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Phase I**

**Correctional Education
Programs For Inmates:**

The Issues

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Inmates: The Issues

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PREAMBLE

In October 1976, Lehigh University's School of Education began a Phase I study under the auspices of the National Evaluation Program of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The purpose of this study was to assemble, in a structured fashion, available knowledge in the area of correctional education for inmates in adult state and federal prisons in the continental United States.

This, the first in a series of six work products, is an issue paper on the topic, in which those issues pertinent to correctional education in general and to its major sub-topics in particular are presented and summarized. The issues identified in this document are a synthesis of those identified in the literature, the research, and by a number of experts in the field. They are in no way thoroughly or exhaustively presented or argued, nor do they represent all the issues pertinent to a complex topic. Instead, they are presented as a "catalog" of those issues which commonly appear and are readily agreed to by a substantive body of opinion in the field, the literature, and the research.

It is against this "backdrop" of issues that the remaining exploration in this project will be done and the additional work products will be presented.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
PREAMBLE	iii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II: ADULT BASIC EDUCATION	10
I. Definition.	10
II. Literature and Research Summary	13
III. Issues.	20
A. Funding and Administration	20
B. Nature of Correctional Institutions.	22
C. Program Design	25
D. Access to Resources and Materials.	28
E. Evaluation	29
CHAPTER III: SECONDARY EDUCATION.	31
I. Definition.	31
II. Literature and Research Summary	34
III. Issues.	38
A. Funding and Administration	38
B. Nature of Correctional Institutions.	41
C. Program Design	43
D. Access to Resources and Materials.	49
E. Evaluation	52
CHAPTER IV: POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION.	56
I. Definition.	56
II. Literature and Research Summary	58
III. Issues.	62
A. Funding and Administration	62
B. Nature of Correctional Institutions.	64
C. Program Design	65
D. Access to Resources and Materials.	68
E. Evaluation	71

CHAPTER V: VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.	73
I. Definition	73
II. Literature and Research Summary.	77
III. Issues	80
A. Funding and Administration.	80
B. Nature of Correctional Institutions	85
C. Program Design.	87
D. Access to Resources and Materials	93
E. Evaluation.	96
F. The Needs of Women in Correctional Vocational Education.	98
CHAPTER VI: SOCIAL EDUCATION	102
I. Definition	102
II. Literature and Research Summary.	104
III. Issues	105
A. Funding and Administration.	105
B. Nature of Correctional Institutions	105
C. Program Design.	106
D. Access to Resources and Materials	108
E. Evaluation.	108
CHAPTER VII: SUMMARY	109
REFERENCES.	120

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the first half of this decade, the issue of educating adult offenders has undergone considerable review. It is the subject of much debate and considerable concern. Growing attention has been given to the need to focus on the nature, scope, and effectiveness of educational programs for inmates.

The cause of this interest lies, at least in part, with the general recognition that the correctional system, as a whole, is prohibitively costly in human and economic terms. A second factor is the growing recognition that the lack of educational and job skills is unusually high amongst inmate populations. If we accept that academic, vocational, and social education are the keys to success, then a majority of inmates have been at a disadvantage from an early age.

There are indications that such disadvantage may be a significant causal factor in anti-social behavior. Certainly, the measurable educational level of inmates is not high:

- . The Federal Bureau of Prisons estimates that up to 50% of adults in federal and state facilities can neither read nor write (Reagen, Stoughton, Smith, & Davis, 1973)
- . 90% of all inmates have not completed high school (Feldman, 1974)
- . 85% of inmates dropped out of school before their 16th birthday (Roberts, 1971)

- . The average inmate functions 2-3 grades below the actual number of school years he has completed (Roberts, 1971)
- . Two-thirds of inmates have had no vocational training of any kind (Roberts & Coffey, 1976)

The Correctional Education Project of the Education Commission of the States (ECS, 1976a) has recently reaffirmed these findings.

When educational levels of adult inmates are compared to percentages in the general population with similar educational backgrounds, disproportionally high percentages of functional illiteracy and minimal education are shown to be characteristic of the largest number of institutionalized people. (p. 13)

Although there is an admitted lack of valid measures that can be used to accurately predict the impact of education upon an individual's relative success or failure in society, the ECS's findings point to an important consideration with regard to the findings listed and noted above.

Perhaps more to the point, it is obvious that to the extent that offenders cannot use knowledge and skills obtained from normal culture to cope with normal society, they will use knowledge and skills obtained from deviant cultures to cope in whatever way they can. (ECS, 1976a, p. 14)

Several authorities have commented upon the lack of knowledge of the effects of educational programs on inmates (Ayers, 1975; Reagen et al., 1973). The final report of the President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation, 1970, found that only about 1% of prisoners are involved in any kind of education program and that less than 1% of prison budgets are used for educational programs. In addition, the report asserted that "little is known about the nature, scope, and effectiveness of education programs for the inmates of the adult correctional

correctional facilities of America" (U.S. President's Task Force . . . , 1970).

Education's traditional role of "outcast" in the mainstream of corrections' power, policy and decision-making apparatus is at the core of this lack of critical assessment, limited knowledge base, and the significant absence of substantive information about the impact of educational programs. For the most part, the central discussion, with regard to educational programs in corrections, tends to be one of bare survival. At best, this discussion is one of methods, techniques, and numbers, rather than any serious evaluation of goals, purposes, and expectations.

Despite this lack of knowledge, the absence of rigorous evaluation models, and the consistent subjugation of education within the institutional hierarchy, a range of fragmented attempts to develop more appropriate and effective educational programming for inmates has started. In all levels of correctional systems, both state and federal, efforts are underway to increase academic, vocational, and social skills. These programs are usually financed by "soft" money from an amalgam of federal sources, under the auspices of the U.S. Office of Education and the Department of Labor, and through LEAA grants administered by State Planning Agencies. Private corporations, including RCA, Ford Motors, IBM, and Volkswagen, have also begun to enter the field.

The administration of these programs varies with the institution, and the process is further complicated by the multiplic-

ity of administrative controls found at state and national levels. The only centralized administrative unit is that of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which operates through regional directors. The rest of the system varies from state to state. Funds and programs may be initiated and controlled by the respective State Department of Education, or they may be, as in New Jersey, Texas, and Virginia, controlled by a special administrative school district for correctional facilities. In some states, there is a direct contract for staff and services with a school district, vocational-technical school, community college, or university adjacent to a particular institution. Other state programs are administered by a county or regional education facility.

In large measure, the vast range of educational programs, with their patchwork of funding sources and varying administrative designs, have contributed to the confusion, misconceptions, and undefined character of institutional education for inmates.

While correctional education programs now exist in all state and federal facilities, the design of the programs vary. Some of these programs are innovative. Many are anachronistic in both concept and implementation, and mirror the worst of the educational system in the "outside" world (Roberts, 1971). With rare exceptions, they tend to present "the mixture as before", which has already failed to provide for the inmate population a remedy for academic, vocational, and social problems. While there are some widely known educational programs which "contribute greatly to the advancement of the state-of-

the-art, others are almost secretive in their content and procedure; some are a major effort of educators, while many are a minimal action of correctional personnel" (Reagen et al., 1973, p. 246).

In this somewhat separatist atmosphere, the study and assessment of the goals, purposes, and effectiveness of correctional education appears to remain unattended. Until this overriding issue is acted upon, there can be little hope of positively changing the perceptions of those who set policy for correctional institutions, those who staff these institutions, and those who are the "consumers" of educational services--the inmates.

In reviewing the literature, program descriptions, "head count" analyses, and evaluations it is hard not to form the opinion that one salient reason for the dearth of goals and purposes in institutional education programs is the absence of a consistent and effective evaluation component. In most cases, evaluation of educational programs, even when mandated, is less than adequate and, if present, consists of a gathering of opinions and a fiscal accounting. There is no clear pattern in program evaluation of what exists, what has been successful, or what has failed. Sometimes no information regarding the existence of a funded program exists, let alone an evaluation. There are, of course, rare exceptions, but, because these exceptions are indeed so rare, one is often loath to draw conclusions or to make any "intuitive leaps" to the larger prison population.

Organization of the Issues Paper

The more detailed exploration of the issues which follows is limited to those institutional education programs for adult inmates, both male and female, in state and federal facilities.*

This discussion will concern itself with four general categories of educational programs which are common to correctional institutions, and social education, a recent and as yet vaguely defined category, which, to a great extent, overlaps and incorporates the other four. The five categories are:

1. Adult Basic Education (ABE) Programs

For the purpose of this analysis, ABE projects include any organized effort to improve the basic literacy, linguistic, and computational skills of those inmates who are either functionally illiterate or for whom there is a large gap between the attained and potential achievement in such skill areas.

2. Secondary Education and General Education Diploma (GED) Programs

These programs are in the area of secondary education, where, for those inmates who have not completed high school, curricula and instruction are usually developed for the purpose of enabling an inmate to obtain a General Education Development

*While the issues to be explored are considered to be applicable to programs for inmates regardless of sex, it should be noted that there are some issues unique to women's institutions. For an excellent and current analysis of these issues, see the recently completed National Study of Women's Correctional Programs (Glick & Neto, 1976).

credential. Such programs are primarily designed for those who are functioning at the secondary level of achievement, and who desire to take the High School Equivalency Examination which is periodically administered within the institution.

3. Post-Secondary Education Programs

This group of programs includes any college courses available to inmates for which they can gain academic, transcribed credit. These courses and programs are usually made available as part of a cooperative effort between the institution and nearby two- and/or four-year colleges. These courses generally serve as an introduction for inmates to college-level disciplines. In some institutions it is possible for the inmate to earn an associate or bachelors degree without ever leaving the prison.

4. Vocational Education Programs

The goal of these programs is the development of job-related skills through a combination of on-the-job training and classroom experience within the institution. Some of these programs may include the more specific goal of the acquisition of a trade or technical certification.

5. Social Education Programs

The programs in Social Education are the most difficult to describe or clarify. Essentially, they are those programs, almost unique to institutions, which prepare the inmate for re-integration into society after a lengthy period of incarceration. Such programs would typically include life skills, decision-

making skills, job interviewing skills, group and family living skills, interpersonal skills, problem-solving skills, consumer education, and communication skills. The facts that such programs are of relatively recent vintage, that they infringe upon the role of prison treatment staff, and that they are, by definition, involved in all of the four previously identified educational program categories, make social education a difficult area to adequately synthesize.

The discussions in each of the five chapters which follow have, for purposes of comparison, understanding, issue clarification, definition, and synthesis, been organized into the following sub-topics:

- . Definition
- . Literature and Research Summary
- . Issues
 - . Funding and Administration
 - . Nature of Correctional Institutions
 - . Program Design
 - . Access to Materials and Resources
 - . Evaluation

The five chapters which cover the major program types are intended to stand by themselves as an analysis of the issues in each area. It will be noticed that, when compared, many of the issues are common to all programs and that the major sources remain the same. This may appear to be repetitious and to some extent this is true. It is, however, illustrative of the

commonality of the issues and indicative of the limited availability of major issue analysis in the literature.

CHAPTER II

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION

I. Definition

Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs exist in almost all federal and state correctional institutions throughout the country. In Michael Reagen's study, School Behind Bars (Reagen et al., 1973), it was reported that all federal prisons have ABE programs and 81% of state prisons have ABE programs. The widespread existence of basic education in corrections is due primarily to the influx of funds from the Adult Education Act of 1966. Prior to this legislation, "many illiterate inmates had available to them only the well-intentioned, but rather sporadic, assistance of volunteer teachers" (Atwood, 1970, p. 376).

The term Adult Basic Education has both a generic and a specific connotation in the literature on correctional education. Authors using the more generic notion of ABE use the term to refer to all programs that address the educational needs of inmates. Allen Lee (1973), in his article, "Evaluation of Adult Basic Education in Correctional Institutions", wrote that "the reference to Adult Basic Education includes whatever type and level of education is most appropriate for the present and prospective needs of the individual" (p. 378). Those authors who use the concept of ABE in this "global" sense operate from a rationale that identifies adult education as an essential

component of the treatment and/or rehabilitative goals of corrections. Antionette Ryan (1973) rests her model of Adult Basic Education in corrections on "the primary assumption that education is a process of developing changes in behaviors of individuals" (p. 55). Allen Lee (1973) attempts to dispel any assumption that ABE refers only to literacy training by identifying the concept with the broad goals of education as articulated in the American Correctional Association's Manual of Correctional Standards.

The other definition of Adult Basic Education found in the literature, and the definition with which this paper identifies, refers specifically to the formal programs that attempt to raise the deficient academic skills of inmates. These programs are for inmates who are either functionally illiterate or for whom there is a large gap between the attained and potential achievement level, especially in the areas of math and literacy. In a report on basic skill instruction in New Jersey correctional institutions, Research for Better Schools, Inc. (1974), defined basic education as "education designed to raise the achievement level of the pre- or semiliterate incarcerated adult to approximately the ninth grade level in reading and mathematics" (p. 5). This definition is consistent with a perspective that sees Adult Basic Education as an integral part of the universe of correctional education.

According to the Dictionary of Education (Good, 1973), this prescribed definition of the term is more accurate. Adult

Basic education is "an instructional program for the undereducated adult planned around those basic and specific skills most needed to help him function more adequately as a member of society" (p. 16). The generic use of the term applies more to the concept of "Adult Education", which is defined as "any process by which men and women, either alone or in groups, try to improve themselves by increasing their knowledge, skills, or attitudes, or the process by which individuals or agencies try to improve men and women in these ways" (Good, 1973, p. 16).

II. Literature and Research Summary

Statements of the need for and the relevance of basic education in corrections are numerous in the literature on correctional education. Public declarations, policy statements, and articles universally affirm the critical need for Adult Basic Education in corrections.

Chief Justice Burger said, in 1971, that "the percentage of inmates in all institutions who cannot read or write is staggering . . . the figures on literacy alone are enough to make one wish that every sentence imposed could include a provision that would grant release when the prisoner had learned to read and write" (Helfrich, 1973, p. 52). In response to this massive need, the United States Bureau of Prisons, in 1972, issued a policy statement which established a goal that "all inmates, with the need, should achieve a minimum of a sixth grade reading level prior to release" (Ayers, 1975, Appendix C).

In an article discussing the findings of the Clearinghouse for Offender Literacy, John Helfrich (1973) reported that "in program availability there remains a large gap between what is and what should be . . . Adult Basic Education in the majority of prisons in this country is not alive and well" (p. 52). A survey conducted by the Clearinghouse reflects the immensity of the need in the area of literacy. Scores on the reading performance test ranged from an average of 3.4 in the Southwest to a high of 6.1 in both the Southeastern and North Central States. The survey also revealed a wide variation in the

quantity and quality of Adult Basic Education programs for inmates, ranging from "very creative and innovative with adequate support to those which are very traditional with minimal support. And the majority seem to fall in the latter category" (Helfrich, 1973, p. 52).

Other statistical reports from national and state surveys support the fact that a significant percentage of inmates are educationally retarded. Reagen et al. (1973), in School Behind Bars, cite official estimates by U.S. Bureau of Prison officials indicating that as many as "50% of incarcerated adults in American federal and state prisons can neither read nor write" (p. 69). In "Observations on Educational Programs in Penal Institutions in the United States", J. D. Ayers (1975) states that "perhaps 20% of prisoners test below grade 5.5 and so need basic literacy training in order to read newspapers, complete forms and write simple letters." Ayers goes on to say that "there are many more . . . who could profit from a remedial reading program and upgrading in arithmetic" (Appendix B, p. 9).

Statistics from individual states indicate that 20% may be a conservative estimate of the illiteracy problem. The Division of Corrections and Parole in New Jersey reported that 65% of all inmates admitted to the State Prison Complex and the Youth Correctional Complex have less than a sixth grade reading achievement (Research for Better Schools, 1974). The Rehabilitation Research Foundation, in Alabama, stated that 85% of that states' prisoners have less than an eighth grade achievement level and a fairly sizable proportion of them could be classified as

functional illiterates (U.S. Senate, 1972). A comprehensive project of programmed instruction in Maryland's correctional system established as its basic rationale the need for raising inmate educational skills.

It is no secret that the incarcerated offender is significantly undereducated. Nationally, it is estimated that only 15% of all confined offenders possess a high school diploma at the time of commitment. Within Maryland almost 40% of all commitments test below functional literacy levels (grade 8). (Maryland Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, 1972, p. 20)

This position is further supported by Nagel (1976), of the American Foundation Inc., Institute of Corrections, who asserts that:

Literacy training is of paramount importance. A large percentage of inmates . . . score below 4.0 on the Stanford Achievement Test and most of them are functionally illiterate. They are unable to fill out application forms, to read simple directions, and to get any satisfaction at all out of the reading process. (p. 1)

The basic achievement level used as the standard for functional literacy--the demonstrated ability to read and write--varies in the literature from fourth to eighth grade. A 1970 Harris Poll, which showed that 18.5 million Americans were functional illiterates, defined illiteracy as the "inability to read well enough to fill out a routine application for such items as loans, driver's license, and employment and insurance policies" (Olson, 1975, p. 6). Whatever the standard of achievement or performance used to assess functional literacy, the relationship of an inmate's basic educational skills to his or her chance for employment is assessed as a critical factor in the literature.

The study, "Barriers to the Employment of Released Male Offenders", found that the second most critical factor influencing an employer's willingness to hire an ex-offender was his possession of adequate basic education skills (U.S. Senate, 1972). This research study highlighted the need for both education programs inside prisons and for continuing education after release. "The chances of an ex-offender's securing a job can be quite slim if he does not possess the basic educational skills required for the job he seeks even though he may possess the other requisite skills" (U.S. Senate, 1972, p. 162). John McKee (1971), of the Rehabilitation Research Foundation, posits the connection between basic education and employment as the essential rationale for Adult Basic Education programs in prison. "An Adult Basic Education program in corrections gets its raison d'etre . . . from the fact that ex-offenders lack the education and employment skills necessary for participating in the American economy" (p. 8). Avis Olson (1975) underscores the profound implication of this relationship between basic education and work in this excerpt from an article in The Journal of Correctional Education.

The need for educational competency is apparent in the studies of adjustment for parolees. Those who are functionally illiterate are not even in the employment category. They stand the greatest chance of becoming permanently institutionalized. Their life patterns approach a dependency on penal institutions wherein they spend more of their lives doing time inside than outside.
(p. 6)

In the literature that discusses how we should respond to the massive need in the area of Adult Basic Education in cor-

rections, there is a consensus that the scope of the problem dictates a systematic, organized, and thoughtful response. Drawing upon the tactic of change that is advanced in systems theory, researchers such as T. A. Ryan, A. Roberts, O. Coffey, and J. McKee, advocate the re-vitalization of education as a system within corrections. The contention of these writers is that Adult Basic Education ought to be conceived and perceived as a "core" ingredient in the process of correctional treatment. T. A. Ryan (1973) explicitly integrates the goals of Adult Basic Education with the goals of rehabilitation.

Adult Basic Education must be concerned with providing resources to guide educationally and socially handicapped individuals so they can satisfy their needs in such a way as to develop the behaviors necessary for maintaining and realizing the values of democratic society and performing successfully the responsibilities of mature living. (p. 56)

John McKee (1971) disputes the necessity and wisdom of expanding the goal of correctional education beyond the attainment of specific educational and vocational skills; but he advocates the construction or adoption of a system or model of Adult Basic Education.

In the proper ordering of priorities, then, development of the best (most effective, results-providing) model comes first, for without this step, adapting to a particular setting, to a prison, O.E.O. project, or public school, becomes most difficult. (p. 9)

Whatever the specific contribution of these authors--viz., Ryan's "hypothesis making model" of Adult Basic Education, Roberts' and Coffey's network of instructional technology, or McKee's emphasis on suitable programmed learning models--the central message of their writings is that the needs of basic

education in corrections must be dealt with by a "systems" approach to change.

The most common, well-publicized, and specific effort to implement this systems change in Adult Basic Education has been the use of programmed learning systems. These systems are based on the principles of behaviorism as applied to education through the work of B. F. Skinner. The Draper Correctional Center, in Alabama, was in the vanguard of this effort through its successful use of the "Individualized Programmed Instruction" (IPI) model in a wide variety of courses and educational activities. Reagen et al. (1973) reported that only three out of the 73 institutions who reported using the IPI model stated that it had not been successful. The initial success of the IPI model and other individualized programs, such as those developed by Science Research Associates (SRA) and the Educational Development Laboratory (EDL) has given programmed instruction an almost "panacea"-like quality in the field of basic education in corrections. Helfrich (1973) sees the structure, process, and materials of these programs as being particularly relevant to the needs of the "very great number of prisoners who cannot read or write" (p. 53). But with respect to providing suitable materials for illiterate adults, McKee (1970) states that there is still a need for further research. "There is a dearth of effective materials and techniques in literacy education for adults, perhaps because neither the publishers nor the federal government have supported research or development in this area" (p. 10). On the other hand, the Task Force on Corrections was

more qualified in its enthusiasm for programmed learning experiments. The Task Force recognized the success of these programs but concluded that the personnel, support, resources, priority, and commitment given to these efforts would enhance the potential of more traditional education programs as well (Atwood, 1970).

III. Issues

A. Funding and Administration

The overriding issue in the funding and administration of Adult Basic Education programs is the low priority of these programs in correctional institutions. Those who have investigated the present status of correctional education (Ayers, 1975; Reagen et al., 1973; Roberts, 1973) and those who have suggested theoretical and/or programmatic responses to the need for basic education in prisons (McKee, 1971; Roberts & Coffey, 1976; Ryan, 1973) advocate the reordering of institutional priorities as the cornerstone of any significant progress in the academic training of inmates. The Task Force on Corrections' report on standards for correctional institutions in 1973, assumed the need and importance of academic training for inmates.

Presently, the primary source of funding for Adult Basic Education in federal and state penal institutions is the Adult Education Act of 1966. This legislation, amended in 1968 and 1976, supplies states with 90% federal funding for education programs applied to those 16 years of age or over, whose reading level is eighth grade or below. A secondary source of funding for basic education in corrections is Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This legislation contributes full federal funding for education services applied to "disadvantaged students" who are 20 years of age or younger.

In a recent issue of Crime and Delinquency, Neil Singer

(1977) examined the economic implications of the standards established by the Task Force on Corrections for correctional institutions. The Task Force assumed the need and importance of academic training for inmates. The issue that concerned the Task Force, with respect to academic education programs, was the level of provision and cost of services. The Task Force recommended a major effort in correctional education. Overall, the effort would involve an estimated 300% increase in institutional expenditures for education. According to Singer's cost-benefit analysis of this recommended increase in funding for correctional education, little or none of the benefit is likely to appear in the budgets of correctional administrators. Singer adds that the potential benefits of this sizable investment, with respect to inmate income after release, rests on a questionable assumption and an uncertain outcome. The assumption is that the transfer of income from society at large to inmates, in the form of free education that yields future earnings increments, is desired by the electorate. The outcome of increased inmate earning potential via academic education is mitigated by factors such as national economic conditions and recidivism. Consequently, the only source of justification for the recommended expenditure may be collateral benefits to society. In light of this, Singer recommends that the high cost of improved education be evaluated by its impact outside institutions. This would necessitate a greater linkage between correctional education programs and society at large. Singer concludes that one way this linkage could be strengthened is the funding of educa-

tion programs through non-correctional agencies, such as State Departments of Education.

Even if the issue of additional funds for an increased effort in the area of basic education in corrections was resolved, effective administrative support of educational programs is perhaps of even greater consequence. A corollary of effective ABE programs, such as the one at the Draper Correctional Center, is the existence of "top level" administrative support. Reagen et al. (1973) advise that correctional education can only be effective if the ultimate power and accountability is in the hands of institutional authorities. This assessment underscores the vital importance of the support for basic education on the part of corrections administrations.

B. Nature of Correctional Institutions

Participation in Adult Basic Education programs, even in the case of functionally illiterate inmates, is voluntary in almost all federal and state correctional institutions (Ayers, 1975; Reagen et al., 1973). Consequently, a basic issue is the question of what incentives are feasible and necessary, in the context of penal institutions, to attract and to maintain a level of inmate enrollment that impacts upon the need in the area of Adult Basic Education.

The fact that the present organizational structure and process of a correctional institution presents an enormous obstacle to the implementation of a viable education program of any sort

is thoroughly documented in the literature on prison education (Ayers, 1975; Reagen et al., 1973; Research for Better Schools, 1974). This organizational obstacle, dictated by the goals of security, custody, and maintenance of the institution, affects all treatment or rehabilitation programs to the extent that only a small percentage of what prisons do can be reasonably described as treatment or rehabilitation (Atwood, 1970).

Within the context of this institutional priority of custody and maintenance, the influence and role of education is further diminished because of its tangential relationship with treatment programs that do exist in corrections (Reagen et al., 1973). The lack of identification and integration of education with the treatment process in corrections, combined with the absence of economic incentives for participating in education, severely limits the amount of institutional "pay off" that would foster inmate participation in ABE programs. Reagen et al. (1973) summarize this issue, saying that the incentives, the punishments, and the rewards of the prison are heavily weighted against the prisoner participating in education programs.

The issue of incentive becomes even more important when considered in the light of the attitudes, values, and experiences of the inmate subculture. The "target" population of basic education programs possess the greatest amount of resistance, hostility, and anxiety toward education per se. In addition to this "resistance" factor, there is the element of "deferred gratification", inherent in institutionalized adult education, that is generally alien to the prison inmate. Britton

and Glass (1974) deal specifically with this issue in their article, "Adult Education Behind Bars: A New Perspective".

In order to achieve the highest level of participation, and hopefully success, participation in educational activities for inmates must be made immediately more rewarding than non-participation. The attitudes and values of the inmate subculture are not directed toward the future. Deferred gratification presents a confusing ambiguity, and it becomes a simple matter to refuse participation in this type of program. (p. 7)

Reagen et al. (1973) also affirm that the intangible rewards of education programs are not realized or taken advantage of by inmates who have a history of seeking immediate gratification of their needs. On the other hand, coercion to participate in education programs appears to be a counter-productive exercise. Ayers (1975) reports that forced participation in education programs often results in inmates rejecting the schooling, by means of non-participation or disruption. The Research for Better Schools, Inc. (1974), recommends that, in order to establish basic education as a priority within correctional institutions, ABE programs should be competitive with other sources of revenue within the prison. The same source also recommends that basic education programs should contain an internal system of immediate rewards and should be voluntary, except for inmates who are below the sixth grade level.

C. Program Design

There are two aspects to the programmatic issues that emerge in the area of Adult Basic Education. These aspects are interrelated, and their separate treatment in this discussion is only for the sake of conceptual analysis. One aspect of this issue in Adult Basic Education is the degree of the "internal" quality of the educational services provided. The second aspect is the nature of the "external" relationships which an ABE program has with other facets of the inmates' educational, institutional, and "street" experience.

Internally, the most critical element of the program design issue in correctional education is the presence of qualified, competent, and concerned teachers (Ayers, 1975; DeMuro, 1976; Kerle, 1977; Reagen et al., 1973; Roberts, 1973). Reagen et al. (1973) report that in all education programs viewed as being successful, the key element was not education technique, but the correctional teacher. Research for Better Schools (1974) found that "concerned" teachers ranked first in importance in an inmate's evaluation of a basic education program; and that, in correctional settings, a teacher is more a model and a guide than simply an information giver.

Research for Better Schools (1974) included the following characteristics as part of an "ideal" basic education program in corrections: uninterrupted class attendance, pre-instruction diagnosis, individual instruction keyed to behavioral objectives, a learning plan for each student developed by both instructor

and inmate, innovative materials, up-to-date student records, academic counseling oriented to post release, and an attractive learning area.

The programmatic elements of the experimental model of correctional education developed at the Draper Correctional Center are frequently cited as being essential for an effective basic education program (Helfrich, 1973; Research for Better Schools, 1974; Roberts & Coffey, 1976). Reagen et al. (1973) outline these components as: "(1) diagnosis of learning deficiencies; (2) prescription of the specific materials which will correct these deficiencies; (3) management of the learning activities; and (4) evaluation of the trainees [sic] progress and the system itself" (p. 108). However, McKee (1970) points out that the rapid expansion of programmed instruction systems throughout the correctional system was accompanied by naive and unrealistic assumptions. The belief emerged that once these sophisticated instructional systems were adopted, substantive gains in inmate educational achievement would be an accomplished fact. In reality, the use of programmed learning systems has only served to heighten the complexity and difficulty of sustaining inmate motivation and constructing viable systems of learning in correctional institutions. Ayers (1975) is highly critical of the effects of programmed learning systems, because they have tended to dehumanize the education process and have assumed the role of "end" rather than "means". DeMuro (1976) summarizes the issue by observing that an assessment of the process of teaching methods is needed. "The question to be answered is what place

do traditional methods have in prison and will prescriptive learning methods (now in the experimental stage) have any impact on the need . . ." (p. 1).

Externally, the issue is the extent to which the Adult Basic Education program establishes its "ground of being" beyond the task of increasing an inmate's academic achievement level. Herein, there are implications with respect to the programmatic linkage of ABE with high school equivalency programs, vocational programs, social education, and continuing education in community agencies. McKee (1971) underscores the importance of this "relational" dimension of ABE by advocating "as close as possible" a relationship between basic education skills and an inmate's occupational goals and work. "Adult Basic Education programs, however, hardly exist in a vacuum: Adult Basic Education only makes sense to disadvantaged groups if the skills learned are relevant to work or preparing for work" (p. 17).

Johnson (1973) supports this linkage of ABE programs with the students' vocational needs by proposing that: (1) basic math should contain elements of instruction directly related to the occupation the students are interested in, and (2) reading instruction should be from manuals and industrial magazines relevant to inmate vocational interests. Research for Better Schools, Inc. (1974), recommended that men who have participated in basic education programs while in prison should be counseled to continue their studies in adult education centers upon release.

D. Access to Resources and Materials

The main issue with respect to an inmate's access to the resources and materials of Adult Basic Education is the absence of an effective, competent, organized delivery system within the correctional institution. With the exception of material for the functionally illiterate inmate, there is a wide variety of instructional texts, materials, media, and machines available for use in Adult Basic Education programs. However, the existence of this plethora of materials and the advent of "instructional technology" face serious problems with respect to their effective implementation in corrections.

Helfrich (1973) stresses the need for: (1) a better communication system among correctional institutions so that information about the nature and effectiveness of materials and resources can be exchanged; and (2) the development of a viable link between ABE state agencies, with their attendant services and resources, and correctional education administrators and teachers. Roberts and Coffey (1976) report that most correctional teachers and administrators have experienced great difficulty in finding materials, media, equipment, and technology which are proven effective with inmate learners.

Another area of concern is the lack of trained, skillful, and creative teachers who can utilize these resources (Ayers, 1975; DeMuro, 1976; McKee, 1970; Reagen et al., 1973; Roberts & Coffey, 1976). In both the Pennsylvania and New Jersey prison systems, impressive-looking "learning centers" have been con-

structed, but the purpose and use of these centers seems vague, unclear, and haphazard. Reagen et al. (1973) point out that a problem in the area of resources is the prevalence of a nominal, rather than a functional, knowledge of available materials for the adult learner.

E. Evaluation

In the area of the evaluation of ABE programs, the issue is the paucity of existent evaluations and the conflicting views regarding the appropriate scope, form, and purpose of such evaluation. T. A. Ryan (1973) contends that ABE program evaluation should be restricted to the specific, measurable, observable behaviors that are established as the educational goals of an ABE system in a correctional institution. John McKee (1971), of the Rehabilitation Research Foundation, suggests that inmate education programs should be evaluated primarily with respect to the academic and vocational skills acquired by the inmate, rather than the more diffuse rehabilitation goals often associated with treatment programs. Roberts (1973) contends that correctional education programs must be evaluated in light of their impact on recidivism. And Singer (1977) proposes that the high costs of improved educational programs must be evaluated by their impact outside the institutions. Research for Better Schools, Inc. (1974), recommends that both the immediate and long term effects of ABE programs need to be determined. It suggests that immediate effects of basic education programs be assessed through the

use of a standardized instrument on a pre- and post-test basis, and that the long term effects be determined by a five-year follow-up study of released inmates.

One of the salient advantages of the introduction of programmed instruction systems into corrections is that these systems stress the importance of evaluation through the use of explicit objectives. Evaluations of programmed instruction projects at Draper, at six New Jersey institutions, and in the Correctional Camp system in Maryland all report significant educational gains for inmates in a relatively short time span. "In the Draper experiment, inmates gained an average of 1.4 grades per six-month course" (Singer, 1977, p. 22).

In summary, the issue of evaluation of ABE programs can be outlined as follows: (1) Those in direct, day-to-day contact with the problems and frustrations of teaching disadvantaged inmate populations tend to advocate an evaluation of the "humanness" of the program's "process", rather than program outcomes (Ayers, 1975; Deppe, 1976). (2) Those associated with the programmed instruction movement stress evaluation based on educational gains reflected in test data. (3) Those who seek to establish societal credibility and legislative support, contend that the impact of correctional education on recidivism must be an important evaluative criterion.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY EDUCATION

I. Definition

Although arguments are being waged in other areas of correctional education, particularly regarding the need for vocational and post-secondary programs, it would appear that the place of secondary education in corrections has been firmly established. It is an acknowledged fact that for the non-offender, secondary education affords increased life chances in the form of stable employment and integration into society. Correctional educators have applied this knowledge to gain public and private support for the development of secondary adult education programs in penal institutions.

Adult secondary education in corrections is aimed at providing instruction either for students who have completed courses in Adult Basic Education or for those who have not finished high school with a degree. The need for secondary education is demonstrated by the facts that in most federal prisons, the average offender reads at the 7th grade level and only 40% of the total federal prison population are high school graduates. (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1975). According to the Education Commission of the States (1975) and Roberts and Coffey (1976), up to 90% of adults in penal institutions (both federal and state) are without high school diplomas.

Occasionally, a high school diploma can be acquired in penal institutions by participation in an accredited high school program. Upon completion of these programs, the inmate is awarded a traditional high school diploma. Diplomas can also be awarded through participation in a Competency Based High School program (such as that of the Texas Department of Corrections), a program offered to teach certain life skills, such as preparing income tax forms, writing checks, etc. A High School Equivalency Diploma can be acquired by passing the General Education Development (GED) test. This test and the programs to prepare the student to pass it are presently the main thrust of secondary education in corrections.

As it exists in most state and federal institutions, adult secondary education seems to have one goal: preparing the inmate to pass the General Education Development test. The motivation for passing this test is, in most cases, the awarding of a High School Equivalency Diploma.

The "ideal" nature of GED programs for correctional education has been pointed out by John Marsh (1973a). He cites its applicability because of the varying levels of educational achievement of those incarcerated and the relatively short average length of commitment. Because GED programs can be short term ones, they are well suited for the average adult inmate, whose period of incarceration is usually between 17 and 24 months (Roberts & Coffey, 1976). Given this short period of incarceration, administrators and officials become hard-pressed to prove that "rehabilitation" has occurred. The acquisition of a GED diploma is a

tangible measure, according to society's norms, that the inmate is moving towards rehabilitation. Thus, the emphasis in GED programs may be easily diverted from a concern for educational process to a concern for only the product.

Kerle (1977) cites the production of graduates as a false measure of the quality and effectiveness of GED and other secondary education programs in corrections. He suggests that instruction in secondary education might be able to achieve more than just the production of graduates, if educators look more closely into the process that produces these graduates. Through needs assessment, the individual inmate can work towards remediating his/her academic weaknesses.

II. Literature and Research Summary

Since the design of most secondary education programs in corrections culminates in the administration of a GED examination, evaluative studies of secondary education have been focused on GED preparation programs. In 1973, John Marsh (1973a) stated that his proposed study of GED programs and testing in state penal institutions was, to his knowledge, the only study on a national level of GED. As far as can be determined, Marsh's study is still the only national evaluation of GED programs and testing in corrections.

Marsh's study was prompted through his involvement with Project NewGate. As an increased number of inmates entered this post-secondary education program, the quality of GED as preparation for college-level courses became an issue. Marsh also attempted to determine the role of GED in the total rehabilitation program.

A sixteen-item questionnaire was sent out to the 50 state administrators of GED testing. Marsh's first aim was to measure the state of implementation of GED, as it compared with the standards set up by the American Council on Education in 1968. Forty-nine states responded. The findings of the survey indicated that Departments of Education often viewed GED readiness and testing as nothing more than an issue of administrative accountability. On the question that attempted to determine the numbers of graduates in each state, the responses were: 36 states were able to give a number; others left it blank or

responded that they did not know. Responses from all but eight states were specified as estimates. This lack of information would suggest that the respective Departments of Education may not be fully familiar with corrections education programming in their states.

Other issues emerged from the Marsh study, including: the need to document differing methods of GED preparation and testing; the comparative success rates of instructional programs; the methods of financing by State Departments of Education; and the influence of financing on preparatory programs. Marsh points out that the veritable "mother lode" of standardized data is not currently utilized. This data could provide useful information on the correlation of GED with parole, recidivism, and employment. He concludes that more accounting, evaluation, and research need to be done.

Johnson, Shearon, and Britton (1974), in a study of recidivism rates of women in a North Carolina prison, compared an experimental group of 100 ex-inmates who had not completed the GED. Data was equated in terms of 14 personal and criminal factors. The comparison was made in terms of recidivism rates. The findings indicated that "although the proportion of non-recidivists was slightly higher for the GED group than for the control group, the difference was not significant at the .05 level of confidence" (p. 121). The study concluded that the hypothesis that "successful participation in academic educational programs by women inmates reduces their subsequent recidivism was not supported" (p. 121).

This study (Johnson et al., 1974) found that a GED diploma did not have credence in the social environment to which most inmates returned. The authors suggest that correctional officials may not have adequately informed these women of the usefulness of the degree, or that the inmate's desire for self-improvement went no further than obtaining the degree. They concluded that if academic programs were thought to bring about behavioral change, standardized educational programs were not best suited for this objective. Assuming that rehabilitation could result from education, they finally stated that reduction of recidivism as a primary goal could only occur if specific educational experiences were properly designed and appropriate follow-ups were made.

An attempt to measure the efficiency of certain factors that indicate readiness to pass the GED test was the focus of a study by Watson and Stump (1974). Using the Diagnostic Test from Cowles' Preparation for the High School Equivalency Examination, the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT), the Otis Test, age, IQ, and claimed high school level, they attempted to predict success or failure on the GED test. The study was largely a correlation study, using resident files and personal interviews.

Results indicated that the greatest correlation occurred between the SAT scores and the GED scores. Cowles' Diagnostic Test, although not showing the highest correlation (second to that of the SAT), was the most valuable indicator because it, unlike the SAT, identified areas of academic weakness. The researchers determined that with a critical score of 40.0 in the

Diagnostic Test, a 78% rate of identification could be achieved. The Otis Test and IQ scores show a high correlation to GED scores and the age of the inmate showed some significance. High school level failed to show any significant correlation.

Other than the studies cited above, there is no rigorous evaluative material available. Most states have progressed to the stage of accounting, yet, apparently, not much has been done to make use of this information for research in GED correctional programs. The growth of descriptions and statistical accounting in individual academic programs is being overlooked as a major source of correlative data.

III. Issues

A. Funding and Administration

The problems of funding adult secondary education programs in corrections are inextricably linked to the administration of such programs. It is often due to the lack of expertise and knowledge of the availability of funding sources on the part of the administrators, that institutions lack a full complement of educational programs.

Because of the diversity of funding sources and the stipulations imposed when granting educational funds to correctional education programs, the administration must have an adequate knowledge of the sources and means for obtaining funds. This working knowledge must also extend to applying such financial resources in order to maximize educational opportunities for inmates.

Roberts and Coffey (1976) found that of the respondents to their study of the types and use of educational materials, the educational budget ranged between 5% and 20% of the total institutional budget. The average expenditure for adult education was \$755 per inmate, per annum. Funding for secondary education is not much different from funding for Adult Basic Education. Financing often occurs in "package" plans. This type of financial support is shown in one institution's combination of funds from the Department of Justice, the U.S. Office of Education's (USOE) Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (Title I) funds,

and the acquisition of funds from Adult Basic Education (ABE) grants to maintain their GED program (Williams, 1977). These funds are then used to provide for teachers' salaries and student learning materials.

An alternative for providing a steady stream of external funding for secondary education programs is to create a school district out of the penal system. "Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Texas and a number of other states have passed legislation declaring the 'state prison system' to be an 'educational district'" (Morse, 1976, p. 4). The intent of this administrative system is to provide adequate planning and funding for educational delivery systems in the prisons.

Under this program, administrators of the "educational district" no longer find themselves de-emphasizing education to provide for custody (Kerle, 1977). The superintendent of the school district has both state and federal financial resources which may allow him greater freedom in the development of comprehensive educational programs. This increased funding also adds to the ability to acquire more and better qualified staff and instructional materials, and helps alleviate slim budgets and poor physical structures (Morse, 1976).

Sylvia McCollum (1973) questions the view that the creation of such a school district is a cure-all: "If as a result of becoming a school district, however, programs and procedures imitate public school systems and make inadequate allowance for the special educational needs of prison populations, they would not accomplish the high goals envisioned for this approach" (p. 10).

Even with the increased funding that may be derived from this system of administration, the problems of correctional education are not easily remedied.

A vital issue in the creation of an "educational district" is the willingness of correctional educators to abdicate some control to people whose prime goal is education rather than security. The creation of an "educational district" does not necessarily eliminate all administrative conflicts. Ken Kerle (1977), clarifying issues in correctional education, states: "One of the things I'll never forget is when I toured . . . [a] prison school district. Inmates were pulled out of class to pick cotton. . . . The priorities in that institution certainly weren't educational ones" (p. 2).

As it becomes increasingly clear that the funding of correctional education is a complex process, due to the need for drawing on diverse sources to supply adequate funding, it also becomes clear that the job of the correctional administrator is equally complex. The need for successful management and acquisition of funds is a task that requires accountability not only to the inmates, but to the taxpayers as well.

B. Nature of Correctional Institutions

Custodial constraints, both physical and philosophical, are antithetical to the concept of education. The views of the administration and the size and security requirements of the institution are all elements which help determine the nature of correctional education. As reflected in secondary education, these factors have supported the use of GED programs in corrections.

The nature of the institution will most likely affect each issue subsequently identified in this paper as an area for examination in GED testing. Tangentially, the nature of the institution affects this programming in many areas. For example, although the GED test can be administered in the confines of the cell, and advantage to those concerned with security, a problem arises when it becomes necessary to remediate the student's academic weaknesses so that he can pass the test. At this point, it becomes necessary to bring the student into contact with a teacher. Depending on the security requirements of the institution, moving the inmate into the classroom may be perceived as a threat to security.

If the physical design of the institution does not contain adequate space for classrooms, this may be a real barrier to instruction. Here there is a challenge: how to deliver high quality academic education in an environment that is custodial in nature and lacking in classroom space.

Administrative philosophies serve to confuse the inmate and

hinder his/her motivation when a conflict emerges between education and work (Kerle, 1977). The inmate may be receiving indications from the administration that it is desirable to pursue a GED program, yet when a student is frequently pulled out of class for work assignments or meetings with counselors, frustration and confusion set in. Frequent absenteeism, due to administrative causes, affects the motivation of both student and teacher.

Other issues that affect the administration of secondary education programs are not unlike those that emerge in other educational programs in corrections. Hostility of administrators and guards towards the inmate who is getting a "second chance" for education, a second chance that has been denied to many guards, is a recurrent problem. Hostility among corrections officials and teachers is another barrier to delivery of a quality education. The competing interests of treatment and punishment catch the inmate in a philosophical struggle over which he has no control.

The role of education as well as the type of education offered in an institution's total framework is determined by administrative philosophies, funding, size of the institution, security requirements, and, in the more progressive institutions, needs assessment. No correctional education program exists or operates in a vacuum. Dale Clark (1977), reflecting on the applicability of GED in corrections, stated that in federal institutions, GED "serves the needs of the inmate well, better than traditional

high schools. In combination with programs in social education, it is especially good." The assessment of any educational program in corrections, then, is based on the "attitudinal and environmental dimensions" of the institution and its administration (Goldfarb & Singer, 1973).

C. Program Design

The viability of the GED program in corrections has caused it to become the main vehicle for achieving the equivalent of a secondary education. The Texas Department of Corrections was the first to initiate the General Education Development Testing Program in its penal institutions in 1956 (Kerle, 1973). Since that time, it has been implemented, in some form, in almost all states and in the federal prison system. Marsh (1973a), in his survey of state institutions, found that the GED test was administered in all responding states. However, it was not shown to be administered in all institutions within these respective states.

Marsh also found that little or no evidence was available about the role of GED programs in the total educational and corrections structure. In the educational systems of corrections, it is necessary to know whether the secondary education program is viewed as part of an education program that includes vocational education or preparation for college, or, possibly, as an end in itself. Without these kinds of defined objectives, the goal of maximizing the use of GED in penal institutions can not

be evaluated or implemented.

Test administration is an important issue in program design. There is evidence that in some states, such as Louisiana ("Project LEO . . .," 1976), inmates are placed on test waiting lists and can be denied, through parole, institutional transfers, or even early release, the opportunity for a "second chance" at education. It appears that standardized procedures in this area could assure that all inmates functioning at the high school level are offered the opportunity to take the GED test.

Some institutions determine readiness for GED testing based on claimed high school level. Others administer the GED on demand (Williams, 1977). Opportunity to take the GED test, however, is usually determined by placement test scores. The diversity of pre-tests used presents a problem in formulating a "snapshot" of the educational levels and abilities of those taking the test.

The Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT), the General Education Performance Index, the Gray-Votaw-Rogers Test of General Achievement, and even the General Education Development Test itself, are all used to place the student at an instructional level in the program. Valletutti and Mopsik (1973) contend that "all individuals who have mastered the basic education program should have the opportunity to participate in a program which prepares individuals for the high school equivalency examination" (p. 119).

Another element that influences the classification of an inmate, in terms of GED readiness, is subjective evaluation.

If a counselor or administrator determines that an inmate is a behavior problem or a security threat, that inmate may be denied the opportunity to take the test. Since this type of evaluation is often combined with objective evaluations, it is important to clarify the procedures and standards of inmate classification.

Program entry after classification is often a problem for the student. As indicated earlier, waiting lists exist in some cases due to the lack of space. In other programs, it can be the structure of the program itself that delays entry. Admission processes, academic timetables, and other related factors contribute to the delaying of inmate education. Entry into GED programs in federal institutions allow for once a week admissions and is open-ended (Clark, 1977), whereas state programs often operate on a semester basis, a possible detriment to increasing the availability of education.

There are alternative methods of preparing for the GED test. Marsh (1973a) found that 48 of the 49 responding states acknowledged some program for preparation. These programs included those designed solely to improve math and communication skills; those similar in curriculum to the traditional academic program of any high school; and those that focused specifically on preparing students to pass the five test areas of the General Education Development Test. Considering that the assessment of "intellectual control decisions, reasoning ability, and functional skills in problem solving" (Roberts, 1973) are viewed as acceptable methods for measuring the attainment of secondary education skills, closer examination of the methods of student

preparation is called for. Understandably, the attitudes of correctional administrators will somewhat influence the nature of the GED preparation program. This is one reason for the insistence by some administrators that the control over GED programs be given over to educators. If the inmate's acquisition of a diploma is the only concern of the administrator, then, necessarily, the inmate will not be provided the opportunity for the acquisition of other critical intellectual skills.

Staffing considerations are closely related to the issue of instructional methods. Maintaining a sufficient student-staff ratio can influence the quality of instruction and insure that inmates are not denied access to an education. There is also a need for adequate training of staff to deal with the complexities of adult education in penal institutions (DeMuro, 1976).

The use of paraprofessional inmate teachers is an issue in the academic programs in corrections. Ayers (1975) found that the incidence of use was higher in federal institutions than state institutions. The debate on this issue centers around the quality of instruction that the inmate as a teacher is capable of delivering. Dell'Apa (1973) found that programs that rely on inmate teachers will suffer in quality. Another perspective on this issue comes from L. R. Black (1975), who suggests that, with their additional credentials of "'street credibility' and 'savvy'" (p. 2), the inmate teacher can have greater influence on the incarcerated adult student.

Another concern in the delivery of secondary education in corrections is the time allotted for school attendance. Demands

of the institution often cause a conflict between work and study. Often, an academic program will be offered in the morning or afternoon. If the inmate's scheduled job assignment happens to occur in that same time period, then, because of the priority of work over school, the inmate is forced to drop out of school. This same effect is felt by the student who is required to work all day and must attend evening classes. Somewhere between work, school, and sleep, the inmate must find time to do his/her homework.

Associated with the issues of staff and scheduling are those that deal with methods of instruction. In the 1960's, with the introduction of programmed instruction at the Draper Correctional Center (Alabama), the process of educating the inmate took on an entirely different complexion. Individualized learning appeared highly suited to the needs of inmates in the setting of a penal institution.

The use of hardware, including interactive TV systems, computer-assisted systems, and audiovisual material in the form of films, cassettes, etc., is becoming widely accepted and equipment is becoming more widely available, as funding is increased and cost-benefit analysis reveals the feasibility of instructing the inmate in this way (Roberts & Coffey, 1976). However, the recurrent issue that arises regarding the use of this method to deliver instruction is the role of the teacher. Studies emerging on programmed instruction decry the claim that, with programmed instruction, the student can teach himself (Ayers, 1975; Kendall, 1973).

The awareness of the need to maintain the role of the teacher in correctional education is expressed by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons: "New educational technologies may supplement but should not replace the importance of the teacher to student and student to student relationship in group learning" (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1975, p. 5). McKee (1970) and Ayers (1975) both agree with this philosophy, acknowledging that programmed instruction is not the ultimate answer. A balance between the two resources, teacher and materials, must somehow be maintained. The question is: What is that balance?

Readiness for the GED test is usually assumed after the completion of a certain number of courses or hours of study. If students take the test and pass, they have the gratification and improved self-image that comes with earning a high school diploma. In some cases, where the motivation has been less than ideal, the inmate will also have the knowledge that chances of parole are increased. Lewis (1973) has cited Glaser's study (1964), to support the idea that this possibility of increased opportunity for parole is part of the subtle coercion that administrations use to increase enrollments in education programs. Kerle (1977) has also referred to this problem. Both authors suggest that this false motivation and the psychological dependence of the inmate on the administration are major barriers to "real" prisoner education.

John Marsh's (1973b) delineation of issues involved in the administration and scoring of GED tests illustrate many concerns relating to program effectiveness and evaluation. More evaluation

and accounting of the success and failure rates of testees is needed. Methods to determine "readiness" for testing need more standardization. The State Departments of Education need to show greater accountability in record keeping (numbers of students taking the test, numbers of institutions administering it, and frequency of test administration). More needs to be known about who administers the test, be it corrections, education, or other officials.

Marsh (1973a) cites the fact that guidelines for GED testing have been stated by the American Council on Education in the ACE Handbook for Official GED Test Centers. His study showed that many states did not follow these guidelines, but operated independently, by established state regulations. There is a need to develop procedures and see that they are adhered to, so that the "soft spots" in GED programs can be strengthened.

D. Access to Resources and Materials

The quality and availability of appropriate materials limit the ability to deliver educational services to the inmate. However, before a correctional educator can decide what types of resources are necessary, he must first develop the objectives of his program. If, as in the case of secondary education programs, the specific objectives are to teach the skills necessary to pass the GED test, then materials that concentrate on these objectives are to be desired.

The variety of services and materials to sustain an adult

secondary education program are as numerous as the institutions themselves. The introduction of programmed instruction into corrections made open-entry and open-ended programs a feasible method of teaching. Obviously, the building of such programs had to include materials that would maximize the individual's learning, while allowing the special needs of the learner to be taken into account. A major complaint regarding the quality of instructional materials at this level is that they are geared to a younger age group. The adult learner has a great deal more sophistication about the world facing him, and forcing him to learn from materials designed for the average high school student is cited as a reason for the adult inmate's lack of interest and motivation.

Glick and Neto (1976) also found that learning materials used in women's penal institutions are rarely appropriate for adult education. Arkansas reports, in their GED program description, that the correctional educator is forced to use textbooks that come from the public school board's approved list, which, of course, is geared toward a general public school population.

The problem of selecting instructional materials is closely related to the issue of funding. Where funding sources are less restricted, a variety of instructional materials may be found within one institution, although all materials may have the same goal: teaching for passing the GED test. Roberts and Coffey (1976) found the average expenditure for all education materials, out of the total educational budgets for responding institutions, to be 17.9%. Educational materials and resources included textbooks, workbooks, supplies, physical facilities,

library services, audiovisual materials, diagnostic testing, and any other materials necessary to support an institution's educational efforts.

As indicated earlier, in the section on program design, various kinds of hardware are currently in use throughout the country. Research (Roberts & Coffey, 1976) reveals a burgeoning of educational technology, for example: interactive TV, PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operation), State of Kentucky Instructional TV, etc. The issue emerging here is not the lack of materials per se, but rather the lack of some guidelines to enable the educator to choose amongst these varied educational tools. How is the educator to determine the applicability of a particular program, without having to ask for the heavy outlay of capital that often accompanies the commitment to such a program? This is especially a problem, since once the funds have been committed and the hardware is in use, it is often a problem to replace these systems, if found that the program does not serve the needs of inmates.

The educator finds conflicting assessments of such instructional systems. Ayers (1975) cites the failure of the PLATO system, while Kerle (1977) believes that PLATO has a great deal of potential for adult learning in corrections.* Whatever the

*PLATO "is a computer-based teaching system which provides a means for individualizing instruction. . . . Students work at individual 'terminals' which consist of a display monitor (which looks like a TV screen) and a keyboard (similar to that of a typewriter) through which the student 'responds' to the machine and places his requests for special lessons, his performance record, or aid from the computer or instructor" (Roberts & Coffey, 1976, p. 147).

potential is for increasing learning, Roberts and Coffey (1976) found that the initial cash outlay for the PLATO IV program is very high (although costs decrease to about \$.75 per hour after full implementation). This substantiates the stated dilemma of the educator that is forced to choose between various available instructional resources.

E. Evaluation

The secondary education programs of adult correctional institutions have an evaluative element built into the program, if the goal of the program is to prepare the inmate to pass the GED test. That element, of course, is the success and failure rates of those students taking the GED test. The failure of educators to measure the program in terms other than testing results is a factor that has been largely ignored. Whitson (1976) defines the purpose of evaluation to be a systematic examination of all aspects of programs. In the case of GED programs in correctional settings, the tendency is to overlook other aspects of the program in evaluation and to concentrate only on test results.

John Marsh's survey of GED testing (1973a) in state correctional institutions indicates that little is being done to evaluate the appropriateness of the GED program. Apparently, educators and corrections officials felt little need to examine the details, policies, and procedures of GED programs in their facilities. Marsh raises several important issues in the area of GED testing which still pose problems today. These issues question

the internal workings of the GED program and the external or rehabilitative effects of acquiring the High School Equivalency Diploma. He indicates that there is a wealth of untapped information that would allow for correlation studies.

Some "external" issues needing to be resolved through program evaluation concern marketability of the equivalency diploma; the effect of GED on behavior which may make the inmate more socially acceptable; and the validity of the GED in the social milieu that the inmate will return to. In addition, studies of recidivism rates are valuable, because they measure some important concepts about the relationship between education and rehabilitation.

The literature also raises questions concerning the "internal" issues of GED programs in prisons. Is, as Marsh (1973a) points out, the GED simply a part of the classification process? Do GED preparatory programs serve the needs of the student? Is, as McNamara (1976) questions, "the GED sensitive to the ethnic, religious, political and social orientations of the inmates, including the age and sex" (p. 11)? How and what kinds of pre-tests best measure the weakness of the student and the possibility of successfully passing the test? These last two issues have been examined to some extent, but not with enough frequency to establish a good sample.

The U.S. Bureau of Prisons (1975) has identified several needs for program evaluation, one of which is the accumulation of "comparable and consistent data." Marsh, in his 1973(a) study, cites the lack of hard data in GED record keeping. It

would seem from available state and federal records, that this need is beginning to be met. For example, the success and failure rates of GED students are now being widely recorded.

Another issue emerging from the evaluation of GED programs is the ability of the GED program to prepare the inmate for college. Available information seems to show that it is virtually impossible for the inmate to get the education in prison that has been traditionally viewed as necessary for college preparation (Kerle, 1977). Schooling in this sense has largely been phased out of the penal institutions because of its record of failing to stimulate and reach the prison population that most needed a secondary education (Roberts, 1971).

With the increased social emphasis on college-level education as a criterion of "success", inmates are attempting to "go to college". Those former inmates who make this attempt outside of the penal institution, with just the GED as background, find, in most cases, that "the teaching for the test" that they experienced in prison severely lacks the level of preparation needed to enable them to function on a college level (Kerle, 1977; Williams, 1977).

Inside of the prison, those inmates who have passed the GED and want to pursue a college education are forcing educators and correctional administrators to reexamine the GED program and its inherent inadequacies as a predictor of success in college-level study. The inmate is not always aware that the awarding of a High School Equivalency Diploma for achievement, as measured by the GED test, is not an indication of his ability to function

in a post-secondary educational program. If he/she does understand this, then any psychological gains made in getting the High School Equivalency Diploma will be lost when, after attempting college courses, the student finds only failure and frustration.

CHAPTER IV

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

I. Definition

Post-secondary education is generally provided by institutions of higher education for those offenders who have completed high school (or GED) and want to continue their education. E. B. Emmert (1976) cites a definition of post-secondary education by Herron, Muir, and Williams as "any academic, vocational, and/or technical course work that requires either a high school diploma or a GED certificate as a prerequisite for enrollment" (p. 6). For the purposes of this discussion, the use of the term post-secondary will be applied to those courses in the above-mentioned areas which are taken for college credit. The section on vocational education will include discussions of non-credit vocational and technical post-secondary programs.

There were approximately 227,000 inmates in state correctional institutions in 1975. It is estimated that between 2,500 and 12,500 (1%-5%) of these individuals were involved in post-secondary education programs (McCollum, 1975).

In the federal prison system, in the same year, of the 23,000 inmates incarcerated, approximately 3,000 federal offenders completed over 9,000 college courses; 158 earned Associate of Arts degrees, 19 earned Bachelors degrees, and 2 earned Masters degrees (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1976).

There has been an increase in college course completions in recent years which may indicate that, in addition to more programs being made available, more inmates have completed high school and funding possibilities have been expanded. According to Roberts and Coffey (1976), projected enrollment in post-secondary programs is expected to rise to 25,000 within the next few years.

Post-secondary correctional education programs have attracted a great deal of attention from the media and the community in recent years. Often they have been presented as window dressing, and the implication in much of the literature has been that all one has to do to get a college education is to go to prison. The figures cited above clearly refute this attitude. However, it does seem that having college-level programs carries a great deal of status and there has been a disproportionate amount of attention paid to such programs when one considers both the total prison population involved and the relative need for more basic instruction. This is not to suggest that the numbers of college programs or that evaluations of them should be reduced, but that, in reviewing the literature, one must keep in mind that college education for prisoners has been a very popular area over the past ten years.

II. Literature and Research Summary

Although there has been a substantial amount of material written on higher education programs for offenders, the vast majority of it has been based either on individual program descriptions or quantitative surveys. There has been relatively little research conducted to assess the goals and objectives of post-secondary programs and the success or failure of such programs in achieving these goals.

According to Emmert (1976), until 1976, two main approaches were taken in conducting quantitative surveys. He identified the first approach as that taken by Adams in 1968 and NewGate in 1973. These surveys polled local, state, and federal institutions to ascertain the number of post-secondary education programs available. Stuart Adams obtained descriptive data from letters and questionnaires sent to correctional education supervisors and directors of corrections, both in the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and the 50 state systems. Of the 46 systems that responded, 31 (75%) reported that they provided some kind of college program for offenders. In 1973, the NewGate Resource Center of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency conducted a National Survey of Postsecondary Education Programs for Incarcerated Offenders. They contacted state and federal institutions both by telephone survey and by questionnaire. Of the 305 institutions polled, 218 (71%) reported that they provided higher education programs for inmates. Of these programs, 71.6% offered either a degree or a technical certificate. The NewGate survey also found that

the number of courses offered in correctional institutions had increased from 398 in 1965 to 1,351 in 1973; the number of study release programs over the same time had increased from one to 144; and the number of students enrolled in post-secondary courses had risen from 4,541 in 1965 to 11,754 in 1973.

The second major survey approach identified by Emmert (the Drury, Adams, and NEXUS surveys) measured the number of institutions of higher education that were involved in correctional education programs for inmates. In 1971, Stuart Adams and John Connolly conducted a survey to determine the number of community and junior colleges providing programs for inmates. Of the 121 colleges contacted by mail, 100 responded. Results indicated that 65% of these were providing post-secondary programs inside institutions. Of these, 93% involved in-person teaching and there were a total of 6,891 offender enrollees. Edward J. Drury, 1973, collected information for colleges and universities, but his inventory was incomplete and was prepared only for the use of staff at the University of Minnesota, to give them an idea of college education programs for offenders that were in existence.

In 1974, NEXUS (a telephone information service of the American Association for Higher Education) prepared a list, by state, of post-secondary institutions operating prisoner education programs and provided a brief description of each program. The survey did not include any statistical analysis.

Emmert reported on the survey conducted in 1976 by the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) which attempted to define the scope of the involvement of post-

secondary institutions in correctional education programs. The survey looked at all levels of this involvement, including college staff providing adult basic education and secondary education programs. The data analysis looked at program categories from two aspects, program content and population served. The results of the survey were compiled in a directory, by state, of programs with a brief description of each.

The most comprehensive qualitative research in the area of post-secondary education has been done on Project NewGate. In 1973, Marshall Kaplan, Gans and Kahn published a final report entitled An Evaluation of "NewGate" and Other Prisoner Education Programs. This report was summarized, also in 1973, by Baker, Haberfield, Irwin, Leonard, and Seashore. The purpose of the evaluation was to determine the impact of college programs for offenders (with special emphasis on NewGate) and to provide information useful to policy decisions. The general topics addressed were: program description, post-release performance, program process, cost analysis, and description of a model program. In March 1975, Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn published a second report, Additional Data Analysis and Evaluation of "Project NewGate" and Other Prison College Programs. The 1975 evaluation looked at evaluations of programs, success of participants after release, academic achievement of released prisoners, post-release success and program quality, and implications of findings for a model prison college program. Results of both studies revealed

some very clear and positive relationships between prison college programs and success among participants after release from prison. Also revealed are very definite conclusions about what type of prison college programs are most appropriate to the needs of prison inmates and have the greatest impact on participants' post-prison success. (Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1975, p. 117)

The research indicated that the two features of a program which were especially significant in their relationship to an inmate's post-release success are: "(1) an active outreach component which will attract persons who would not otherwise attend college, and (2) a sequence of transitional components which continue to provide support, financial and other, to participants after they leave prison" (Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1975, p. 123).

III. Issues

A. Funding and Administration

A major issue in the area of post-secondary correctional education is that of program support, both financial and administrative. Ideally, the two would go hand in hand, the funding source retaining the decision and policy making powers. In institutions, however, security concerns often preclude this option.

Several specific aspects of funding are of concern in post-secondary education because programs must be provided by accredited colleges and universities. Consequently, the questions of tuition costs, out-of-state and county fee schedules (especially in federal institutions and programs associated with community colleges), and funds for supplies and books must be resolved. These issues have been referred to by McCollum (1975) and Adams (1973a). John Marsh (1973b) also identified a need to obtain funds for student stipends when students are involved in full-time post-secondary programs.

Payment for courses depends on the institution's budget, the students' financial situation, and the availability of external funding. Outside financial assistance, on an individual basis, is often sought in cases when the student must bear the full cost of tuition. Students frequently obtain financial aid from such sources as Veterans Education Benefits, Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG), Vocational Rehabilitation

Programs, federally insured student loans, and private scholarships and grants (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1976).

Many programs operate on "soft" money from grants. This creates a problem for staff and administration, since application for funds must often be done on a yearly or semester basis. This is a time consuming task, leading to a sense of insecurity among both staff and students who never know whether the program will be continued from one year to the next. Frequently, final word on funding or refunding comes at the eleventh hour, and often good staff resign as soon as a more secure position becomes available. Such "soft" money funding also can lead to programmatic problems, since the program must sometimes be geared to the available funding rather than the identified needs of the student. Funds for one student may come from a conglomerate of sources and administration under such circumstances can be both frustrating and inefficient.

The question of program sponsorship was raised by Marsh (1973b). Programs can either be sponsored by the institution, by an independent agency, by the Department of Corrections, or by the college or university. Administrative responsibilities are often shared by the college (for direct program administration) and the institution (to assure that security and institutional regulations are adhered to). Some of the specific problems inherent in this dual responsibility will be discussed in the next section on the nature of correctional institutions as an issue in post-secondary programs.

B. Nature of Correctional Institutions

Recent studies (Ayers, 1975; Black, 1975; Kerle, 1976; Marsh, 1973b; Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1975; McCollum, 1975; Wooldridge, 1976) have all referred to the conflict between the basic goals of the penal system and the goals of the education system. The consensus among experts and researchers seems to be that the priorities and politics of institutions are not conducive to education. A report of the Washington State Board for Community College Education, in 1972, identified the lack of formal communication channels among students, teachers, correctional officers, and administrative staff as a source of conflict. It also noted a lack of coordination between inmates' work assignments within the institution and their educational programs. This causes problems, especially for post-secondary students, because there is often little or no provision made for study time and space.

Security staff resentment of educational programs is referred to frequently in the literature, and this problem seems to be intensified when inmates are getting a free college education. University programs are often viewed by security and administrative personnel as making a "smarter con", and often roadblocks and unnecessary rules are created that diminish the effectiveness of the programs (Ayers, 1975).

There is a need, generally, to raise the profile of education programs within institutions (Washington State Board . . . , 1973). In order for a post-secondary program to be successful, it must

be operated with the support and cooperation of the administrative and security staff and the acceptance of the community (Kerle, 1977).

C. Program Design

There are several aspects of program design which have been identified as issues in the literature. Statements by researchers (Black, 1976; DeMuro, 1976; Deppe, 1976; Emmert, 1976; Reagen et al., 1973; Ryan, 1976) have referred to the failure of many post-secondary programs to plan courses of study that have a realistic relationship to the inmates' future. Courses and programs need to be relevant in terms of post-release job opportunities and pursuits. In the past, many programs have been developed, based on the availability of resources and the interests of particular staff members at nearby colleges, with little attention being paid to their applicability (Black, 1976). Frequently, programs concentrate on course offerings in the areas of social science and the humanities which, although they may have some utility in terms of providing inmates with new insights into who they are and what they may become (Ayers, 1975), the courses have very little applicability in terms of realistic job options.

DeMuro (1976) suggests that greater emphasis be given to degree programs in areas such as business, marketing, and communications. Ayers (1975) reported that caseworkers in his sample felt that more para-professional, two-year associates degree programs should be offered in fields such as health (dental and

medical technicians), business (accounting, business management, data processing), and engineering technology (air conditioning, industrial engineering, tool and dye making). Adams (1973a) also stated that evaluations of the San Quentin Prison Project also indicated that two-year programs were more feasible than four-year programs. All of this points to the necessity of a comprehensive needs assessment of what jobs really are available in a given community, especially for the ex-offender. Credentialing programs should then be tailored to train people in the areas identified through such an assessment.

Once appropriate areas of concentration are established, provisions must be made to assure the transferability of credits and continuity of program offerings, both while the student is incarcerated and after he is released (Davis, 1973; McCollum, 1975).

In prison, only a limited number of courses can be offered and they must be basic ones in order to attract sufficient enrollment (Wooldridge, 1976). In the selection of course offerings, the college must consider both the needs of the men/women previously in the program and the needs of new students (Willets, 1971). This often leads to frustration for long-term prisoners, because there are often limited opportunities for them to go on to advanced work (Wooldridge, 1976). More efficient sequencing of courses is needed to maximize use and minimize overlap (Ayers, 1975).

A second critical issue in the area of program design is

that of the selection of students. According to Wooldridge (1976), participants in post-secondary programs are often selected on the basis of such factors as time remaining in sentence, security clearance, and the nature of the offense, rather than on the basis of motivation and academic abilities.

Often, potential selectees are not aware of what educational opportunities are available and what the criteria are for admission to programs. They are frequently poorly advised, if they are advised at all, as to the relevance of each option to their personal long-range needs (Washington State Board . . . , 1972). Marsh (1973b) comments on the lack of thorough pre-admission testing of applicants for information on intelligence, achievement level, and personality characteristics. Selection procedures must be investigated to assure that they are general enough to allow maximum participation, but specific enough to prevent continuous failure.

Staff for post-secondary programs is usually provided by nearby colleges and universities. Two aspects of staff selection, identified as issues in the literature, are the quality of instructors and their desire to teach courses in an institutional setting (Ayers, 1975; Kerle, 1976).

According to DeMuro (1976):

Another area of concern that is difficult to document but is happening is the "giving away" of grades. Many professors do not make the same demands of the inmate student as they do their "regular" students. Their motivation is understandable but in the long run it only hurts the inmate. An inmate, upon release, may pursue his education only to find he is not prepared to compete in college with other students. (p. 2)

Another area which has received a great deal of attention in the literature on post-secondary education is that of follow-up and follow-through after the inmate is released from prison. Reagen et al. (1973) identified a need for specific structures and procedures for helping the inmate to make the transition during the time of reintegration into the community. Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn (1975), in their evaluation of the NewGate Programs, added that there should be a system which continues to provide support to inmates, after they leave prison. In cases where a degree is earned in prison, Marsh (1973b) recommends the provision of employment placement services. Also, more and better coordination needs to be achieved between in-prison college programs and educational-release programs (Marsh, 1973b; McCollum, 1975).

D. Access to Resources and Materials

A major issue in post-secondary education for inmates is the limited access to educational resources and materials (McCollum, 1975). Several researchers (Emmert, 1976; Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1975; Wooldridge, 1976) have identified inadequate libraries, often with out-of-date materials, as a severe problem for students who are expected to do college-level work. Inadequate facilities severely limit research opportunities.

In addition, security regulations often forbid the use of certain types of materials, such as engineering drawing tools,

disecting kits, etc. This factor, coupled with the lack of available space and money to set up shops and laboratory experiences, effectively eliminates the possibility of offering many courses, including most physical sciences, within the institution (Emmert, 1976; Wooldridge, 1976).

Inmate college students are also unable to take advantage of the many on-campus resources that are available to most "regular" students. They generally can not take part in campus activities, such as lectures and field trips, and they lack access to other faculty members or professionals who may willingly share their expertise with on-campus students ("Alexander City State Junior College . . .," 1973; Black, 1975).

Obviously, it would be unrealistic to expect an institutionalized student to have access to all of the resources and materials available to "free" students. However, it has been difficult for educators who find themselves in the position of having to bring the "world" to the students, to provide their own audio-visual equipment and instructional material, and to make available those resources needed for the completion of course requirements.

Another problem in the area of resources and materials is the provision of supportive services for the college student who is incarcerated. Counseling and career counseling programs are needed. Such programs should include a thorough analysis of career goals, an assessment of current competencies, and the development of an individual career planning profile for each inmate (Washington State Board . . ., 1973). "The program

must be structured to assist the student to formulate his objectives and goals and to pursue a program which has a focus" (Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1975, p. 13).

Often there is a failure to provide a comprehensive orientation to possible courses of study for inmates upon entry into the institution. In addition, there is a lack of attention given to interpreting results of any tests that have been administered to aid the inmate in formulating an education program to meet individual needs. (Washington State Board . . . , 1972). Handbooks and descriptions of educational opportunities in a given institution are not always available for all inmates (Ayers, 1975).

In addition to general career counseling, Marsh (1973b) identified a need for an inside therapy component for the post-secondary student, to enhance his self-concept and help develop his capacity to function effectively and independently. Adams (1973a) expressed the view that there should be more attention paid to giving inmates assistance and support when they are making the transition from prison to the community. Reagen et al. (1973) identified the lack of access to student personnel services as an additional problem in this area.

Several sources have identified the inadequate experiential and academic backgrounds of inmates as an area of concern in post-secondary programs ("Alexander City State Junior College . . . , 1973; Kerle, 1977; Wooldridge, 1976). For this reason, often remedial and tutorial services need to be provided and materials must be modified to suit the prison environment. These ought not be done at the sacrifice of academic standards.

Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn (1975) have summed up the needs for supportive services in the following way:

Students must be offered the numerous resources and facilities which constitute the substance of the instructional enterprise, e.g., academic courses, special enrichment or remedial classes, tutoring, instructors, materials, counseling, therapy, operating funds, student stipends, library facilities, office and classroom space, etc. These must be of sufficient quality, number and diversity to accommodate the participants' needs and interests. In addition, the students must be provided a program structure which arranges and coordinates the program's constituent elements into a coherent and intelligent order. (p. 12)

E. Evaluation

As in all areas of correctional education, there has been insufficient evaluation and follow-up to determine the long-range effects of post-secondary programs on inmates in terms of recidivism, job opportunities, etc. (Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1975; Wooldridge, 1976). Marsh (1973b) identified three specific problems in this area. First, the goals of many post-secondary programs have not been clearly defined. Secondly, the programs are not sufficiently autonomous to withstand environmental pressures which cause frequent changes in structure and content. Finally, the scientific research methodology and objective evaluative skills of professional education have not been applied to post-secondary programs in a consistent or organized manner. In 1968, in a report for the Ford Foundation, Stuart Adams noted that his research indicated a lack of "any evidence that research on the college level program(s) was

being carried out by the prison system, or that systematic and rigorous evaluation of the effectiveness of the program(s) was a matter of concern to the prison administrator or education department supervisor" (Reagen et al., 1973, p. 260).

The NewGate programs seem to have produced the most comprehensive evaluations available (see Literature and Research Summary), but the vast majority of programs have initiated little or no attempt to conduct follow-up studies of overall program effectiveness and to enumerate objective evaluation criteria.

CHAPTER V

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

I. Definition

We believe that education has a generic value, that it should be available to everyone within and outside our prisons. In that light, rather than as "treatment", prison education may become less paternal, more liberated, and more of a joy for the teacher and the pupil. (Davis, 1973, p. 2)

Any discussion of vocational education in corrections is best introduced in the context of the overall framework of education in corrections. Few people would be at a loss to contribute to a definition of education in general, although their only expertise might be based on experiential knowledge. But, given the coupling of education and corrections, disagreement on realistic program goals and needs ensues. Until recently, the definition of vocational education in corrections was also encouraging similar debate. Current literature, however, suggests a growing consensus that vocational education ought to be separated somewhat from its identification with treatment, with rehabilitation, or as the ultimate solution to the problem of criminality. Researchers are in agreement that the inherent values of vocational education are that it provides a means for the offender to gain added skills, a tool through which he might employ his skills, and an opportunity for self-improvement.

It is generally recognized that vocational education is

education which relates training to specific occupational goals. In addition to providing training for the acquisition of isolated job skills, vocational education also encourages the development of a combination of "abilities, understandings, attitudes, work habits and appreciations which contribute to a satisfying and productive life" (Schaefer, 1968, p. 2). It is interesting to note, however, that specific methods for the acquisition of these general characteristics through vocational training are never clearly defined in the literature. This issue has only been addressed within the last five to seven years. This lack of attention to specifics, that has existed since the inception of Federal Prison Industries in 1923, has caused vocational education's practices to go unchecked and, as a result, to undergo little revision through the years.

It seems that, historically, vocational education has suffered from two misconceptions which only recent controversy has helped dispel. The first is directly related to the heritage of vocational training in corrections, which began in Elizabethian London, where "workhouses" supplied a cheap work force, sanctioned by the Crown, for private enterprise (Weissman, 1976). Although the idea spread through Europe, American labor unions prevented its growth here. Yet, residual effects of such a philosophy could be seen with the beginning of the Federal Prison Industries in this country during the 1920's.

The Federal Prison Industries have come under much criticism. Reviews of the first 20 years of the Federal Prison Industries' activities have disclosed that, during those years, inmates were

employed under the definition of training, while, in reality, prison labor was used to supply goods for state and federal government needs. Moreover, the skills learned had little correlation with marketable skills in the "free" world. Much criticism exists that Federal Prison Industries do not allow inmates to participate in other programs while employed. Although this may have been true in the past, Levy, Abram, and LaDow (1975) suggest that it is not the case today. Seventy-six percent of the institutions with industries allowed inmate participation in vocational training programs while an inmate was also working in prison industries (Levy et al., 1975). This does not take into account, however, the problems in scheduling that an inmate might encounter when trying to take part in both programs.

A second negative influence on the viable growth of a vocational education philosophy in corrections is due to the basic American belief in the Puritan work ethic. This legacy, that "work" is the very purpose of life, creating strong societal ties, good self-image, increased economic power, and a comfortable and prudent life style, was a factor in the inaccurate identification of vocational education with the means to rehabilitation. Albert Roberts (1971) states that the association of good vocational education with the reformation of the criminal is one belief that did much to strengthen the place of vocational education in prisons. Yet, it also allowed vocational education programming to continue with little or no evaluation or statement of goals, purposes, and philosophies, because the value of

vocational education was, in essence, inherent in the definition,
and, thus, taken for granted.

II. Literature and Research Summary

A lack of thorough evaluation in the past and a recognition that vocational education in correctional institutions has not received the attention that vocational education is receiving in the "free" world, has lead to new professional interest and a growing commitment to improve correctional education through research and development. "There have been or are, currently, studies of correctional vocational education in at least nine states (Arkansas, California, Delaware, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Texas, and Washington) and the Federal Bureau of Prisons" (Cronin, Whitson, Reinhart, & Keith, 1976, p. 1).

In 1968, a national seminar report on Vocational Education in Correctional Institutions recognized and addressed many of the same needs for correctional vocational education that have become growing concerns of late. These concerns recently culminated in a workshop held in Columbus, Ohio, in October 1975, for Improving Vocational Education in Corrections. The publication of the proceedings of this workshop (Cronin et al., 1976) is, to date, one of the only comprehensive overviews of the issues in the field identified by recognized leaders and practitioners. The concerns of the field were compiled through a literature search, a telephone survey of leaders and practitioners, a survey of state agencies, and the discussions of workshop participants. The planning committee steered the discussions around issues dealing with vocational education role development in corrections, meeting the needs of students, developing effective programs,

and developing cooperative approaches to vocational education in corrections. The resulting published document covers all these areas and provides an extensive list of suggestions and concerns. The document does not pretend to answer all problems in vocational education. It does seem to have gathered all the concerns that have, until now, received no concentrated expression in one major source.

Another important study in this field is the Battelle and Columbus research data, gathered in 1974, but published only within the last year. The study, by Levy, Abram, and LaDow, surveyed Vocational Preparation in U.S. Correctional Institutions under contract with the U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. This evaluation contains information from approximately 70% of all U.S. correctional institutions, both state and federal. Formal vocational training programs, prison industries, and maintenance and service assignments were assessed for their potential for vocational preparation. This study's summary disclosed that "the mail survey results and on-site interviews established that vocational preparation in correctional institutions is generally inadequate" (p. 96). In view of the concerns expressed in the past literature, this statement is not startling. However, what is noteworthy are the statistics that lead to and support this statement. These findings finally substantiate what many practitioners and evaluators have only been able to postulate.

Another relevant report is The First National Sourcebook: A Guide to Correctional Vocational Training (1973), which sup-

plies detailed information about the existing inmate training programs of 1972, covering areas such as program implementation, financing, and operation. The individual reports presented in the guide are aimed at addressing the needs of those involved with planning and operating prison programs, and collecting data on a combination of courses and programs ranging from the traditional to the unique. This book presents 400 pages of information for both planners and researchers and allows the users to gain an idea of what is happening in vocational training in corrections. This is a valuable first step in establishing the communication among program administrators that literature has identified as an important need. Although the book's preface recognizes the problem that "scientific evaluation data is not often available", each program description presents some "effectiveness evidence" by way of trainee interviews, budget and recidivism information, placement records, and other related data (p. xvi).

III. Issues

A. Funding and Administration

The quality of the programs offered, however, appears inadequate. Only 32% of the programs, by their own admission, have adequate, modern facilities with all necessary equipment in operable condition. The reasons these programs are inadequate are lack of financial support and lack of instructional commitment to reintegration through vocational preparation. 86% of the institutions spend less than 10% of the total institutional expenditures on vocational training. Only half of the directors of vocational training regard developing specific job skills as the most important goal for their programs. (Levy et al., 1975, p. 97)

Vocational education in corrections comes under the influence of a variety of state and federal legislation. The first significant legislation influencing funding and administration was in 1923, when Congress approved the establishment of the Federal Prison Industries. The Federal Bureau of Prisons and the office of Superintendent of Vocational Education and Training were established in the 1930's. This increased organization and communication and led to improvements in vocational education.

The need for additional sources of funding in correctional vocational education programs, is as constant a cry as it is elsewhere in correctional budgets. In an attempt to placate this outcry, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funding, Comprehensive Employment and Training Act support and Department of Labor dollars have been channelled into the institutions. John Armore (1976), Director of the Ex-offender Program in the National Alliance of Businessmen, feels, however, that the necessary funds are in the total correctional budget, but that

the budget must be reviewed in order to attempt to reallocate monies more appropriately. He points to a movement towards community-based incarceration as freeing more monies for vocational services. New Jersey, for example, has developed the Garden State School District for correctional facilities to provide vocational and academic training and job placement. (Armstrong, 1976).

Sylvia McCollum (1976) cites available financial assistance resources for individuals, such as the Basic Education Opportunity Grants (BEOG) program, work study programs, federally insured student loans, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration's student assistance programs, and Veterans Benefits. All of these sources are independent of the correctional institutions' budgets and give some autonomy to the serious student. McCollum suggests that there should be a movement towards developing "cooperative approaches to vocational education in corrections among all those who have a contribution to make" (p. 168). No one agency can be expected to cover all the costs of vocational education programs.

A review of the Guide to Vocational Training sourcebook, which describes a variety of correctional vocational programs in operation throughout the United States, reveals a conglomeration of funding sources. The most common of these are the State Departments of Education, the State Departments of Corrections, the State Departments of Vocational Rehabilitation, CETA, LEAA, and the Office of Economic Opportunity ("The First National Sourcebook . . . , 1973). It is also understood that, by funnelling

state money through the proper channels, the funds can be increased through federal matching or multiplying amounts.

The federal legislation deliniating funding and the dissemination of such funds is important, financially, to the correctional vocational education programs, but it also provides a constant which helps to regulate standards in vocational education. The Vocational Rehabilitation Administration was established as a state-federal undertaking in 1920 to aid handicapped Americans. Legislation in the 1960's identified criminals as handicapped, thus opening up new areas of influence (Switzer, 1973). The Vocational Education Act of 1963 increased available budget for programs by allocating 10% of federal monies supplied to states to vocational education research and teacher training, with special emphasis on the disadvantaged. Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 required that 25% of all federal funds given to vocational education programs in a state go to disadvantaged persons. LEAA and CETA/Manpower funds, channelled through state planning agencies, provide additional monies for new materials and programs. Even private industry and the National Alliance of Businessmen are providing training materials and/or funding (Feldman, 1975; "The First National Sourcebook . . . , 1973).

Yet it is this very multiplicity of sources and uncertainty of contrived funding, that the literature suggests is a problem in vocational education planning and programming. Due to a saturation of short-term programs, tailored to last as long as the money, states cannot provide a constant and effective format in their vocational education programs. In addition, the need

to search for, attract, and retain funding often causes the administrator to design programs to meet the availability of funds at the given moment. The constant pressure to respond to such availability of funds creates vocational programs which lack continuity, defies most attempts at course sequencing, and frustrates inmate and administrator alike, as they attempt to adjust to the demands of a particular fiscal year's funding.

An additional funding problem, unique to the area of vocational education, is that vocational training often requires the purchase of "hardware" or expensive and bulky machinery for a majority of course areas. Because of this necessary expenditure, the cost of some programs is formidable or, if hardware is eventually purchased, the original cost might be a factor in keeping the program in operation longer than the hardware's proven effectiveness or beyond the labor market's demands for such skills (Weissman, 1976). The cost to update equipment is frequently prohibitive.

On the whole, the Battelle-Columbus study (Levy et al., 1975) contends that it is actually not a confusion of funding sources, but a general lack of funds for vocational training that is causing the most recent problems. Yet, the wording of this report leaves room to believe that it is the administrative allocation of total budget funds that causes the problem.

Institutions with vocational training programs spend on the average less than seven percent of their total budget on vocational training. This level of training is inadequate, and results in many program deficiencies. Prison industries, and maintenance and operation activities are usually organized to operate as cost-saving adjuncts to the institution, and not as rehabilitation activities. (p. 99)

As well as being a low financial priority in the correctional spectrum (Cornelson, 1976), vocational education is secondary to a host of other interests. It is recognized that when education and security come into conflict, security is the priority concern. Moreover, Reagen et al. (1973) and other researchers have revealed that correctional officers are often threatened by, and jealous of, education or training programs offered to inmates. Since five out of every 10 persons employed in correctional institutions are guards (McCollum, 1973), the priorities weigh even more heavily against the educator.

Lee Roy Black (1976) relates that educators are too often involved in administrative power struggles, since most states do not give the control and guidance of the correctional vocational education programs to the professional educator. One concern, cited by the Ohio Vocational Workshop, was this threat to the quality of education from administrative struggles.

Philosophical conflicts in corrections sometimes result in incongruent situations for educators and custodial officers . . . The educator's role in corrections needs to be made clear; it sometimes conflicts with the "security" role. (Cronin et al., 1976, p. 6)

B. Nature of Correctional Institutions

One other element of great importance in considering the potential benefit of vocational education for offenders . . . is the environment in which such instruction must take place. . . . The custody-oriented institution is not a particularly good place for offering vocational education because it results in a debilitating prison atmosphere. . . . In hostile environments, inmates fear for personal safety and suffer humiliating loss of privacy and must undergo severe disciplinary restriction for the sake of administrative and custodial expediency. In such an environment, inmates exercise none of the responsibilities which form an integral part of life outside the institution. (Cornelson, 1976, pp. 86-87)

The key word in the above passage is responsibility. In the world of work, employers often rank responsibility-related skills of greater importance than specific vocational skills (Dickover, Maynard, & Painter, 1970). Most importantly, it is obvious that one is of little use without the other. Yet, the transition from an institution of forced work habits and little need for budgeting skills, to outside, productive employment, is a difficult one for most inmates (McCollum, 1973). Since most traditional institutions attend to the inmate's daily needs, he is not given the opportunity to develop the skills to think, act, and work responsibly. Reflected in a criminal's removal from society is an inability to perform responsibly, and yet his institutional stay may return him to society with an even greater deficiency in this area.

Because the structure of most correctional institutions is patterned after the 1819 Auburn Model of cells and cell blocks, for isolation and inspired penitence, little space has been allocated for vocational education needs (Weissman, 1976). Even if

the space can be provided, the very isolation of the vocational program from the community and the labor world defeats the effectiveness of relevant training (see the section on Program Design). This is why current researchers are contending that without constant contact with outside changes and innovations, the program can only hope to be second best (Reagen et al., 1973; Whitson, 1976). Since the cost of hardware in vocational training is prohibitive to an already over-taxed educational budget in corrections, much of this hardware should be accessed from community and business training programs. Working and training situations in prisons can not hope to approximate those in the community (Whitson, 1976), given the confines of strictly defined space requirements and the hierarchy of other priorities.

Vocational education programs often place the needs of the institution before the needs of the inmate (Glick, 1976). McCollum (1976) suggests that the institutional needs pose special problems, but they are not unsolvable. The educator must realize the importance of security in a correctional setting, and that the correctional staff understand the need for "appropriate space and equipment" in order to establish an effective vocational education program. She recommends, in addition, an appropriate allocation of student time be given to class. Respect should be given to the student's schedule, which should only be interrupted when the situation warrants.

This recognition, that the inmate's allocated time for education is being unfairly interrupted by the differing demands of other correctional staff members, is a concern echoed in much of

the literature. Although the incarcerated student is a "forced" participant by nature of his sentence, the fact that education has such a low priority in correctional politics makes it prey to repeated interruptions from a variety of sources.

It is interesting to note that Levy's study (1975) related the physical adequacy of the institution to the richness of its programs. Experience supports the conclusion that the more adequate the physical facility, the wider the range of vocational programs, since these, more often than other education programs, have specific space requirements. "It is unlikely that a program can be maintained in an institution unless space is allocated, furnished, and supplied for that specific purpose" (Levy et al., 1975, p. xii).

C. Program Design

The literature reveals that program design is the area of greatest concern in correctional vocational education. Researchers continually speak to the need for an effective delivery system. This system must be viable within the framework of a correctional system which is depersonalizing by nature (Cornelson, 1976). Although there are a variety of issues in this area, this paper will deal only with those issues most consistently cited in research as areas for concern.

Roberts (1971), Feldman (1974), Whitson (1976), and others constantly point out that vocational education programming has to be responsive to the needs of the inmate population which it serves. They have identified the lack of accurate needs assessment

in most correctional institutions before planning or implementing a vocational program as an area of primary concern. The areas for assessment, defined by the literature, should cover inmate achievement levels, needs, aptitudes, and desires. The broad range of abilities and interests among the inmate population makes this assessment necessary.

Statistics have identified the average offender as lacking a large number of basic skills. These skill deficiencies might be apparent in differing concentrations among state, region, and institution, and must be assessed in order to establish any program that would be responsive to those needs. Sylvia Feldman has said: "No program should be designed in isolation, that is, without a clear idea of whom it will serve. Otherwise, there is a danger that the program will become the right program for the wrong students" (Feldman, 1974, p. 23).

Funding has, in the past, determined program development. The experts argue that program development is a viable concern only if the development of programs addresses the needs it attempts to serve. Therefore, added to the information base gathered from inmate needs assessment must be an accurate knowledge of the labor needs of the local community, since most criminals are housed in the state and region to which they will be released (Levy et al., 1975). Their vocational skills and training programs should be flexible enough to accommodate the changing demands of labor. DeMuro (1976) and others have argued that programs must be kept consistent with job market needs. Martinson's 1975 study of correctional education's effect on recidivism



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1 OF 2

indicated this also by revealing "the importance of having vocational training programs and work experience in institutions geared to the job opportunities that are available for offenders" (Carpenter, 1976, p. 70).

In 1970, the United States President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation reported that limited job opportunities and difficult employment routines are barriers to ex-offenders seeking jobs. Their suggestions go beyond assessing the needs of the current job market. In order to keep vocational education viable, they recommend a study of projected labor needs and the development of programs in response to these needs. In 1972, the Department of Labor began developing data on projected job market demands.

The U.S. President's Task Force (1971) also cited the need for skill training standards development and recommended industrial contracting to assure that the training was equivalent to that received in a non-prison program. McCollum (1972), however, has criticized prison education for often imitating the worst of public school models. The literature has accused correctional vocational education programs of offering mundane and routine skills comparable to shop skills of public high schools. Clearly, the offender has greater need for marketable skills after release than he had before, in order to "outweigh" his record. To help assure marketable skills, the program should provide adequate entry-level skill training (DeMuro, 1976).

In the area of program implementation, the experts recognize the need for continually updated teacher training that is

related to work in corrections (Ayers, 1975). Research indicates that teachers still use traditional methods of teaching, despite the inmate's history of failure. Ken Kerle (1973) points to the need for a correctional education major in graduate and/or undergraduate school. He notes that the calibre of teaching must be raised and that higher wages, to attract the more competent teacher, should be offered. In vocational training, this competency is essential. Currently, a vocational instructor can command a much higher salary through actual work in his field, than by teaching in a correctional institution.

Another area often cited as needing additional attention in correctional education, is the area of student selection and placement. Although pre-testing is done in some institutions to determine a broad range of aptitude, experience, achievement level, and needs, a more concentrated effort must be made to relate the student's background and ability with the program selected, so that the program does not become another source of frustration for the inmate (Roberts, 1971). He may be repeating skills, or lacking the basic skills to successfully understand the vocational training, if accurate testing and counselling are not available.

Careful student selection requires both sensitivity and courage: The sensitivity to choose, on the basis of relatively limited knowledge, those for whom the program genuinely serves a need, and the courage to choose students who are "risks", who might indeed fail. (Feldman, 1974, p. 23)

Vocational programs, according to Roberts (1971), must be paired with the inmates who can most benefit from them.

Inmates in correctional institutions are generally below the

national average in achievement scores and amount of education (Dell'Apa, 1973). Therefore, "some vocational education programs are doomed to failure by virtue of the percentages of illiterate participants" (Ayers, 1975, Appendix B, p. 6). Researchers (Ayers, 1975; Reagen et al., 1973) are asking that the special learning and behavioral problems of inmates be recognized. Along with Marsh (1973c), McCollum (1973), Whitson (1976), and others, they are asking for an integrated curriculum design composed of various components of social, academic, and vocational skills. This developing theory in correctional vocational education is introduced in practice in Whitson's Maryland Model (1976). This model suggests that "education and vocational training are viewed as a comprehensive system whose parts are interrelated" (p. 23). John Marsh (1973c) has said that correctional education must "recognize and effectively deal with all of the components of its environment and with all of the characteristics of its clients" (p. 20).

Vocational training offers an immediate prospect for success. Acquisition of a specific skill is a more visible reward than the long range goals of general education (Purcell, 1970). It offers, a chance for employment upon release. These potential rewards contribute to the motivational factors which attract and maintain student involvement in the program. There is a movement away from forced vocational training programs, to voluntary, incentive-based programs (Braithwaite, 1976), since these are believed to be more effective. In the area of motivation, vocational education programs are somewhat successful because they give the immediate

prospect for success. According to a Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education survey (Dell'Apa, 1973), vocational programs in correctional institutions draw the greatest number of enrollments and have the greatest percentage of program offerings.

A final issue identified by the research in correctional vocational education program design is the need for social education courses to be combined with vocational training courses. Researchers feel that we often equate vocational training or skill acquisition with rehabilitation, without changing an inmate's basic attitudes about himself or others. An inmate is released without job-getting skills, without an awareness of what jobs are available to him, and without a knowledge of what community contacts might aid him in seeking employment (Reagen et al., 1973). According to most experts, consumer education, employment skills, and communication skills are essential for a return to a basically "social" world (DeMuro, 1976). The Windham School District of the Texas Department of Corrections, in response to this need, offers a "Reality Adjustment Program" (RAP), in which vocational students may participate. The curriculum involves 16 weeks of techniques in problem solving (Texas Department of Corrections . . .).

Any attempt to assist students, particularly students in correctional institutions, must contain a component of instructional content dealing with the personal problems of attitudes and behavior that jeopardize the individual's opportunity to share in the affluency created by the industrial technology of our time. (Johnson, 1973, p. 210)

D. Access to Resources and Materials

Although considerable attention has been given to the concept of community corrections in recent years, only four percent of the inmates participate in work release programs, and an additional .05% participate in vocational training programs outside of the institutions. (Levy et al., 1975, p. iii)

Unfortunately, the traditional prison walls have served not only to keep the offender inside, but to keep the community outside. The correctional facility is divorced from one of its most valuable resources--the people and materials that surround it. A growing realization--that community contact can help the correctional facility both financially and programmatically--has led to a repeated demand by writers in vocational education studies (Kerle, 1977; McCollum, 1968, 1975; Reagen et al., 1973; Roberts, 1971; Weissman, 1976; Whitson, 1976) that prisoner programs develop a continuity into the community. Whitson describes it as the commitment which the educational community, in general, must fulfill to corrections. These contacts help vocational education programs avoid antiquated materials, machinery, and skills and unqualified instructors. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) suggested "affirmative legislation to ensure full utilization of community resources . . . [and] expansion of work-release programs and release to seek employment or educational placement" (Morse, 1976, p. 586). Massachusetts institutions, for example, have the use of their community Vocational-Technical schools.

With this enhanced use of community resources, the concern of providing viable on-the-job work experiences and work release

programs for the offender could be more easily addressed. Levy et al. (1975) reports that 66% of the institutions surveyed did not have a citizen's advisory committee to keep the vocational training relevant and assist in finding jobs. Furthermore, only 30% allowed regular inmate dismissal and only 33% gave tours to business personnel to update technique and materials. Moreover, only 7% of the institutions had all three types of commercial contracts available (p. vi) and only one out of five institutions used a training plan to combine both on- and off-the-job training (p. vii).

The Federal Bureau of Prisons, in their booklet entitled Education for Tomorrow (1976), expressed the need for a strengthened relationship between training and employment in order to provide the offender with both a chance to regain his confidence in dealing with society and a chance to practice his specific skills. A growing number of institutions allow inmates release time to attend vocational training programs, improve vocational skills, and seek employment while still incarcerated. More than one-third of the states allowed inmates this release time as of March 1972 (Morse, 1976). According to Levy et al. (1975), "30% of the trainees are assigned to unrelated work activities, or are returned to the general institutional population for the remainder of their stay" (p. vi). Apprenticeship programs also provide such on-the-job practice and are currently used by the Federal Bureau of Prisons in their training programs. The literature, however, reveals that this combination of theoretical and practical skills experience is still rare.

Kerle (1973) and Weissman (1976) advocate that, in return for accessing the materials of a community, the community should be able to access the prison and its programs, thus opening lines for communication, enhancing public relations, and turning the correctional institution into what Weissman called a "community resource" (Weissman, 1976, p. 80).

However, the lack of integration with the community, identified by McCollum (1968), Whitson (1976), and Reagen et al. (1973), has created a specific issue in vocational education, believed vital to the success of most programs. The evaluative studies and literature on correctional vocational education reveal that very few supportive post-release services are available within the communities at large, and very few vocational programs offer their own, out-of-the-institution, placement center with vocational staff, industrial contacts, and community commitments guaranteeing what Reagen et al. call a "free world" counterpart for the institutional training. Such extension services are scarce. The Volkswagen Job Entry Program, involved at both state and national levels of correctional training, found that the most difficult part of their program plan was "obtaining support from local dealerships to allow participants to work in actual Volkswagen shops" (Gastauer, 1976, p. 1).

The consensus seems to be that communication between the "free" world and the "correctional" institution is poor. The Ohio Vocational Workshop of 1975 cited a lack of "articulation of educational credits from correctional education programs to those in the 'free world'" (Cronin et al., 1976, p. 7). Thus,

courses completed by the offender in the institution are difficult to transfer into the "free" world, due to the fact that skill expectations in correctional vocational education have not yet been standardized. Levy et al. (1975) established that "only 61% enrolled in vocational training will complete all phases of training" (p. vi).

E. Evaluation

Continually, the writers in correctional education must end a well-presented argument with a statement similar to the following: "Follow-ups are rare, and the success of a program is often judged on subjective criteria alone" (Feldman, 1975, p. 28).

Even though researchers realize the necessity of a methodology for evaluation, there is still an incredible shortage of such evaluations. Objective evaluations are not only instrumental in determining the effectiveness of a given program, but they can eventually direct funding for new programs (Roberts, 1971). They can also validate the job market needs and the applicability of program training to those needs (Levy et al., 1975).

Researchers, such as Levy et al., suggest that all vocational programs should be reviewed and accredited by an outside agency. Yet, over 40% of the programs surveyed had not received such review (p. vi). "Less than half of the institutions have an organized program for following up released or paroled inmates who have had vocational training to find out whether the training was useful in getting and keeping a job" (p. vi).

These evaluations must include objective measurements of more than just recidivism rates. Robert Martinson (1974) suggested that "we have been able to draw very little on any systematic empirical knowledge about the success or failure that we have met when we have tried to rehabilitate offenders" (p. 22). This lack of a systematic and comprehensive review of vocational education programs prompts most researchers to agree that we must develop a standard for evaluation, with "a careful attention to specification of the criteria of effectiveness. It is foolhardy to evaluate correctional education in terms of recidivism rates" (Ryan, 1976, p. 1).

This issue, which has not yet been approached effectively, even though there is a voluminous number of recommendations for evaluations in the literature, was concisely addressed by the National Advisory Commission in 1973. Their report clearly identified the need for critical examinations of vocational and educational programs to "insure that these programs meet standards that emphasize on-going and comprehensive individualized education and training" (ECS, 1976b, p. 4).

F. The Needs of Women in Correctional Vocational Education

The issues identified in correctional vocational education for male institutions are equally as important in most female institutions. However, Ruth Glick, Director of the National Study on Women's Correctional Programs, points out that women have special needs which are, as yet, unmet by vocational education, although the possibility for providing special programs is not a difficult one. Her study (Glick & Neto, 1976) confirms the existence of suspected prejudice in vocational training programs for women. The research reveals that most correctional training programs for women showed definite sex discrimination by offering courses traditionally associated with the "female" identity. Traditional "women's work" is in clerical areas, nursing, food services, cosmetology, etc. These, according to the study, were the program areas consistently offered for women. Moreover, one institution did offer computer-related training to the women inmates, but Glick and Neto note that the male program at a counterpart institution was more complex.

It seems that Glick's findings in corrections mirror a traditional sex bias in much of the "free" world's attitudes about women and work. In an address before the vocational workshop at Columbus in 1975, Glick identified three biases, stating that they affect the woman offender more seriously because she must return to society with a record, a low-employability status by virtue of her sex, and, often, a job as a full-time mother. She has these additional problems with which to cope, and yet, she

returns to freedom less prepared than the male. This inadequate preparation is likely to continue because of the low number of incarcerated female offenders, the general opinion that they are less threatening to society, and the outmoded belief that they will marry to become economically stable. These have traditionally caused administrators to ignore women, feeling that they have less "need" for vocational training (Glick, 1976, p. 121).

Euphesenia Foster was coordinator of the women's activities in prisons during International Women's Year, 1975. This year was designed to call attention to the needs of women offenders and encourage a balanced system of supportive services. She addressed the specific problems of incarcerated women during the Ohio Vocational Education Workshop. The first significant problem is the lack of attention given the female offender. Foster (1976) also noted that the number of incarcerated women is less than that of incarcerated men and their average sentence is shorter than that of most men. This causes difficulty in program planning for women. Foster identified that the use of women in institutional maintenance with little or no pay was posed as "work experience". These activities were mainly dish-washing, cooking, and lawn-mowing activities. Foster also accused prison industries of usurping inmate time. Women are frequently not paid for participation in vocational education programs, while they do receive minimal wages in prison industries. When presented with a choice between the two, women frequently sacrifice learning a skill for the remuneration offered by prison industries. She concludes with the statistic that two out of every five

persons in the labor force over 16 years of age are women. Women, moreover, have statistically as great a need to work as men.

A recent ECS report (Morse, 1976) cites studies on the female offender which reemphasize the claims of Glick and Foster that women do not get educational and vocational opportunities equivalent to those offered to the male offender in correctional institutions. Women in corrections have been neglected because of their non-threatening characteristics and because there are fewer of them. Therefore, the female offender population does not receive financial support comparable to that given to the male population.

An evaluation of Vocational Training at the California Institution for Women, conducted in 1968 by Spencer and Berecochea, pointed to findings that reflect the basic issues in vocational education for both men and women. The study mentioned that the quality of training did not effectively advance inmate skills, cited a lack of placement services on parole, and stated that minor parole problems effected continued employment. Although the overall summary found no correlation between job training and increased employment opportunities, the study did not take into account the marketability of the skills offered in the vocational training programs. The career areas in which there were the greatest percentage of hiring were often jobs held in low esteem. These jobs might have offered more employment possibilities because they were considered applicable to women with records. Interestingly, the course offerings also showed a definite sex

bias and were offered in some areas where training skills would be at a minimum. Examples of areas offered were housekeeping, sewing, ceramics, and laundry (Spencer & Berecochea, 1968). By virtue of these course types and low esteem job offerings, the necessary motivation for real inmate involvement might have been lacking and, therefore, may have contributed to the failure of adequate correlation between employment rates and job training.

Although the lesser numbers of women in correctional institutions has also caused a dearth of evaluative materials in the field, the Glick and Neto (1976) study is a comprehensive analysis of existing programs for women. Actually, the smaller numbers and the less violent characteristics of the female offender might be an advantage in further program experimentation and evaluation. Given the average smaller size of women's correctional institutions, implementing new programs might be made easier.

Whatever future changes might occur, the literature demands that the woman offender can no longer be ignored, no longer be stereotyped by profession, no longer receive the second-best in programming, and no longer be last on the financial budget. The implications are that the minimum of opportunities which women offenders have received in the past, in comparison with the male population nationwide, must no longer be merely a statistic for the balance of evaluative records. "70 - 90% of incarcerated females 'will have to become self-supporting upon release'" (Morse, 1976, p. 13). Viable and valuable vocational education programs must be designed with the woman offender in mind.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL EDUCATION

I. Definition

Several researchers (Ayers, 1975; Baker, 1973; Nagel, 1976; Roberts, 1971; 1973; Vukevich, 1973) have identified the area of social education as a critical area in correctional education. Roberts (1971) defines social education as those classes which focus on "re-orienting the inmate with norms and socially acceptable behavior patterns of free society" (p. 130). Baker expands upon this definition by stating that it is "an organized effort to furnish factual information to the individual in those areas of social and emotional interaction in which his past faulty attitudes have caused him difficulty and to suggest methods by which he can effect a more satisfying and socially acceptable way of living" (p. 241).

According to J. D. Ayers (1975), the therapy and casework components in an institution can not be expected to meet the inmates' needs in this area because they "imply a medical model and are overly concerned with questions of personal relationships and are therefore inward rather than outward looking. It would be healthier and more effective to use social education programs for the discussion of personal and vocational problems" (p. 9).

Most programs in the area of social education concentrate on helping inmates to gain a better understanding of themselves,

to develop realistic self-concepts, to improve inter-personal relationship skills, and to cope with problems they will face in society as consumers, family members, wage earners, and responsible citizens (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1976). In general, they try to help inmates bridge "the gap between the dependency and regimentation of institutionalization, and release into the technologically advanced, impersonal, anomic society of the 20th century" (Roberts, 1973, p. 235).

II. Literature and Research Summary

Very little substantive research has been found on the subject of social education. Many researchers (Adams, 1973b; Ayers, 1975; Campbell, 1973; McCorkle, 1973; Reagen et al., 1973; Roberts, 1971, 1973; Smith, 1969) have identified such programs as a crucial aspect of inmate education. However, much of the literature focuses attention on only one or two aspects of social education.

The majority of the surveyed literature consists of a broad discussion of the need for social education and presents general ideas in the area of proposed program content. The remaining literature describes individual programs. In all of the research found there is a lack of attention to specific issues and insufficient data relating to evaluation methodologies. The one substantive evaluation which was available (The Community Re-integration Centers of Ohio, 1st and 2nd year evaluations) dealt with community social education programs for "technical parole violators, heavily dependent residents of halfway houses, and selected probation violators" (Beran, McGruder, & Allen, 1974, p. 1) and did not discuss such programs for institutionalized offenders.

III. Issues

A. Funding and Administration

Although this area has not specifically been addressed in the literature surveyed, it would appear that the same problems would exist in terms of availability and accessibility of funding sources in social education programs as have been identified in respect to other areas of correctional education. Perhaps the lack of reference to this issue is directly related to the general disagreement as to what place social education programs should hold in the total context of the institutional structure. It is variously suggested that social education programs be part of treatment, be integrated into the secondary programs, be offered in the context of post-secondary courses, or be provided in the form of re-entry or pre-release programs. Funding sources and administration would be determined by this placement.

B. Nature of Correctional Institutions

While there may be growing agreement regarding the importance of social education, the very nature of the correctional system and its clear division of roles between "treatment" and "education" has precluded any consensus of opinion of what specific social skills should be taught and who should teach them. This confusion of roles and continued conflict between the two groups, treatment and education, is a critical issue (Reagen et al., 1973; Martin, 1973).

This difficulty is further compounded by the fact that social education programs are future and release orientated, attempting to help the inmates develop skills to be applied in the free-choice, open society of "the street". That such programs are attempted in the security-conscious atmosphere of the prison may well confound any success, since the world of the cell block rarely requires that such skills should be used nor offers the opportunity for them to be practiced (Cornelson, 1976; Marsh, 1973c).

It is generally considered that such social education programs should be a common, interlocking, basis for all programs, certainly within the educational efforts and hopefully unifying treatment and education. However, if we only consider the educational effort, we rarely find such integration for most programs are self-supporting, separately funded, and often separately administered. This disparity within correctional education programs does not readily lend itself to such cooperative ventures (Marsh & Adams, 1973).

A judgment regarding curriculum and program of correctional education is that it is too heavily weighted in terms of product rather than process, and it is fragmented in that the several elements...academic, psycho-social and vocational, correspondence and residence, pre- and post-secondary ..are separated and kept from being a synergistic [sic] whole. (Marsh, 1973c)

C. Program Design

Despite all the agreement expressed in the literature about the importance of social education programs, there is no

consensus as to how such skills should be offered. Some researchers (Adams, 1973b; Campbell, 1973; McCorckle, 1973) have equated social education with therapy, either individual or group. Roberts (1973) suggests that social education skills should be an integral part of the regular correctional education program, and that different aspects should be taught in the context of subject areas. Still other programs provide these skills in the context of post-secondary courses in humanities, social sciences, or human development programs. However such skills are offered, there appears to be general agreement that social education can not take place in a vacuum. For this reason, many programs have taken the form of re-entry support systems or community reintegration centers so that the inmate is given an opportunity to apply, on a daily basis, the skills he is learning.

Another issue in the area of program design is that of staff training and sensitivity to inmate needs in this area.

Reagen et al. (1973) state that:

A focus on attitudinal or affective training may call for teachers with special skills and possibly special characteristics. It will also undoubtedly call for inclusion of measurement of job attitudes and interpersonal skills in the diagnosis process and in the research designs of the educational evaluation unit. (p. 275)

There is a need in social education programs for clearly defined objectives which are interpreted to both staff and inmates and for staff acceptance of the principles of the program (Baker, 1973).

D. Access to Resources and Materials

Materials acquisition has not been identified in the literature as a problem in the area of social education. This may be due, in part, to the fact that little or no hardware is needed to present skills that are covered in these programs. There is a scarcity of software available in this area because social education is a newly emerging concern. Of that which is available, cost is generally not prohibitive.

E. Evaluation

Perhaps the most significant issue in the area of social education is the lack of any comprehensive evaluation. The most extensive effort to date in this area has been the evaluation of Ohio's Community Reintegration Centers (Beran et al., 1973, 1974). Specific issues addressed in this study were staff development, program design and implementation, effects of the program on the residents (participants), and cost effectiveness.

Although this project is not concerning itself with community programs, the above study is mentioned because it is felt that similar research is needed for institution-based social education programs.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

This paper has presented the major issues in the area of adult correctional education programs. The discussion has been limited to federal and state institutions which provide educational programs for both male and female inmates. The issues associated with the five major types of educational programs have been explored. These five programs were:

- . Adult Basic Education
- . Secondary Education and the General Education Development (GED) Test
- . Post Secondary Education
- . Vocational Education
- . Social Education

The issues associated with each of the five areas were identified by a review of relevant literature and research, and through communication with acknowledged experts in the field. In order to organize the presentation of issues associated with the program types listed, each program was examined from five different aspects:

- A. Funding and Administration
- B. Nature of the Institution
- C. Program Design
- D. Access to Resources and Materials
- E. Evaluation

The following issues were identified as being common to all programs to a greater or lesser extent.

A. Funding and Administration

Issue 1. Conflict between those external agencies responsible for the administration of educational programs for inmates

This issue seems to have its roots in the fact that there are usually several agencies within each system which have some responsibility for providing educational programs for inmates. These may include, but are not limited to, the State Departments of Education and Welfare, the State Department of Corrections, several local institutions of higher education and local public school systems. While this has been ameliorated to some extent by a centralized or regionalized administration in the Federal System and within some states, most sources see this as a principle issue.

Issue 2. Conflict between administrators within the prison

Most authorities indicate that this issue is an outcome of the fact that critical administrative and policy-making decisions relative to educational programming are made by those who are most concerned with security.

Issue 3. Lack of comprehensive planning to provide long term funding, development and integration of educational programs

This issue is an inevitable result of Issues 1 and 2 and,

to some extent, of those which follow. It is both caused and compounded by the facts that educational programming has a relatively low priority within the correctional institution and that it lacks credibility in the eyes of both security and other treatment staff.

Issue 4. Lack of adequate funding

While an issue common to corrections as a whole, there seems to be some justification for the argument that education may be in need of some additional funding. This appears to be particularly true if the problems of outdated equipment, inappropriate instructional material, and lack of supportive services are to be addressed.

Issue 5. Diverse sources of "soft" funding

The number of federal and state agencies which provide funds for correctional education under varied auspices are numerous, so numerous, in fact, that considerable administrative manipulation, time and effort is consumed in seeking them out, fulfilling the requirements, completing proposals and tailoring programs to fit their guidelines. As funds are usually granted for relatively short periods and are subject to change on at least an annual basis, their "soft" status adds considerable uncertainty to administrator, teacher and inmate. They are also often part of a state wide allocation and as such require correctional educators to lobby for their share.

Issue 6. Lack of knowledge of the availability and requirements of funding

The correctional education administrator is not always knowledgeable about the various sources of funds within state and federal appropriations. If the administrator does have such knowledge she or he may not have the power, the skill, the personnel, or the time to seek out such funds and consequently is restricted to funds allocated to the program under appropriations over which he or she may have no control.

B. Nature of the Institution

Issue 7. Conflict between the contradictory philosophies espoused by custodial and treatment personnel

This difference in attitude is of long standing and an accurate reflection of the prevailing attitudes within the society-at-large. This issue, however, is compounded by the relatively wide, and acknowledged, rift between the treatment and education modalities within prisons. The outcomes of this "triangulation" are lack of communication, some hostility, internal competition for funds and lack of an integrated treatment plan which includes educational objectives.

Issue 8. Low priority of the educational program within the institution

A direct outcome of issue seven has been a lack of adequate assignment of space, staff and materials. In addition, there is a widely reported lack of cooperation and

understanding among non-educational and educational staff within the institution, making educational activities seem more susceptible to interruption than any other institutional activity. These both attest and contribute to education's low priority status within the institutional framework.

Issue 9. Limitation of educational opportunities by lack of contact with outside world

Community resources and experiences normally available to those enrolled in all levels of education programs in the community are almost non-existent in the correctional institution program. This makes implementation of an effective vocational, social or post secondary education program particularly difficult because such "external" resources and experiences are invaluable.

Issue 10. Lack of incentives and use of coercion

The inmate is often put at a disadvantage when enrolling in an educational program. Frequently he is embarking upon a venture at which he has previously failed. The financial rewards for participation in education programs within the infra-structure of the prison are often lower than those for any of the alternative activities he could choose. The availability of educational programs may be restricted to the evenings when more attractive alternatives are available. An inmate's efforts in a program are not always reinforced by his inmate peer group. However, in spite of these negative forces, he may be coerced, albeit subtly, into attending class

by the suggestion that such attendance will look good on his parole or commutation application.

Issue 11. Hostility of security staff toward education programs

Security staff are often resentful of free educational opportunities made available to "criminals" since they or their families have never had the opportunity to avail themselves of such free opportunities. Moreover, their education and that of their families may have cost them dearly. This issue seems to be particularly critical in times of general economic hardship such as those experienced in recent years. This attitude on the part of the security staff is often manifested by a lack of enthusiasm for the efforts of the correctional educator. It may also result in an indirect "sabotage" of some programs.

C. Program Design

Issue 12. Courses not part of an integrated program

Many of the courses presented appear to be islands unto themselves rather than being part of a planned educational program which in turn is part of an integrated treatment plan. This ad hoc approach has little, if any, meaning to the inmate and has no relevance to his needs upon release.

Issue 13. Lack of specificity in the design of a course

This parallels the Issue 12. Many courses have no specific goals in mind and no adequate pre and post assessment. They often reflect the worst of the public school offerings in which

the inmate has already experienced failure and which may have little meaning for him either presently or in the future.

Issue 14. Inadequate procedures and criteria for student selection for, and placement in, appropriate educational programs

There is distinct support for the view that the procedures by which students are selected for, and placed in correctional education programs are, at best, inadequate. The instruments used are often inappropriate, invalid and badly administered. The criteria for placement in programs often include availability, time remaining on sentence, number required to complete minimal class roster, whim of counselor or lack of any alternative.

Issue 15. Lack of adequate support services, especially after release

In order that educational programming is carried out to the inmates' benefit there is the need for accurate educational diagnosis, counseling, and career planning on a continuing basis. The lack of these support services is a clear issue. The literature received also indicated that such services assume critical importance immediately prior to release and particularly during the first months "on the street".

Issue 16. Poor quality of instruction and lack of specially trained teachers

This has been identified as an area of critical importance by most authorities. The special needs and circumstances of inmates require specially trained teachers with unusual

personal qualities. Such teachers are rare due to the small number of training programs specifically designed for correctional educators. The difficulties experienced in teaching in corrections have forced many good staff out of the field. The vacuum has often been filled by teachers and administrators who are inadequately trained to meet the specific educational needs of the prison population.

D. Access to Resources and Materials

Issue 17. Inadequate and anachronistic materials and machinery

This issue seems to be compounded by two factors. The nature of the typical client - an adult inmate with severely retarded academic growth - makes it difficult to find materials which are appropriate and effective for offender populations. Publishers have yet to prepare appropriate high interest and low readability texts or supplementary materials that are relevant to such populations in sufficient quantities and variety. Secondly, the relatively low budgets for correctional education often do not allow purchase of modern instructional hardware, especially in the vocational education field. Consequently much of the instruction is carried out with out-dated equipment which is hardly conducive to the attainment of skills readily marketable upon release.

Issue 18. Access to resources limited by security constraints

Many inmates cannot benefit from educational courses which

may include the use of tools, dissecting instruments, chemicals, or controversial publications. Some institutions continue to discourage the use of female instructors no matter how competent on the grounds that they are "a threat to security".

Issue 19. Lack of contact with "external" resources and personnel

As identified earlier (Issue 9), the isolation of the prison from the general community, as much by geographic location as by architectural design, means that those resources which are normally available to other educational enterprises are rarely evident in the prison classroom. Few people are willing to visit and volunteer their services in support of an educational program in an isolated correctional institution on a regular basis, and security regulations often preclude inmate participation in community offerings.

E. Evaluation

Issue 20. The lack of any rigorous and systematic evaluation

This appears to be the single most important issue. It is probably due to many reasons including:

- . The lack of any measurable objectives
- . The lack of any mandate to conduct such evaluations by funding agencies
- . The lack of research and measurement expertise in the system

- . The lack of interest by many researchers or investigators because of the lack of funds and the low priority of correctional education in the total research spectrum
- . The inability to control all the variables
- . The hostile environment of the correctional institution
- . The difficulty in establishing any sort of acceptable control group and thus to establish any sort of experimental design
- . Lack of concern for assessing the marketability of training and skills acquired which in turn is related to
- . Lack of established needs in the job market to which the inmate will return upon release
- . The extreme concerns for either security or humane treatment often preclude measurement of any specific program outcomes as possible standards for evaluation
- . Researchers are at odds about the use of recidivism rates for measuring the effectiveness of educational programs. One school of research argues that the only real evaluation of success is impact on recidivism rate, while the other maintains that any attempt to connect educational success to recidivism is unrealistic.

In addition to the common issues identified above, each type of program has its own special attendant issues. As each

of the chapters dealing with these programs is intended to stand alone, it is suggested that such issues which are unique to the topic can be found by referring back to the relevant chapter.

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