

Education in Prisons: A Developmental and Cultural Perspective

J. Douglas Ayers
University of Victoria

The author's perspectives on education in prisons is an attempt to view academic education in penal institutions from a developmental and cultural perspective. Extensive studies of exemplary programs in British, American, and Canadian prisons in 1974-75 give further justification for rejecting the medical-therapeutic and environmental-reconditioning models as models of educational growth. The model proposed here is based on the theory that many prisoners are deficient in intellectual, social, and moral development and that this deficiency in turn leads to inadequacies in their analytic problem-solving skills and in their interpersonal and social skills. A further assumption is that the criminal is more a decision maker than a victim of his environment.

L'auteur tente d'aborder la formation scolaire dans les prisons sous l'angle du développement des détenus. Des études poussées sur des programmes d'enseignement types appliqués en 1974-1975 dans des prisons britanniques, américaines, et canadiennes fournissent une nouvelle preuve de la nécessité de rejeter les modèles de correction par thérapeutique ou par intervention du milieu au profit d'un modèle de développement par l'éducation. Le modèle proposé est fondé sur la théorie qui veut que bien des détenus présentent dans leur développement intellectuel, social, et moral des déficiences qui entraînent des lacunes dans leurs relations sociales ainsi que dans leur faculté d'analyse et de résolution de problèmes. Le modèle soulève également l'hypothèse que le criminel est davantage un agent de décision qu'une victime de son milieu.

"Perspective" has as one of its meanings the capacity to view things in their true relationship or relative importance; it is in this sense that the term is used in this paper. Achievement of a definitive perspective on education in prisons is surely an overly ambitious goal, but it is hoped that even a modest essay in that direction may not be without benefits.

Perspective is achieved in various ways — by standing back, by viewing elements from several vantage points, or by considering those elements with a certain detached attitude rather than as through the eyes of one intimately involved as participant or actor in the matter under review. For obvious reasons, it is not possible to achieve complete detachment. The author, in his role as co-ordinator of the programs at the British Columbia Penitentiary and Matsqui Institution, is not a passive bystander, but maintains constant supervision of the programs while remaining apart from the day to day operations. Moreover, a great deal of the

author's perspective is based on the study of exemplary educational programs in British, American, and Canadian prisons (Ayers, 1974, 1975).

APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE INTERVENTION MODELS

Some four years ago when preparing the report for the Canadian Corrections Service on educational programs operating in selected United States prisons, the terms "corrections," "clients," "inmates," and "residents" were purposely avoided, although they were widely used at the time. These terms were considered inappropriate because they connote aberrant or deviant behavior that requires correction. They assume a medical model of criminality that has come under increasing attack, particularly since Martinson (1974), Bailey (1966), Michael (1968), Adams (1973), Younger (1974), and Clarke and Sinclair (1974) have emphasized the ineffectiveness of "rehabilitation" programs on this model. The resulting change in attitude is reflected in the following statement by John R. Manson, Commissioner of Connecticut's Department of Corrections (Cockerham, 1977):

I was going to ask the legislature this year to change the name of the department to the Department of Prisons . . . but it would cost too damn much money. . . . I've no intention of abandoning educational and vocational programs in the institutions, but I'm also not putting much hope in terms of rehabilitation. (p. 42)

At the International Conference held in Canterbury in June 1977 in recognition of the bicentary of John Howard's publication, *The State of the Prisons*, it was apparent that there was a pervading air of letdown in criminal justice circles following the high expectations of the last 10 or 20 years concerning the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs (Freeman, 1978). There is a real danger that this disappointment with research to date, together with society's clamor to be more punitive, will swing the pendulum too far, resulting in the elimination of effective as well as ineffective programs and thereby curtailing further experimentation with programs based on more appropriate models.

Over the past 20 years, most policies and practices in penal institutions have been based on the medical model, which leads to an erroneous analogy with the physician's practice of diagnosing an individual's disease, prescribing a treatment, and effecting a cure. In a similar manner, the prisoner would be cured of his illness — that is, his criminality. While the medical model has been able to label certain types of criminals such as psychopaths and dangerous or asocial offenders, there is little evidence to indicate the effectiveness of this model. Moreover, such practices as indeterminate sentences, living units, and group therapy are open to serious questioning on ethical grounds (Irwin, 1970; Johnson, 1971; Thomas, 1973; Balch, 1975).

The most fundamental limitation of medical treatment models for personality change is that they are based on the unfounded assumption that personality is consistent across situations. While historically and intuitively individuals appear to display pervasive behavior, virtually all research is discrepant with such a position (Mischel, 1968; Bem & Allen, 1974). The model also neglects to consider the prisoner independent of the institutional setting. As a consequence, programs have been prescribed for all offenders, such as the living unit concept with compulsory group counselling. One might characterize, then, the rehabilitative thrust of the last 20 years as "coercive reformation."

Much of contemporary criminological thought appears to be accepting sociological theories of causation (Reasons, 1975). In these theories it is recognized that an individual is legally culpable for certain actions, but it is believed that many societal factors, such as economic and family conditions as well as peer group pressures, affect the behavior of everyone, including those who commit criminal acts and are officially labelled "criminal." The assumption is that the criminal is a victim of social conditions and is conditioned to criminal activities. Thus, the treatment must involve reconditioning by manipulating the social conditions in the family, the peer group, and particularly the community. Community-based corrections are emerging in response to this new penology. While community work-release programs have a common sense appeal, they have not been found effective (Waldo & Chiricos, 1977).

The switch to the environmental-reconditioning model is also increasingly making inroads into the prison — for example, in the reintroduction of no work, no pay in federal prisons. Work programs have seldom been effective in the past and there is no reason to expect they will be effective now (Glaser, 1964).

One might characterize past rehabilitation efforts as going from one fad to another in reaction to political pressures or currently popular theories. Limited consideration is given to a review of past research or to the development of a rational and coherent theory in support of an innovative program. Seldom, too, is the type of prison, the prisoner, or the after care taken into consideration. Rather, each new program is applied to a part of the criminal justice system in the hope that it will offer a universal solution.

In summary, then, there have been two main theories of reformation, both derived from the social sciences. The medical models assume that most prisoners have personality defects in the form of serious maladaptive behaviors that violate the societal norms and need to be replaced by other more desirable behaviors. Treatment could be considered as coercive reformation. The reconditioning model assumes that the causes of criminality are mainly in society itself and that the criminal's inappropriate behavior has been conditioned by economic, family, and peer group pres-

tures. The treatment involves a reconditioning through manipulation of the environment.

An alternative and more tenable model to the medical-therapeutic and environmental-reconditioning models is an educational growth model. It assumes that most prisoners are deficient in certain analytic problem-solving skills and in certain interpersonal and social skills that are required in order to function in straight society. Most criminals may be likened to the pre-adolescent who is deficient in intellectual, social, and moral development. Support for this position is found in a number of recent studies that are summarized below and in the work of the author, which is also reported below, under "Student Evaluation of Educational Programs."

Yochelson and Samenow (1976), in a comprehensive and extended study of the so-called criminally insane, showed that the criminal had immature and inappropriate thought patterns that required training to develop more effective thought patterns. Feuerstein in Israel (Narrol & Narrol, 1977) has shown that delinquency can be reduced by training problem teen-agers in the analytic thinking skills that are required in non-verbal and verbal intelligence tests. Parlett, Ayers, and Sullivan (1975), and Ayers (1977) have shown that cognitive and interpersonal skills are developed through humanities and social science courses that emphasize the discussion of political, social, and ethical issues. Kohlberg, Kauffman, Scharf, and Hickey (1975) have proposed that the level of moral development can be improved in a "just community" where discussions centre on the solution of moral dilemmas and of day to day problems in operating the just community. Spivack, Platt, and Shure (1976) contend that the simplest explanation for much of delinquent behavior is that there are lacks in certain kinds of thought processes that get delinquents into difficulty. They concluded that problems are not ones of conflict or aberrant motivation but that delinquents suffer from a form of cognitive deficit that repeatedly leads them into social difficulties. As a consequence they have developed a series of cognitive exercises in their problem-solving approach to adjustment.

The appropriateness of the cognitive learning model has now been extended to the area of psychotherapy. Ellis and Harper (1978), in the introduction to a very widely used book on assertiveness training, have stated:

We also believe, as part of rational-emotive theory and practice, in the *educative* aspects of psychotherapy. RET doesn't exactly follow the usual medical model of disturbance, which essentially holds that emotional problems consist of diseases or aberrations, curable by an outside person's (a therapist's) authoritarily telling people what they have to do to improve. Nor does it follow the somewhat similar conditioning model (held in common by both psychoanalysts and classical behaviorists), which claims that humans get *made* disturbed by early influences, and that they therefore have to get restructured or reconditioned by an outside, parentlike therapist who somehow forces them into new patterns of behaving. It follows, instead, the

humanistic, educative model which asserts that people, even in their early lives, have a great many more *choices* than they tend to recognize; that most of their "conditioning" actually consists of *self*-conditioning; and that a therapist, a teacher, or even a book can help them see much more clearly their range of alternatives and thereby to *choose* to reeducate and retrain themselves so that they surrender most of their serious *self-created* emotional difficulties. (p. ix)

While the Ellis and Harper approach emphasizes cognitive thinking skills and is critical of the medical and environmental approaches, it differs from the Yochelson and Samenow (1976), Feuerstein (1977), Parlett, Ayers, and Sullivan (1975), and the Spivak, Platt, and Shure (1976) approaches in one important respect. It assumes an educational retraining model whereas all of the other educational theories reviewed assume that the delinquent or criminal is arrested in his development, that he has deficiencies which he can grow out of with appropriate training. There is no replacement or retraining required.

The Ellis and Harper (1978) quotation contains an explicit assumption that is not made clear in most other models, that is that a person has a choice to re-educate or retrain himself. He is not a victim of his emotional difficulties. He is self-created. Both the medical-therapeutic model and the environmental-reconditioning model make the implicit assumption that the delinquent or criminal is a victim of his upbringing, while the educational models referred to above make either an implicit or explicit assumption that the delinquent or criminal is more a decision maker than a victim. For example, Yochelson and Samenow (1976) admitted that they initially started their work with deterministic premises, but concluded that, in fact, the men they dealt with were "very much in control," that their actions were the "product of deliberation," that they "made choices." Letkemann (1973) and Duguid (1979) concluded that professional prisoners are in part created by their specific environment but have also had a strong element of choice in deciding to become criminals.

Based on the studies reviewed, an adequate educational model would comprise three basic assumptions: (a) that delinquents and criminals have deficits in cognitive, social, and moral development, (b) that development of cognitive skills is a necessary condition for the development of interpersonal skills and for moral development, and (c) that the delinquent or criminal is more a decision maker than a victim or pawn.

PURPOSES OF INCARCERATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES FOR HABILITATION

It is assumed that the function of incarceration is to protect society for a period of time and to return the prisoner to society as a better person. It does not accept the position, as many do, that the two primary tasks of the penitentiaries are security and rehabilitation. Rather, the tasks are

rehabilitation and security in that order. What is required is habilitation through education, making the prisoner capable to re-enter society.

It is also assumed that the tasks of habitation and security cannot be performed effectively at the same time. For prisoner/students to achieve any degree of growth or development it is necessary that security be minimized, or at least that its pervasiveness be minimized. To achieve habilitation is difficult in an organization that at present only pays lip service to returning the prisoner to the street a better person. In practice, penitentiary industries, penitentiary schools, penitentiary socialization, and so on, have been considered mainly ways of occupying inmates' time, of keeping them busy, of keeping the place "cool." In other words, these activities have been perceived mainly as means of managing the "joint." Such are common observations of prison administrators and instructors.

The traditional prison thus appears to have no aim, purpose, or ideal beyond pragmatic custody and control. The old tools of punishment, authority, and petty rules are retained and override any real consideration of the value of work, or vocational and educational programs, such that neither staff nor inmates believe in these rules and sanctions or consider them fair. In practice, arbitrary rules are sometimes harshly enforced, sometimes ignored (Sykes, 1958; Goldfarb, 1976). Traditional prison settings, then, lack any of the elements of experience required for intellectual, social, and moral growth. From the author's perspective, what is required are strategies that will maximize the separation of programs aimed at habitation so that they are not identified with day-to-day operation of the prison.

To achieve some degree of habilitation, organizational structures must be developed to make programs as independent as possible of security. Contracting out all professional services, not only in education, but in other areas as well, such as parole, is one way of achieving this end, and probably in the long run, the ideal way. At the present time, however, in federal prisons the only programs that provide for some contracting out to individuals and community agencies are in education. A less desirable practice would be to combine contracting out with a country-wide unit, centralized in Ottawa, that would be responsible for educational programs in all prisons, similar to several American statewide school districts, such as in New Jersey or Texas, which provide educational services to all of the prisons and sometimes other institutions within a state's jurisdiction. Such a structure would allow some co-ordination in the development of programs and the implementation of those that are found effective. It could also lead to more effective selection and training of teachers. But its primary thrust would be to make programs more independent of the local prison administration except for day-to-day operations. This would help in establishing an identity for the school separate from that of the prison such that the prisoners would perceive the teachers as being from "outside." This requirement is a prerequisite for the establishment of condi-

tions that facilitate learning in a prison setting which will be elaborated further below.

This paper so far has proposed what may be considered a rather radical reorientation for programs in general and for education in particular. From this perspective, past efforts at rehabilitation using therapeutic and environmental interventions have been largely ineffective because they were based on inappropriate assumptions and models. Research cited above provided some evidence that educational intervention has been effective in a number of jurisdictions despite some of the difficulties and restrictions resulting from the current structure of prisons that severely limit the full potential of such intervention. The next section provides additional evidence on the effectiveness of different types of educational programs.

STUDENT EVALUATION OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

When the author visited a number of prisons in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain in 1974-75, a major purpose was to obtain the views of prisoner/students on the effectiveness of various educational programs. The institutions were selected to represent a variety of educational programs with an emphasis on post-secondary. The choice of the programs surveyed at each institution was determined by availability of students for interview and the length of time a program had been in operation; in general, the longer being chosen. The six tables included in this section list the programs surveyed in each institution, together with a very brief description of their operation, and the length of time the students had been in attendance.

The three questions used were the same in all three surveys and were open ended in order to avoid leading the prisoner to respond in terms of the purposes of the program and to allow for the reporting of unanticipated side effects.

Classification of Responses

Responses to Question 1, "What effects, if any, has the program had on you?", have been classified under eight headings and several subheadings, which have been combined into three major categories for purposes of discussion: (a) those effects which are primarily educational, (b) those which are essentially cognitive, and (c) those which are more affective. The eight categories selected are essentially the same as those used in previous surveys evaluating the University of Victoria Program in two federal prisons in Canada. Experience indicates that these categories permit a high degree of interrater consistency in the classification of responses (Parlett, Ayers, & Sullivan, 1975). Because the responses were typically immediate reactions to impromptu interviews, it is assumed that they are relatively unaffected by undue reflection or other extraneous

influences and thus are valid indications of the effectiveness of the respective programs.

A study of the tables reveals a number of interesting patterns or consistencies across similar programs in various institutions and countries. The first is that most responses, except in university programs, fall in educational categories (V to VII). The first two, "Broadened Outlook-Awareness" and "Communication Improved" (Categories V and VI) are not reported frequently, but most students make comments about courses providing opportunities for jobs or for further education (Category VII(a)), and sometimes make specific statements about individual courses, their enjoyment of them, or their effectiveness (Category VII(b)). It should be noted that vocational courses are not perceived to provide any more job potential than academic courses. This may simply reflect a realistic evaluation of the situation. For example, it is well known that the training in some trades can be out of date, that many employers ask for general educational qualifications rather than specific vocational training, and finally, in penitentiaries many men take vocational programs for their general educational effect or just to do good time. In summary, Categories V to VII(b) represent educational effects that are normally expected from such programs. Category VIII, on the other hand, has to do with "Good Time" and "Parole," which are not really relevant purposes of educational programs.

Another pronounced trend in the data is that post-secondary programs, especially those that emphasize humanities and social science courses at the university level, have both a high proportion of responses in the cognitive and affective categories, I to IV (see especially Tables 3 and 6). In addition, students in post-secondary programs report both more effects and a greater variety of effects.

In the three surveys an attempt was made to obtain random samples of students in each of the programs surveyed. This was more often accomplished in the Canadian institutions than in either the British or American. There are probably a number of reasons for this, the major one being that schooling is more often a full-time or at least a half-time activity in Canadian institutions, and students were thus available for interviews, while in most British programs and in many American programs the students are part-time and evening so that students interviewed tended to be the ones that were more readily available. Despite these differences in selection of students for interviewing, the results obtained appear to be quite similar for equivalent programs, with one minor exception. In the Canadian survey a few students in adult basic education upgrading programs indicated that they were doing "easy time," whereas in both the British and American surveys only one made such a response, and the remainder reported that schooling was "good time" in the sense that they looked forward to it, it kept their minds busy, and they might as well

make use of the opportunity presented; in general, schooling was constructive use of time.

In the American survey information was collected on prior schooling which was used in the initial classification of responses. Except in the case of Leavenworth (Table 2), the number of new students was not large enough to report as a separate category. There was, however, a tendency for the cognitive categories, I and II, to be reported more frequently by those who had taken few courses rather than many courses. New students may be more aware of these effects due to recency in change of perceptions. The somewhat higher proportion of responses in the cognitive categories for the university programs in Canadian prisons (Table 6) compared to the same programs in American and British prisons (Tables 1, 2, and 3) is probably due in part to two factors: (a) a greater proportion of humanities courses in the Canadian programs, and (b) generally full-time attendance in Canadian programs versus half-time or evening attendance being the norm in American and British prisons.

Education prior to incarceration does not appear to affect the results. However, the level at which a course is pitched and expectations in terms of commitment and assignments do seem to be critical. Prisoner/students respect the assertive teacher with high standards but not the authoritarian or lax teacher.

The effects classified in the first two categories probably reveal that students have made certain cognitive changes in their way of thinking. In addition, many of the statements include or imply an expression of change in values. Under "Style of Perceiving Problems" all statements are included which indicate an awareness that problems and issues have more than one interpretation or solution, or that an open mind is necessary to appreciate alternative points of view. Specific examples include responses such as "can take an outside perspective," and "can see both sides of an issue." Other comments indicate that the students are more analytic in their thinking and consider the consequences of situations — "judgments are now based on understanding." All of the responses are indicative of a more mature, rational approach to the solution of problems.

In the second category, "More Accepting of Society," were included those responses which imply either directly or indirectly that the students are acquiring a greater awareness of the purposes and functions of society and its institutions, as well as the roles which they as members are expected to play. Included in this category were such statements as, "police have a job to do; there are roles to be performed," as well as the less obvious, "becoming more conservative in thinking."

Responses in Categories I and II are made mainly by students in university programs and to a lesser extent in community college programs in the United States. What is not revealed by these tables but obtained during the interviews was that most of these effects seem to be attributable to humanities and social science courses with instructors who challenge

TABLE 1

Percent of Student/Prisoner Responses by Type of Effect, Institution, and Program in Great Britain

	ENGLAND AND WALES										SCOTLAND				
	Erlstoke Detention Centre		Gaynes Hall Open Borstal	Dover Closed Borstal	Ashwell Open Prison		Ranby Closed Prison		Wakefield Closed Prison	Edinburgh Young Offenders	Castle Huntley Borstal	Greenock Young & Adults	Greenock Adults		
					Evening Optional	Construct- ion Including Training for Trades (2 Groups)	Remedial English (Reading)	Evening Optional GCE						Open University	
Effect of Program	Evening Compulsory Soc. St. & 3 Options	Remedial English (Reading)	Business Studies Ord. Nat. Cert of Off. St.	ROSLA	General Cert. "O" Level	Up to 8 Mos.	6 to 16 Wks.	Up to 5 Mos.	4 Wks.	4 Mos. to 4 Yrs.	"O" Level	Mechanical Engineering	SCE "O" Level	Family and Home Skills	
	5 Wks.	2 Mos.	4 Wks.	4 Wks.	2 Wks.	7 Wks.					17	6 Mos.	5 Mos. or More	3 Wks. of 4	
Length of Attendance										14					
COGNITIVE															
I Style of Perceiving Problems															
II More Accepting of Society															
AFFECTIVE															
III Better Understanding of Self and Others															
IV (a) Committed - Goal		20	33	25	20	20	33	12	20	28	17				
(b) More Confidence								25	43	14	17	20	33		
EDUCATIONAL EFFECTS															
V Broadened Outlook - Awareness							33	12	40				33		
VI Communication Improved															
VII (a) Job Potential Improved			33	50	75	20		25	28	14	50	100	100	67	
VII (b) Specific Course Cited	87	80	66	100	75	80	33	62	100	60	33			67	
VIII (a) Good or Easy Time	25		33				100	38	14	40	33	20			
VIII (b) Parole or Family			33								33				
Number of Inmates Interviewed	8	4	3	4	4	5	3	8	7	5	6	5	3	3	
Number of Inmates in Program	24	12	6	7	30	12	7	36	16	10	12	30	12	6	
Average Number of Responses	1.1	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.6	2.0	1.75	1.9	1.6	2.2	1.4	1.6	1.3	

TABLE 2

Percent of Student/Prisoner Responses by Type of Effect, Institution, and Program in United States Federal Prisons

	Sandstone		Leavenworth			Fort Worth		Terminal Island	
	GED	Half Days Continuous Entry	GED	Many Courses	Few Courses	GED	Com. College	GED	Evening Bus. Admin.
<i>Effect of Program</i>									
		Half Days Continuous Entry	Half Days Continuous Entry	Many Courses	Few Courses	Half Days Continuous Entry	Half Days	1½ hrs/day Continuous Entry	1 or 2 courses 2½ Hrs./Week
<i>Length of Attendance</i>	2 to 4 Mos.	3 to 7 Mos.	End of Semester			1½ to 5 Mos.	End of Semester	1½ to 2 Mos.	End of Semester
COGNITIVE									
I Style of Perceiving Problems				17	14				
II More Accepting of Society					71				
AFFECTIVE									
III Better Understanding of Self and Others				33	14		63		14
IV (a) Committed - Goal		17			14		25	20	
(b) More Confidence		17			29	33	38		
EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER EFFECTS									
V Broadened Outlook - Awareness				17			13		
VI Communication Improved					14		25	20	28
VII (a) Job Potential Improved	17			17		33	13	20	14
(b) General	67	100		67	43	100	50	60	43
VIII (a) Good or Easy Time	67	17		33			13	20	43
(b) Parole or Family				33	14				
Number of Inmates Interviewed	6	6		6	7	3	8	5	7
Number of Inmates in Program	20	50				20	33	14	16
Average Number of Responses	1.5	1.5				1.7	2.4	1.4	1.4

TABLE 3

Percent of Student/Prisoner Responses by Type of Effect, Institution, and Program in State Prisons in the United States

Effect of Program	Illinois Menard		South Carolina Manning & Central		Texas Wynne	Arizona Fort Grant		California Corona	
	GED	University	GED	University	College	GED	Trade School	High School	
	1 hr. / day	Full-time 3 or 4 Courses 2½ Hrs. per Week	Half Days	Full-time Typical 4 Courses	Liberal Arts and Business Evening Average 2¼ Courses	Continuous Entry 20 Hrs. per Week	Full-time	Continuous Entry Half Days	Half or Full-time
Length of Attendance	4 Mos. to 1½ Yrs.	End of Quarter	Few Wks.	End of Semester	End of Semester	3 Mos. to 1 Yr.	End of Semester	Recent	End of Quarter
COGNITIVE									
I Style of Perceiving Problems		22		14	20				14
II More Accepting of Society	14	22		14	10				14
AFFECTIVE									
III Better Understanding of Self and Others		33		28	30		31		57
IV (a) Committed - Goal	14	11		28	10		6	25	14
(b) More Confidence	14	22		28	30	25			28
EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER EFFECTS									
V Broadened Outlook - Awareness	14	22			10	25	6		14
VI Communication Improved		11							28
VII (a) Job Potential Improved	29	33	20	14	30	25	38	25	14
(b) General	71	22	60	57	50	75	56	75	14
VIII (a) Good or Easy Time		44		14	10	25	25		28
(b) Parole or Family	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of Inmates Interviewed	7	9	5	7	10	4	16	4	7
Number of Inmates in Program	160	107	33	24	240	15	45	80	50
Average Number of Responses	1.6	2.4	0.8	2.0	2.0	1.75	1.6	1.25	2.3

TABLE 4

Percent of Student/Prisoner Responses by Type of Effect, Institution, and Program in Three Provincial Prisons and in Federal Prisons in the Atlantic Provinces

	<i>Vanier (Ont.)</i>	<i>Regina</i>	<i>Haney (B.C.)</i>		<i>Springhill</i>		<i>Dorchester</i>	
			<i>BTSD-2 Gr. 8</i>	<i>BTSD-3 Gr. 10</i>	<i>Upgrading Gr. 6-10</i>	<i>Life Skills</i>	<i>Upgrading Gr. 6-10</i>	<i>Gr. 11-12</i>
<i>Effect of Program</i>	<i>Life Skills</i>	<i>Upgrading Gr. 5-10</i>	<i>BTSD-2 Gr. 8</i>	<i>BTSD-3 Gr. 10</i>	<i>Upgrading Gr. 6-10</i>	<i>Life Skills</i>	<i>Upgrading Gr. 6-10</i>	<i>Life Skills</i>
	2 Half Days per Wk. for 5 Wks.	Full-time 2 to 3 Mos.	Half Days 6 Wk. Cycle	Full- time 4 Mos.	Full Days Cont. Entry	Half Days 3 Mos.	Full Days Cont. Entry	Half Days plus Ind. Counselling
<i>Length of Attendance</i>								3 Mos.
COGNITIVE								- 25
I Style of Perceiving Problems								
II More Accepting of Society								
AFFECTIVE								
III Better Understanding of Self and Others								
IV (a) Committed - Goal (b) More Confidence		33				40	25	100 - 25
EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER EFFECTS								
V Broadened Outlook - Awareness	25							50
VI Communication Improved						60		
VII (a) Job Potential Improved (b) General	100	33 67 33	50 - -	50 50 25	40 100 -	- - -	75 50 50	- 25 -
VIII (a) Good or Easy Time (b) Parole or Family								
Number of Inmates Interviewed	4	3	4	4	5	5	4	4
Number of Inmates in Program	12	16	20	8	48	24	25	12
Average Number of Responses	1.25	1.6	0.5	1.2	1.4	2.0	2.0	2.2

TABLE 5
Percent of Student/Prisoner Responses by Type of Effect, Institution, and Upgrading Program in Canadian Federal Prisons in Ontario and the West

	Collins Bay	Story Mountain	Saskatchewan		Drumheller		B.C.P.	Matsqui	
			Basic Literacy	5-1- Upg.	5-9 Upg.	High School		GED	6-9 Upg.
<i>Effect of Program</i>	Grade 12	9-10 Upg.					GED		
	Full-time 12 Wk. Cycle	Half Days Cont. Entry	Full-time Cont. Intake	Full-time Cont. Intake	Full-time	Full-time	Full-time 3 Mos. Cycle	Full-time 3 Mos. Cycle	Full-time 3 Mos. Cycle
<i>Length of Attendance</i>	12 Wk.	2-4 Mos.	1-2 Mos.	3-4 Mos.	3 Mos.	3 Mos.	2 Mos.	2 Mos.	2 Mos.
COGNITIVE									
I Style of Perceiving Problems						17			
II More Accepting of Society									
AFECTIVE									
III Better Understanding of Self and Others	20				11	33	11	25	
IV (a) Committed - Goal		33			33	33	11		
(b) More Confidence				50		33			
EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER EFFECTS									
V Broadened Outlook - Awareness			50	50		33	22	25	
VI Communication Improved			50		11	17			
VII (a) Job Potential Improved	40				25	33	44	50	67
(b) General	80	50			75	33	44	50	33
VIII (a) Good or Easy Time		33				17			
(b) Parole or Family									
Number of Inmates Interviewed	5	6	2	2	9	6	9	4	3
Number of Inmates in Program	12	12	8	6	22	31	40	18	18
Average Number of Responses	1.8	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.5	1.3	1.5	1.0

TABLE 6

Percent of Student/Prisoner Responses by Type of Effect, Institution, and College or University Program in Canadian Federal Prisons

Effect of Program	Collins Bay		Stony Mountain	Saskatchewan	Drumheller			B.C.P.	Matsqui
	St. Lawrence College		U. of Manitoba	U. of Sask.	Mount Royal College			University of Victoria	
	Bus. Adm. 8 Month Terms	Poly-Tech. 8 Month Terms	University Program 4 Month Terms	University Program 4 & 8 Mo. Terms	Fall	Spring	Total	University Program 4 & 8 Month Terms	
Length of Attendance	8 Mos.	8 Mos.	4 - 12 Months	8 Months	3 Mos.	8 Mos.	-	5 Mos.	5 Mos.
COGNITIVE									
I Style of Perceiving Problems	33	-	50	33	30	20	27	56	86
II More Accepting of Society	-	20	16	67	10	-	7	6	36
AFFECTIVE									
III Better Understanding of Self and Others	-	40	50	67	50	-	33	50	57
IV (a) Committed - Goal	33	-	-	50	30	50	33	63	100
(b) More Confidence	-	20	33	33	40	30	40	25	21
EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER EFFECTS									
V Broadened Outlook - Awareness	33	40	33	17	70	60	67	63	43
VI Communication Improved	-	20	16	-	20	-	13	13	7
VII (a) Job Potential Improved	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(b) General	66	20	16	33	20	40	27	18	7
VIII (a) Good or Easy Time	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(b) Parole or Family	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Number of Inmates Interviewed	3	5	6	6	10	5	15	16	14
Number of Inmates in Program	7	7	18	14	44	19	63	41	41
Average Number of Responses	2.0	2.0	2.2	3.2	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.9	3.5

students by confronting them with their assumptions and by providing opportunities to discuss ethical, social, and political issues. In fact, when these practices are emphasized, it is not unusual to have more than 50% of the students make responses classifiable in these two categories as revealed in Table 6 and reported by Parlett, Ayers, and Sullivan (1975).

The next two categories appear to have a large affective component. A response was classified as "Better Understanding of Self and Others" when the respondent referred to insight into human thought and action, particularly with respect to a better understanding of himself and his interpersonal relationships. Many of the prisoners indicated that they "now understood what conditions our behavior in interacting with others," or that their "outlook had changed toward other people," and that they were now able "to see how they affected other people."

The fourth category, divided into two sub-sections, "Committed-Goal" and "More Confidence," included expressions of incentive and satisfaction provided by a program. It was not unusual for students to report that they "first used the program to get out of work" or that they "started it to do easy time," but soon became totally involved. Sometimes a student would say that this is the "first commitment" that he had ever made. Expressions of confidence are often outcomes of effective remedial programs, particularly those at the basic literacy level, as for example, at Ranby Prison (Table 1), or early in other programs as a consequence of initial success; whereas commitment is more frequently associated with very challenging courses with a high level of expectation in terms of work and assignments. "Better Understanding of Self and Others" is usually an outcome of courses, either formal or informal, which emphasize interpersonal relations. The large proportion of students in the community college programs at Fort Worth (Table 2) and Corona (Table 3) who reported that they had a better understanding of themselves and others and had more confidence in themselves is specifically related to special psychology courses in human relations that had recently been completed. Life Skills programs can have similar effects. It is interesting to observe that the Life Skills program at Vanier (Table 4), which was primarily informational, had no effects classified in the affective area, whereas the Life Skills programs at Springhill and Dorchester which used the Saskatchewan Newstart materials had a significant proportion of responses in this area, particularly at Dorchester where the instructor had special skills and training. Understanding of interpersonal relations was also reported as an effect in some formal psychology courses and in the study of literature, particularly drama.

In Great Britain the Younger Report on Young Adult Offenders (1974) proposed that social and ethical issues be discussed in an educational setting because such issues cannot be left in the hands of chaplains, and that counselling and group therapy are inappropriate because they look at personal relationships from an inward rather than an outward

looking view. This position was fully supported by most of the interviewed students who had been involved in compulsory group counselling or living units.

Student evaluation of programs, particularly with courses in the humanities and social sciences that emphasize the discussion of social, political, and ethical issues, or of programs that develop problem-solving skills and interpersonal relations, indicate that there had been significant intellectual, social, and moral growth. These evaluations lend support to the major thrust of this paper, that appropriate educational interventions can habilitate prisoners and delinquents.

Preliminary data from a follow-up study based on 60 to 85 subjects who were contacted two to three years after their release from a five-month university level program primarily in the humanities show that the beneficial effects are real and for many long-term. For others, however, particularly the known addict, the effects are very fragile and appear to require additional support — as, for example, via specialized halfway houses for students continuing their education on the outside.

Kohlberg et al. (1975) also observed that the results of his first experiment were positive but weak because discussion meetings three times a week hardly matched the meaning of being in a reformatory 24 hours a day. This is why he established a separate unit for women at Niantic with provision for release through a halfway house.

Acculturation by Education

Our public schools at present are not aimed specifically at providing the types of cognitive and interpersonal skills discussed in this paper, nor do they actively promote moral development. However, most children, especially those from structured home environments, gradually develop survival skills through guidance and interaction with parent models. An educational program, particularly one provided by mature instructors from outside the prison, operating in an open, humane school community within the larger prison, can effect significant growth in skills which have been previously undeveloped in the delinquent and criminal.

One could view most of the educational programs reviewed above as acculturation of the delinquent or criminal. For example, analytic cognitive skills and affective interpersonal skills could be viewed simply as providing the prisoner/student with skills that would help him survive in straight society. This is habilitation or fitting out. One would also surmise that similar programs in the high schools would develop better citizens for our society and perhaps reduce criminal activities.

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J. Douglas Ayers is a Professor in the Faculty of Education and Co-ordinator of the University Program at Abbotsford and Agassiz at the University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia v8w 2y2.