deeply appreciated the simple fact that the dozen people in the chorus gave their time and talent to put on the performance. It was an affirmation of their value in a situation where they are often ignored, forgotten, and stigmatized by the rest of society (Jenkins and Abruzzo, 2017).

One inmate's pointed question to Jenkins: "What happens to Dante when he goes back home?"

Jean Trounstine and the Tools of Theater and Literature

The energetic Jean Trounstine of Middlesex Community College in Bedford, Massachusetts has ten years of experience teaching theater in prison.

After eight projects with Framingham inmates¹¹, described in *Shakespeare Behind Bars* (Trounstine, 2001), she became an activist in the prisoners' rights movement. She currently organizes literature programs for people on probation in Massachusetts.

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Her tireless efforts strive to raise public awareness about the need to improve the quality level of educational programs:

When people ask me what inspired me to teach in a prison, I tell them what kept me going was not simply my love for literature and theater. While it is true that prison is a repressive environment, the one who offers hope in the classroom has the potential to effect change. During a lesson or theatrical production in prison, we see a true change in the lives of inmates. For many of the women I encountered, education offered hope: and drama, freedom. [...] I began to understand that female prisoners are not “damaged goods.” Many of them have suffered serious injustices. And to recognize that most of these women had toughed it out in a society which favors others —by gender, class, or race. [...] The world I want to live in does not lock up women and throw away the key. It is a world where prisoners can transform their lives through the beauty of the written word, through the music of a line of poetry, and through an idea that soars through prison bars and lives forever. (Trounstone in Valeri, 2018, p. 30).

Theatrical works and classical literature underpin Trounstone's method in Framingham. Performances were created inspired by Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, *Aristophanes's Lysistrata*, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, Jean Giraudoux's *The Madwoman of Chailiot*, and Clifford Odets' *Waiting for Lefty*. The end of *Waiting for Lefty*, about the Great Depression, was especially successful. The taxi drivers' strike involved the audience, which was part of the original script¹², and here the stage became the site of a shared sense of struggle as women:

I was a little shocked that no one had noticed this surprising and moving moment where the whole gymnasium was charged with energy. Yes, the authorities had announced over the loudspeaker that everyone had to return to their units at the end of the show, but that was usual. As the space emptied, I felt as if the audience had been awakened. Something had happened in that place, something that unified the women (Trounstone 2011, p. 236).

Trounstone looked for stories in literature particularly for the women inmates. In “Revisiting Sacred Spaces,” published in *Performing New Lives* (Jonathan Shailor, 2011)¹³ she gives an extraordinary statement on the importance of stage space, such as in

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the story of Maria, a young Mexican woman who moved with her family to the United States where her dream comes true of studying and escaping an arranged marriage¹⁴.

Simply Maria made its way to a group of actresses of Hispanic origin.

In keeping with Jerzy Grotowski (1970) and other innovators such as Tyrone Guthrie, Peter Brook, Augusto Boal, and Richard Schechner, the director questioned the tradition of the Aristotelian theater and the sovereignty of the text. She gave value to the physical space of dramaturgical action in order “to examine theater’s relationship to ritual, both for the actor and the audience” (Condee 1990, p. 57).

Trounstone made an enlightening juxtaposition of the theatrical work in prison, the sanctity of performance spaces (as in Greek theater).

I have always felt this gradual accumulation of sanctity about performance spaces in prison where even the air seems to defy constraint and the place itself encourages prisoners to feel free. (Trounstone 2011, p. 232).

Women working together to create something larger than themselves is exactly what belongs in a chapel... doing a play elevated the actresses, transformed them, and helped them in a way that was similar to prayer. ...Because the space was designated for worship, it was sure to lend a certain power to actresses and audience. Yes, we all might also feel something like transgression, but perhaps it was this strange sense of the forbidden that could make us even more aware of the presence of spirit (Ibid., pp. 239-240).

Trounstone does not want to put on a play but to change the world of performance (Schechner 1977) in favor of the actresses and the audience.

“They were no longer women who had committed crimes; theater had spoken to the sacred in their lives and, together, we had crossed boundaries, created a sanctuary” (Ivi, p. 244).

Changing Lives Through Literature (CLTL) is another program she organizes with Robert Waxler (University of Massachusetts) to promote collaboration between judges and probation officers. *Changing Lives Through Literature* has also been implemented in many other U.S. states, Canada, and Great Britain. The judge recommends those on probation take part in the course organized by their cities, meeting weekly or bi-weekly for two to three hours a meeting.

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Over 5,000 participants were registered in Massachusetts.

Through sharing knowledge of contemporary literature, former inmates learn to appreciate the art of conversation and develop skills in language, self-reflection, and relationships.

On method

We started on the basis of valuing art and theater as catalysts of individual and social change. Yet, we should consider the cultural distances between Italy and the United States, where pragmatism is a driving force of every part of society, including the justice system. Despite being very strict and restrictive, in some states it shows particular openness.

Focusing on the results of the experiences in the two countries—leaving aside, for now, analyzing the consequences of these cultural differences—we see a major common denominator in method: using emotions—both negative and, even more so, positive—to spur new intellectual curiosity.

The theoretical model for *Devised Theater*, in the settings under consideration, is Roger I. Simon's Pedagogy of Witnessing, which takes artistic experiences as the essential instances of learning.

Empirical research carried out in both countries shows that there is a reduction in recidivism where these skills have been implemented in education programs in prisons. Though this trend seems encouraging, Italian data is insufficient and lacking in time continuity to draw objective conclusions to verify the method.

The semi-structured interviews with those leading the experiences are more effective in showing the emotional involvement of the individuals in the artistic performances.

Among the most salient points are:

- *Collective creation*, inspired by the personal life stories of the inmates, who, in a cooperative setting, take on the role of playwrights and actors. This approach fosters empathy and prosocial behavior, which are key factors for those who have been deprived of their personal freedom and for a later reduction of recidivism.
- *A safe setting* where there is no judgment, mockery, or derision. The leader of the experience guides encounters between inmates and those outside the prison

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(university students, in the cases considered) to foster situations of listening and co-creation.

- “*Giving back*”, which through the encounter with the public supports the process of overcoming stereotypes and prejudices through an exchange that could be called a ritual between two different groups.

Jenkins's experience in the maximum-security prison in Connecticut is significant on this point. Here, the texts written by the inmates were staged at the University of Yale by the students who had collaborated in interpreting Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The groups were joined by the empathetic perception of following this command: “You were not made to live like brutes, but to follow virtue and knowledge.”

Concluding considerations

Interest in these good practices, however circumscribed or limited, helps dismantle marginalization and forms of otherness.

The examples we have discussed here present theater and literature as a place to come together and to process personal stories in a new way. The autobiographical device has proven an excellent educational tool, which Bruner helped bring to Italy as well (see Demetrio, 2007; Apostolo, Collacchioni, Predieri, 2013).

Telling one's story through writing helps make “cracks in the wall” even in prison (see Demetrio, 2009), i.e. questioning certainties along with a powerful communication drive towards “the outside.”

Significant confirmation of this method's value has come from Oklahoma State University, Wesleyan University (Connecticut), and Middlesex Community College (Massachusetts), as well as in Italian professional theater groups working in prisons¹⁵.

In the networked system of relationships that Morin (2000) suggests, knowledge is the result of circular actions and peer-to-peer connections on several levels. In this perspective, we can situate the educational and workshop experiences in which the capacity to listen and open to the *other* (or the difference that is within the other) shapes the “pedagogy of reciprocity” (see Bruner, 1996).

This makes “diversity” an opportunity to explore—according to Paulo Freire's important lesson—and a tool of *empowerment* (see Catarci, 2016).

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This implies that social cohesion and community growth also depend on growing educational projects in prisons, as U.S. research has shown. Culture and education expand a sense of security, including by preventing various types of negative stereotypes (Persi, 2018, p. 18). This includes gender differences in the prisons that Trounstein discusses.

A 2013 report by the Rand Corporation¹⁶ on the *Changing Lives Through Literature* Program showed that those who followed this program tended to have lower recidivism and avoid returning to prison for new crimes (dropping from 45% to 19%)¹⁷.

Since 2013, the idea of developing cultural initiatives for social reintegration has gained strength, partly through the official agreement between the Department of Prison Administration¹⁸ and the National Coordination of Theater in Prison¹⁹.

According to data from empirical research by the Advanced Institute of Penal Studies, recidivism for inmates involved in rehabilitative activities drops to 6%, compared to 65% who return to crime, not having had these kinds of experiences during incarceration. If confirmed, this would be a significant outcome in economic terms as well, considering the vast resources it takes to operate the prison system.

Further research could evaluate the levels of emotional, professional, and relational skills developed during the post-prison period²⁰.

In 2015–2016, the Italian Minister of Justice A. Orlando moved in this direction, with the General Assembly for Penal Enforcement initiating, a “model of enforcement in keeping with Article 27 of our Constitution.”²¹ Section 9 (Education, Culture, and Sport) supported the continued growth of cultural and artistic programs²².

Other initiatives, in keeping with the work described in this article, are for educational projects for prison staff²³.

Lastly, noteworthy efforts have been made by the Italian and international scientific community to involve European universities in the study of models of inclusion and related good practices for incarcerated people. Exchanges between the United States and Italy help support exploring alternative measures.

¹ Article 27, paragraph 3 of the Italian Constitution: “Punishment cannot consist of treatment contrary to human dignity, but must aim at rehabilitating the condemned.”

² See the results in the General Assembly for Penal Enforcement of the Ministry of Justice (2015–2016).

³ See the full text of the Torreggiani ruling:

[https://www.giustizia.it/giustizia/it/mg_1_20_1.wp?facetNode_1=1_2\(2013\)&facetNode_2=0_8_1_85&previousPage=mg_1_20&contentId=SDU810042](https://www.giustizia.it/giustizia/it/mg_1_20_1.wp?facetNode_1=1_2(2013)&facetNode_2=0_8_1_85&previousPage=mg_1_20&contentId=SDU810042) [25/07/2019]

⁴ See XV Report on the conditions of incarceration by the Antigone Association: <http://www.antigone.it/quindicesimo-rapporto-sulle-condizioni-di-detenzione/> [26/07/2019]

⁵ See his research on racism, the memory of the Holocaust in Europe, and the genocide by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia (Simon, 2012).

⁶ Adapted from *Arts Aloud in Oklahoma*, J. Jinks's recorded talk for the 16th Conference on “Theaters of Diversity,” Urbana, November 28, 2015.

⁷ The reference is to the Teatro Aenigma's show play the Lo Spacco prison theater company (a few inmates were authorized to leave prison at scheduled times), direction and art direction by Francesco Gigliotti, staged on June 3, 2015, at the Church of the Magdalene in Pesaro. Inspired by Kafka's novel, the play builds an analogy between the original story and evoking the tragic events of *Mare Nostrum*.

⁸ From correspondence between Jodi Jinks and the author during July 2015.

⁹ The CLTL Program is described in the section about Jean Trounstein.

¹⁰ Romina Mascioli, working with Alessandro Boccia, historically situates the work, introduces Dante, gives a summary of the events narrated in the Divine Comedy and presents the Inferno Canto I.

¹¹ The Framingham Massachusetts Correctional Institution, established in 1877, is the second women's prison opened in the United States.

¹² In the United States, there is a famous interpretation of the work by the Group Theater, a collective based in New York founded by Harold Clurman, Cheryl Crawford, and Lee Strasberg, of which Odets himself was a member.

¹³ Jonathan Shailor, Associate Professor of Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, gathered in this publication fifteen important accounts by those who have practiced theater in prison in the United States.

¹⁴ The young Josefina Lopez returned to her autobiographical account in what became her first work, unexpectedly winning two drama competitions in San Diego and New York in 1987, and later staged by Luis Valdez for the Teatro Campesino. See <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la->

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[xpm-1990-07-29-ca-1324-story.html](https://www.teatrocarcere.it/xpm-1990-07-29-ca-1324-story.html) [03/08/2019]

¹⁵ See good practices and related studies in the National Coordination of Theater in Prison: www.teatrocarcere.it [03/08/2019]

¹⁶ American agency that performs accredited studies of the educational and rehabilitation programs implemented in the prison system.

¹⁷ See the research of Prof. Russell K. Schutt (2011) *Changing Lives Through Literature: Bibliotherapy and Recidivism Among Probationers*, SSRN Electronic Journal, Boston, University of Massachusetts.

¹⁸ See

https://www.giustizia.it/giustizia/it/mg_1_7_1.page;jsessionid=FE+NoDav8WuTXWCdmcBt9xig?contentId=SCA954092&previousPage=mg_2_3_0_6. The Memorandum of Understanding has been renewed twice for the next two three-year periods. On June 5, 2019, the Department of Juvenile Justice and Community and the Roma Tre University joined the agreement.

¹⁹ M. De Pascalis, *Un'occasione generativa di un nuovo essere sociale del carcere*, in "L'Eco dell'ISSP", n. 3, March 2014, p. 21.

²⁰ We can look to an assessment of inclusive education that sees it as a process of recognizing eco-social complexity rather than a normalization model.

²¹ This undertaking merits further development by the next Ministers of Justice in Italy.

²² Section n. 9 of the General Assembly for Criminal Enforcement, Ministry of Justice, Medium Term Report, https://www.giustizia.it/giustizia/it/mg_2_19_1_9.wp?previousPage=mg_2_19_1#a0a [31/07/2019]

²³ A first initiative was organized in December 2015 at the Higher Institute of Criminal Justice in Rome. See <http://www.teatrocarcere.it/tcwp/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Brochure-seminario-21-dicembre.pdf>

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