

ADULT POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SECURE FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL
INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF
PRISONER-STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

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Adult Post-Secondary Education in Secure Federal
Correctional Institutions in British Columbia:

Comparative Survey of Prisoner-Students' Perceptions

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ABSTRACT

The provision of post-secondary education in prisons is a relatively new development within Canadian Corrections. This study examined post-secondary education in federal correctional institutions in British Columbia through a survey of male prisoner-students' perceptions. Prisoner-students were surveyed to determine their level of development in categories of self-assessment which were viewed as compatible with the accepted objectives of correctional education. It was believed that prisoner-students would evidence the positive influence of post-secondary education in terms of cognitive development; that they would have a positive sense of psychological well-being; and that they would experience satisfaction with the program.

In carrying out the research, data were gathered from three groups: prisoner-students enrolled in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program; prisoners within the same institutions not enrolled in the Prison Education Program but employed at work placements; and, Simon Fraser University on-campus students. These groups were administered a questionnaire which incorporated the Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance - Locus of Control Scale (Levenson, 1974), the Affect Balance Scale (Bradburn, 1969), and questions related to education or work placement experiences that were based on a subset of questions designed by Lewis (1973). Data were then analyzed with regard to age, education level, number of university courses completed, offense type, and length of

sentence.

Results of the study indicated that prisoner-students scored lower on Chance - Locus of Control than prisoners not enrolled in the Prison Education Program. Scores on the Affect Balance Scale demonstrated a similarity between prisoner-students and on-campus students. In terms of educational or work placement experiences, it was found that prisoner-students expressed less satisfaction with their educational experiences than either the on-campus students or prisoners employed in work placements.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
List of Tables	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
I. AN INTRODUCTION TO PRISON EDUCATION	1
THE HISTORY OF PRISON EDUCATION	1
II. THEORY AND RESEARCH	11
Different Ways of Thinking about Prison Education	11
Further Debate on the Basis for Prison Education	17
Yochelson and Samenow: Innovative or Illogical?	25
Duguid's Perspective	27
The Ross and Fabiano Model	30
Morin's View	35
Cognitive-Moral Development: The Final Answer?	37
The Value of Post-Secondary Education Programs	42
III. POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA PRISONS	53
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	53
THE SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY PRISON EDUCATION PROGRAM	67
IV. RATIONALE	75
INTRODUCTION	75
LOCUS OF CONTROL	76
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING	81
THE LEWIS EVALUATION TECHNIQUE	84
RATIONALE FOR THE PRESENT STUDY	86

V. METHODOLOGY	89
Definitions	89
Sampling and Subject Selection	91
PROCEDURE	93
Procedure for the Administration of the Questionnaire ...	94
VI. RESULTS	97
Introduction	97
Subject Characteristics	98
Intercorrelations Between Subjects Characteristics	107
Locus Of Control Scale	109
Psychological Well-Being	122
Satisfaction With Program	130
VII.	
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	132
Introduction	132
The Locus of Control Scale	134
Psychological Well-Being	138
Program Satisfaction	138
Implications For Future Research	139
Appendix A	142
Kohlberg: Stages Of Moral Development	142
Three Levels of Moral Development	142
Appendix B	146
COGNITION & CRIME: A LINK	146
Appendix C	150
Studies with Rotter's Locus of Control Scale	150
Kiehlbauch (1968)	150

Brown and Strickland (1972)	151
Warehime (1972)	152
DuCette and Wolk (1972)	152
Davis and Davis (1972)	153
Hersch and Scheibe (1967)	153
Studies with Leveson's Locus of Control	154
Leveson (1973)	154
Levenson (1975)	155
Kohutek (1983)	156
Appendix D	158
The Questionnaire	158
INFORMED CONSENT BY SUBJECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH	180
BIBLIOGRAPHY	182

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Level of Education Completed for SFU, PEP, and Work	100
2	Length of Time in Education or Work Program	101
3	Number of Courses Completed	103
4	Number of Courses Currently Enrolled In	104
5	Offense Type	105
6	Internal Locus Of Control Scale	111
7	Powerful Others Locus Of Control Scale	114
8	Chance Locus Of Control Scale	117
9	Means and Standard Deviations of the I,P, and C Scales .	120
10	Frequencies of "Yes" Responses of the Sample	123
11	Affect Balance Scores	125
12	Frequencies of "Yes" Responses for the Groups	127
13	Positive and Negative Affect Scores for the Groups	128
14	Affect Balance Scores for the Groups	129
15	Program Satisfaction	131

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CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO PRISON EDUCATION

Finally, the surest but most difficult way to prevent crimes is by perfecting education - Cesare Beccaria, 1764

THE HISTORY OF PRISON EDUCATION

Education in correctional institutions has existed in one form or another throughout penal history. Beginning with the study of the Bible, prison education programs have advanced to the point where, in some institutions, formal university affiliated programs offer courses through which a university degree may be obtained. A review of the history of prison education demonstrates that educational programs of any significance have been a fairly recent innovation.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, there were four major types of prison systems in which education consisted of study of the Bible:

1. The congregate system permitted prisoners to live, work, eat and sleep in common areas and conversation was allowed.
2. A system identified with the Walnut Street Jail was one of absolute solitary confinement where prisoners did not work, spending day and night in individual cells.
3. The Philadelphia Penitentiary employed a system of relative solitary confinement where prisoners lived in individual cells but were allowed to work.
4. The Auburn or silent system had prisoners eating and working

together in silence and individual cells were utilized for sleeping.

Harsh disciplinary codes, consisting of corporal punishment and restrictive diets, were used to enforce these systems (Normandeau, 1972).

Canadian correctional education began in the 1800's in the Kingston provincial jail in Upper Canada. Society's attitudes and values at the time were based on Puritan ethics with an emphasis on hard work and a disdain for the "pleasure principle." Inmates worked a ten hour day of manual labour and spent the remaining fourteen hours in solitary confinement. Time spent in solitary was intended to be used for meditation, reflection and repentance. ¹

The 1840 "Gaol Regulations," held:

Provisions (shall) be made as far practicable in all gaols for the religious instruction of prisoners of both sexes, and also for their instruction in reading and writing (Weir, 1973:40).

Prison education was viewed as spiritual development; with reading, biblical truths could be mastered and absorbed. Class was held at night or on Sundays, with the chaplain found, ". . . standing in the semi-dark corridor, before the cell door, with a dingy lantern hanging to the grated bars, and teaching to the wretched convict in the darkness beyond the grated door the rudiments of reading or numbers" (Lewis, 1922:341).

¹ Seashore and Haberfeld (1976) state that Bible study, hard work, and discipline, still exist as a rationale for prison education.

It was thought that prisoners would become reformed through time spent in meditation on their offences and through study of the Bible. These activities were designed to enable prisoners to gain an "inner light" and correct their criminal behavior (Normandeau, 1972).

The 1848 Brown Commission report put forward a recommendation for education programs in the Kingston penitentiary. Basic literacy courses introduced were directly linked with spiritual development and came under the authority of religious programs. Weir stated that:

Thus, with education relegated to moral value, the chapel was the classroom for the forty-minute daily period of instruction, the chaplain was the schoolmaster, and the Bible the text in the sense that the objective of the basic literacy program was to enable the scholar to become familiar with the Bible (1973:40).

The sabbath school gave way to a common school trend which reflected the public's efforts to use schooling to solve the problems of industrialization, urbanization, social upheaval and an increased crime rate, and, advocacy of the democratic ideal.

The Canadian prison system was influenced by the United States in 1847 when the Legislature of New York passed a comprehensive prison act with provisions for common school teachers to be appointed for all state prisons. The number of teachers were to be proportionate to the size of each prison and the number of inmates estimated to be illiterate. This was the first law in the United States to create positions with the

specific duty to provide educational instruction to prisoners during the week and had a distinct influence on the Canadian prison system (Wines and Dwight, 1987).

The 1879 Canadian "Report of Penitentiaries" continued to encourage the enforcement of strict discipline. Only inmates who demonstrated good conduct for a period of three months were allowed to take part in classes. The opportunity to attend classes was regarded as one of the highest rewards. Subjects taught included English, French, writing, reading, spelling, grammar, arithmetic and geography. With the exception of writing, inmates were required to stand during classes and instruction took place mainly in cells.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Penitentiaries in 1914 called for greater educational opportunities and began to promote notions of a humanitarian and rehabilitative approach. An excerpt from the 1914 report states:

It was urged, as an excuse for not giving a reasonable period to the education of the illiterate during the daytime, that the school would interfere with the labor of the prisoners. If an hour or two every day were given up to the school for some and exercise in the work yard for others, less stones would be broken, 'tis true.' But some man, whose spirits are being crushed, and whose manhood is being debased, might be saved to future good citizenship if a civilizing help in the way of a school or breath of the open air each day could be introduced to brighten their lives (Weir, 1973:42).

Hard labour had been given early importance and was thought to correct criminal behavior and to promote a work ethic. This awareness of the need for a daily activity had grown out of the knowledge of the emotional and physical effects which resulted

from long term idleness, and it also served the pragmatic function of helping to offset prison expenses. Through a contract system, the private sector was involved in prison labour. Private businesses would contract for the services of a specified number of prisoners and shops were set up within the prison. This type of prison industry was curtailed through restrictive legislation on the basis that it represented unfair competition (Schaller, 1985).

In the United States, Austin MacCormick, considered the grandfather of correctional education, conducted a study in 1927 of 110 adult prisons and reformatories with the purpose of determining the work done in the areas of education and the state of prison libraries. He attempted to develop a program which might be adopted as a standard program for all penal institutions. Through this work, he developed a basic educational philosophy. MacCormick found that education in prisons was poor because of its low priority and inadequate financial support. Further, the lack of financial support resulted in an inadequate teaching staff. Without funds, but with pressure to offer education, prison officials relied upon inmates as teachers. ²

² The findings of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967 found that, ". . . in all but a few states. . . academic instruction is provided mainly by inmate teachers." The Commission further found that the inmate-teacher was not prepared for the task. In a later report, the 1971 Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations noted that inmates were utilized as teachers and course materials were inferior in quality or not available.

Prison education was often seen as simply another dull prison routine. MacCormick argued for the provision of a variety of educational opportunities, including fundamental academic, health, vocational, cultural and social education. His view was that with enough skill or knowledge, inmates upon release might achieve employment, homes, families and economic stability. While some inmates would not acquire a definite skill, they might develop the ability to work steadily and to have a sense of well-being and self-respect that steady work brings.

Moral education was one of the components of social education. The person who was educated was thought to be better at handling fundamental intellectual processes and had a broader understanding of the world. It was believed that an educated person would fit into society "understandingly and willingly." The aim of education was to bring conformity with understanding, not conformity because the ex-inmate has yielded to something he could not successfully oppose. MacCormick states:

Only in a broad sense is morality the aim of the prison or its educational program. Much of what we call moral education, it is true, can be given directly, under proper leadership . . . the larger part of moral education must always be given indirectly (1931:8).

Inmates were seen as non-social and MacCormick suggested an inmate community organization where each inmate had a responsibility to the entire institution population. Consistent with educational, penal, and social philosophy, education would become a community enterprise. Each individual would be able to have an influence on the education program.

MacCormick targetted the individual rather than the prisoner. The philosophy for correctional education was "to consider the prisoner as primarily an adult in need of education and only secondarily as a criminal in need of reform (1931:11)." The normality rather than the abnormality of the student was stressed. Importance was placed on applying the same standard educational theory and practice as regular school programs, rather than on developing a special educational technique designed for the prisoner-student.

In Canada, the appointment of a royal commission in 1936 to report on the penal system marked the turning point in the development of penology. The Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada called for complete reorganization of the elementary academic programs in federal institutions. Attention was drawn to the small number of inmates who were exposed to opportunities for educational advancement. The Archambault Report, which resulted from this investigation, called for a program of adult education with a curriculum broad enough to meet the needs, interests and abilities of the inmates. The importance of quality libraries and recruiting effective teaching staff was stressed.

World War II delayed the implementation of the royal commission's recommendations contained in the Archambault Report, and it was not until 1946 that these recommendations were acted upon. The 1947 Gibson report also called for an increase in educational opportunities, and as a result of the

report, correspondence courses for prisoners were obtained from the extension departments of some Canadian universities (Weir, 1973).

In contrast to the view of MacCormick who emphasized the application of the standard educational practice, the 1956 Fauteaux inquiry reiterated the need for a more personalized correctional education attitude:

Education in the merely narrow or formal sense, is not enough. The prison must involve an attempt to change the basic behavior attitudes and patterns of the inmate (Weir, 1973:44).

The Fauteaux Report identified the goal of rehabilitation of offenders and prison education programs were viewed as a part of that rehabilitation process.

The 1960's saw great advances in education as measured by public expenditure, the number of individuals served, and the diversity of programs offered. Study in the area of the social sciences had had a profound impact on correctional ideology and in the new penological era, the conception of a criminal had changed. The criminal was no longer viewed as free-willed, but rather determined, acting in response to psychopathologies or other personal problems that could be "cured." Prison systems focused on rehabilitation and experimented with a variety of programs. Vocational and occupational skill programs were stressed and emphasis was placed on training which could meet provincial recognition and union certification.

A college model with professional identification and with institutional staff identifying themselves as professors followed the vocational skill development model. The focus of this model was mastery and the associated benefits of a liberal education. This area of thought held as central the notion that offenders should have access to educational opportunities similar to those of the community at large, and was similar to the recommendations made by MacCormick in 1931.

Canadian federal correctional facilities implemented educational programs offering literacy training, elementary school courses and secondary school courses throughout the 1950's and 1960's. Since the 1970's, post-secondary school programs have been operating at federal institutions in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia.

As demonstrated through the historical perspective, academic education in prisons has mainly consisted of the development of reading skills, basic mathematics and correspondence courses aimed at passing high school equivalency tests.

This record is not without its critics. J.W. Cosman, former Director of Education and Training for the Correctional Service of Canada, has stated:

Penitentiary education in Canada has been characterized by a general lack of interest in genuine educational achievement, by inadequate standards of teacher selection and training, by lack of discrimination in matters of curriculum between the trivial and the important, lack of discipline and structure, and by a lack of educational research (1980:46).

Cosman and others in corrections in Canada have attempted to put their ideas into practice in the area of post-secondary education in prisons. For example, the University of Victoria offered a program of university studies to federal prisoners, with in-class instruction of full-time prisoner-students, close liaison with institutional and correctional staff, and a research agenda aimed at measuring the programs effectiveness.

It is the post-secondary Prison Education Program that exists in federal institutions in British Columbia which serves as the focus for this study, specifically its role in terms of facilitating prisoner-students' cognitive development, general well-being and educational experiences.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND RESEARCH

Prison education programs in Canada are largely based upon certain beliefs concerning the nature of man, of criminal behavior, of education and of society. It is interpretations of criminal behavior that determine which factors are relevant when attempting to change behavior and therefore it is the conceptualization of criminal behavior that is fundamental to educational programming (Ross and Fabiano, 1985).

Different Ways of Thinking about Prison Education

A number of theories¹ or models² guided the development of prison education. The medical model, for example, has provided the explanation for many policies and practices in modern correctional history. The medical model holds that delinquency or criminal behavior results from some organic pathology. Similar to a physician's practice of diagnosing a person's disease, prescribing a treatment and effecting a cure, the

¹Theories are developed out of testing hypotheses, and are based on sound emirical evidence. Kerlinger has defined a theory as:

. . .a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena (Kerlinger, 1964: 11).

²Models have been defined by Wright and Fox as, ". . .simplified ways of explaining, ordering, or experimenting with some aspect of the world" (Wright and Fox, 1978: 121).

medical model described criminal behavior in the same manner, as an illness which required a cure. While the medical model has been able to identify certain types of offenders (e.g., dangerous offenders, psychopaths), there has been little evidence of its effectiveness. The greatest limitation for using the medical model to induce personality change is that it is based on the unfounded assumption that personality is consistent across situations.

Sociological theories of crime causation, for example Differential Association Theory (Sutherland and Cressey), recognize that individuals who exhibit criminal behavior are legally culpable but are able to demonstrate a background of societal factors that affect behavior. Differential Association Theory holds that an individual becomes a criminal because of contacts with other individuals who have criminal patterns and because of isolation from individuals with anti-criminal patterns. In becoming a criminal, the individual assimilates the surrounding culture. Thus, variables given emphasis in sociological theories include physical environment, role and social class. There is an assumption that the criminal is a victim of social conditions and is therefore conditioned to criminal activity. With the sociological theory, treatment involves reconditioning by manipulating social conditions.

The medical model and sociological theories may essentially remove the primary responsibility for change from the offender. Problems may result from an illness for which the offender is

not responsible, or from social conditions where the individual is a victim responding to the environment. In contrast, psychological theories emphasize offender characteristics such as mental illness and personality disorder. Unconscious motivation forms the basis of criminal behavior and the main focus is on the individual.

This section examines some of these theories and discusses the cognitive model, which assumes a lack of cognitive development, and related moral development as the theoretical base of prison education today.

Cosman (1980) states that there are at least four main presuppositions or theories that determine prison education. He argues that:

. . .criminality can be explained by a mechanistic approach to human behavior; that human development can be reliably guided by a psychology which assumes that the self is atomic in nature, somehow real by itself, and discoverable in terms of its private mental states; that society is primarily economic in nature; and that the aims of education are essentially to occupy time and to provide skill-training for the employment market (1980:42).

The integration of an inmate back into the community may be based on a mechanistic interpretation of criminal behavior. The mechanistic conception allows for the application of the scientific method which reduces man in his activities to levels of conditioning. Within this theory, factors such as poverty, drug addiction and mental illness are used to explain criminal behavior. The effects of the family in such areas as

single-parent families and working mothers are seen as important. Violent and antisocial gang membership are also taken into account.

The psychological approach does not view the discovery of the self as a rational development. An individual exists alone and a sense of self is not achieved through interactions with others or with the community. There is then the view that the self is "atomic." This view has impacted on the development of prison education programs through an emphasis upon motivational and the social aspects of education rather than the intellectual or creative aspects. Cosman states:

For it has been bound by a psychology according to which man is atomic in nature and definable in terms of his private mental states. On that basis education as the pursuit of knowledge loses some of its authority, and it becomes difficult for an educator to discriminate between the study of ballroom dancing and the Oresteian trilogy (1980:45).

The theory that prison education is a means of preparing inmates for employment upon their release has been widely accepted. Cosman's view that society is largely economic fits within this theory:

The inmate, therefore, is really thought of as being economic man, deriving his reality and meaning from some economic function he is to perform, from serving as a means to an economic end, from simply making a living (1980: 45).

This view is closely tied to the notion that the goals of education are to provide skill-training and to occupy time. The focus of prison education has not been on developing the intellect but rather in terms of developing behavioural

outcomes. Within this context, the institutional advantages are highlighted in that the education programs are less costly than are the provision of workshops, and education programs are effective from a security standpoint in that large groups may be controlled simultaneously.

During the 1970's, the educational system began to examine theories of moral education. The two prominent theories of moral education were Values Education and Kohlberg's theory of moral development (Bauer, 1986). Values education was implemented in the schools with the claim that it was neutral, scientific and unbiased. Values were not imposed on students but rather teachers clarified the students "pre-existing individual value frameworks" (Bauer, 1986).

Values education has been described (Duguid, 1984) as a process which provides a format for decision making, without offering philosophical or moral guidelines. The content of moral questions is not addressed, rather the focus is on the process. Therefore, although often mistaken with moral education, values education is more correctly viewed as a process, and more appropriately termed "Values Clarification."

Kohlberg's theory of moral development was regarded as the path to ethical behavior. Students were given a series of ethical options and were required to make a choice of one of the options. Kohlberg's theory placed concern on moral procedures, methods and strategies, not with conclusions and outcomes. These two theories, values clarification and Kohlberg's moral

development, were among the first to be integrated into moral education (Bauer, 1986).

In addition to theories of moral education, attention in the 1970's was also on literacy and learning disabilities. Lack of a formal education has often been cited as a predisposing factor in criminal behavior, and a link between level of literacy and criminal behavior has been implied. It is argued that a lack of language skills leads to impulsive and uncontrolled behavior. A similar view is that there is a relationship between crime, anti-social behavior and poor academic achievement. The problem of retardation in reading is given particular emphasis. This is in contrast to data which offer that disabled readers are not significantly different from the general population in terms of social adjustment (Waksman, Silverman and Weber, 1979).

The assumption of a causal relationship between reading retardation and criminal behavior was given the label, "the delinquency triad," in the literature and in response to the popularity of the view. The label implied a triangular relationship among reading retardation, leaving school early and delinquency. During the 1970's, the argument that learning disabilities were a predisposing factor in criminal behavior was widely accepted. The view was that learning disabilities caused poor academic achievement and low self-esteem, frustration, dropping out of school and in the end, delinquency. The literature was, however, also filled with contradictions, misinformation and controversy (Waksman et al., 1979).

In response to the popularity of the "triad," the U.S. government commissioned a thorough report, the findings of which were published in the U.S. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. It was stated in the report that:

no study has yet been conducted which even claims to demonstrate that the average delinquent is more likely to suffer from learning disabilities than is his non-delinquent counterpart. . . (Waksman et al., 1979: 66).

With the report, the link between learning disabilities and crime was severed. However, the link between level of literacy and criminal behavior has not been abandoned. Currently, the Correctional Service of Canada requires offenders to have completed grade eight or, failing that, be enrolled in the Adult Basic Education (ABE) program prior to being assigned a work placement. A great deal of attention is today focused on the literacy of offenders.

Further Debate on the Basis for Prison Education

Many studies in recent years have been based on Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Kohlberg, Kauffman, Scharf and Hickey state, "Moral decisions are decisions involving considerations of the rights of other people and of obligations to them. A central consideration in making a moral decision is fairness. A fair or just decision is one which gives each person his or her due through impartial assessment of the rights of all" (1975: 245). Kohlberg et al. (1975) view moral development

as an abstract and internal process which results from interaction with the environment. Utilizing a hierarchy of stages (See Appendix A), moral development occurs because of a hypothesized innate tendency to develop moral reasoning. Moral development may be described in terms of an individual's movement through increasingly more complex developmental stages of moral reasoning and social perspective. Moral reasoning and moral actions are seen as likely to be the same. The natural tendency to develop moral reasoning is believed to be facilitated by education.

Many studies have been based on Kohlberg's stages of moral development. These studies suggest that the majority of offenders are at Stage 2 of Kohlberg's hierarchy, at which the right thing to do is viewed as that which serves one's own interest (Carter, 1986; Duguid, 1981b; LaBar et al., 1983). One of the issues which dominates the literature on prison populations in this area is the notion that the moral atmosphere of the prison inhibits the development of moral reasoning. It is argued that to facilitate moral development, offenders must live in a community that is perceived as fair and the prison by its very nature is perceived as quite the opposite.

Within the prison environment two separate normative subcultures, consisting of correctional staff and inmates, must coexist. Kohlberg states:

In most correctional settings, the staff must oscillate between being a 'therapist' or 'friend' and maintaining custody and control. Inmates who see the staff as a friend or therapist feel

betrayed when issues of control come up; inmates who see the officer as custodian interpret understanding and kindness as occasions for manipulation (1986: 54).

Through the just community approach or, as it is also termed, participatory democracy, there is an attempt to make these two cultures into a single community. Without having input into the decisions pertaining to rules, policies and disciplines, the inmates do not think of these as fair. Where inmate input is accepted and where staff act as leaders or advocates for the welfare and justice of the community as a whole, rather than as authoritative superiors within the institution, the belief in the just community is given substance. Inmates utilize positive peer pressure to gain adherence to rules. The shared norms between the staff and the inmates offer a sense of solidarity and act as a basis for rehabilitation.

Similar to Kohlberg, Piaget offered a complex view of moral development. He stated that moral behavior is more than an emotional response to particular situations. In his view, moral development contains a cognitive component. Piaget developed a theory of cognitive development or cognitive growth which, to an extent, overlaps moral growth. Three stages of cognitive growth were defined. The first, "sensory motor," refers to the time in a child's life when he explores and examines his immediate surroundings and establishes relationships between physical objects and his body. The second stage, "concrete operations," occurs when an individual manipulates and investigates objects. The third stage of cognitive development is "formal operations,"

and it is here that individuals develop the ability to conceptualize. Prior to "formal operations," an individual is not able to perform abstract moral thinking (Craig, 1976).

Piaget's theory of moral development holds that in the first stage, the "motor stage," a child does not have a conception of rules. The second stage of moral growth, the "authoritarian," occurs when an individual has an awareness of rules and where the rules have an almost sacred quality. "Reciprocity," the third stage, is when genuine morality begins. It is at this stage where attention is given to other people's interests when considering rules. Often, a fourth stage of "equity," is attained. At this stage rules are viewed with complete fairness.

Moral development and cognitive development, in both Piaget and Kohlberg's view, occur to the extent to which individuals are allowed and encouraged to participate in decision-making processes. When peer groups are given as much freedom as possible in decision-making, it assists in creating a community and it is here where moral development can occur.

Duguid (1979) addresses the concepts of the just community and reasoning, which he believes may be achieved through university level courses taught in prison. He describes the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program (PEP) as delivering university courses in an "alternative community," which because it is perceived as just or fair, reinforces more advanced levels of moral thinking and behavior. Duguid believes that humanities courses which offer frequent opportunity for

moral discussions and judgements, may be useful in raising a person's level of moral reasoning. In contrast to the view held by Kohlberg, that ethical confrontations should deliberately be introduced to promote moral development, PEP focuses on an environment which provides a forum for exercising moral reasoning and behavior. Nelson and Hoekema of PEP state:

If a person is confronted with reasoning which he can understand but is slightly above his current level of reasoning, he will tend to see its logic and will take on the higher level of reasoning. A prisoner, then, who is confronted with another prisoner on an ethical issue will only profit from this confrontation if the other person has attained a level of moral reasoning which is slightly higher than his own (1981: 310).

Nelson and Hoekema further state, ". . . the combination of ethical dilemmas in everyday life and practice in moral reasoning provides the mechanism for moral development. Course content greatly expands the ideas available to the individuals, producing some generalization of the mechanism" (1981: 320).

In a slightly different vein, Parlett (1981) argues that an alternate community is of value and is obtainable in prison but not necessarily because it is part of a university program. He states, "It is highly likely that if we separate out the Carpentry Shop and imbue the members with a sense of *krugovaya poruka* (group solidarity in the soviet manner) we will get very similar results" (Parlett, 1981a: 192).

LaBar, Parkinson, Lloyd, Coombs and Wright (1983) argue an opposing view to Kohlberg. They state that Kohlbergian studies

assume that whatever thinking abilities that are required for practical reasoning will be gained through taking part in democratic decision making. It is argued that there is no basis for this kind of assumption.

LaBar et al. argue for the inclusion of values education in correctional education. It is their view that values education would have positive effects on a prisoner's future thoughts and behaviors. Values education would also add balance and make the programs more educationally sound.

LaBar et al. focused on practical reasoning as a process which results in a decision about what an individual should value or do. They argue that there are two types of reasons involved in the process. The first reason is motivational and concerns are on wants, values, purposes or rules of conduct. The second is empirical or factual reasons concerning actions which are considered likely to fulfill the wants, values, purposes or rules of conduct. They state that practical reasoning can be broken down into six established tasks where each task must be performed well if practical reasoning is to be rational and sound. The tasks consist of identifying and clarifying the value or action to be decided, gathering relevant facts, assessing the truth of the facts, clarifying the relevance of the facts, synthesizing the factual information to arrive at a tentative value decision, and assessing the adequacy of the value used in making the tentative decision and revising the decision if necessary. For successful execution of practical reasoning, each

task requires a number of different kinds of sensitivities, dispositions, abilities and knowledge.

LaBar et al. examined the feasibility of introducing and implementing a moral education program in a correctional facility. A number of hypotheses were developed concerning deficiencies in inmates' practical reasoning. These hypotheses included: prisoners will have difficulty delaying gratification; will not be able to imagine themselves in the situations of others; will not understand the meaning of an obligation; will not trust other people; will not gather relevant information; will be unwilling to suspend judgment; and, will be closed minded.

A six week course, titled "Critical Thinking," was held in a medium security institution to test the hypotheses. Activities such as distinguishing factual claims from value claims and distinguishing valid arguments made up the first two weeks, with the remaining four weeks spent learning the process of value reasoning and the application of value reasoning to the topic of "war." While there were no formal tests, observations led to the belief that a course on critical thinking would be appropriate for correctional education. La Bar et al. stated:

It would appear that students could understand and apply the various skills and concepts taught. They were willing to learn, willing to take a position, and willing to debate and argue. This is not always the case in public school and university classrooms (1983: 271).

Another perspective is presented by Harper and Shute (1986), they cite Feldmesser and Cline's 1982 definition of moral education. It was stated that, "Moral education is the issue of whether individuals, in making decisions about their own intentions or actions, take into account the well-being of others as an end in itself." Attention was placed on mental processes and structures.

Harper and Shute note that modelling theorists hold different views and believe that people take a complex set of cues, simplify the cues and then develop a set of behaviors that are unique and are based on the observed cues. Key elements of modelling theory include attention, mental coding, mental rehearsal and motivation. All of these elements have been identified as controllable behaviors and are therefore able to change. "People pay attention to a model, take in the model's cues, simplify them through the use of symbols, place them in a memory bank of symbols" (Harper and Shute, 1976: 72). According to modelling theorists, an individual then takes the behavior and mentally sees themselves performing the observed behavior. At this point the individual now "owns" the behavior and when a situation arises that calls for the behavior, it is employed in reality. With regard to prisoner-students, Harper and Shute state:

Teachers who teach incarcerated individuals must understand that what they model is a stronger teacher than the subject matter taught. Those who hire correctional educators, must seek out those who model correct behavior in their lives, for that is what will carry through into the classroom and eventually into the lives of the students

(1976: 73).

Yochelson and Samenow: Innovative or Illogical?

The work of Yochelson and Samenow (1976) has had a direct influence on many prison education programs in existence today. Yochelson and Samenow conducted a comprehensive study of the criminally insane. Their results showed that offenders have immature and inappropriate thought patterns and the authors identified what they termed, "thinking errors characteristic of the criminal." Yochelson and Samenow found that:

. . . a criminal act was the end product of specific thinking processes and personality characteristics; thus, with our concept of a continuum the term 'criminal' was broadened to encompass a wide range of thinking processes, as well as criminal acts (Yochelson and Samenow, 1976: 28).

Some of the "thinking processes" that were identified were compartmentalized thinking, irresponsible decision-making, impulsiveness and perfectionism. Yochelson and Samenow reported that offenders regard themselves as good people, regardless of the harm they may have caused others. Offenders also hold a perception of themselves as victims. It was recognized that offenders use thought patterns in a logical and consistent manner which justify and rationalize their actions. It was reported that offenders required training to develop more effective thought patterns (Griffin, 1981).

Yochelson and Samenow's work has been criticized in a number of areas. They utilized clinical case studies from two hundred

and forty offenders who had been determined "Not Guilty by Reason of Insanity," and then generalized their findings to all offenders. Their results were used to support the view that offenders have "thinking errors" and that all offenders have the same "thinking patterns." There was no standard measurement of offender's cognitive functioning, nor were there comparisons made with the thinking of non-offenders (Ross and Fabiano, 1985).

Other criticism has been directed at Yochelson and Samenow's reference to the "criminal personality," the "criminal mind," and to the intervention techniques that were utilized. The treatment or intervention process targetted a "total change." Offenders were confronted in a wide range of areas which were believed to characterize their thinking:

He is faced with 'disagreeable but accurate statements about himself' in a 'no-holds barred' confrontation. The offender's thinking patterns are 'dissected' - probed down to the last detail and their shortcomings carefully and clearly presented to him and 'every old thinking pattern is replaced with a new way of thinking.' The aim of confrontation is not only to develop self-understanding, but to foster 'self-disgust and a sense of stupidity' which can motivate a choice to change. He is taught with considerable repetition, to develop and practice new thinking and behavior patterns (Ross and Fabiano, 1985: 233-234).

This intervention process has been described as a "character assassination" which should not be a part of any educational process (Ross and Fabiano, 1985: 235).

Duguid's Perspective

Spivak, Platt and Shure (1976) argued that offenders evidence deficiencies in certain kinds of thought processes. Problems arise not from conflict or aberrant motivation but from a form of cognitive deficit that leads individuals into social difficulties. Duguid (1981c) in discussing the success of the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program (PEP), stated that the rationale for prison education is based on "changing perceptions of reality." The process involved in changing the perceptions of offenders include cognitive development, moral development, and socio-political development.

The problem lies with the way in which the world and the self's relation to the world is perceived and the cognitive structures which assimilate that that perception. We are, of course, making a case for rationalism, for a direct connection between perception, cognition and behaviour (1981c: 45).

With reference to Piaget's stage process of cognitive development, Duguid states "that most criminals have remained at the concrete operational stage," but this does not make them a unique group. A separate cognitive style for offenders is not defined, rather offenders may be included with others who have an authoritarian cognitive style. The authoritarian cognitive style includes traits such as: deference to superiors; intolerance of ambiguity; use of stereotypes; exaggerated sense of strength and toughness; and, assumptions and cynicism about the motivation of others.

Concern is placed not on the content of an offender's thinking, but on the structure of his thinking. Duguid states:

. . .if cognition is in fact a key element in the behavior of criminals, then education can be a critical factor in changing such behaviour. The education program becomes what Feuerstein calls a 'mediated learning experience,' the lack of such mediation being perhaps the causative factor in the decisions which led to criminality (Duguid, 1981c: 47-48).

The emphasis of the university prison education program is on the basic structures of the academic courses, fundamental concepts and problem-solving strategies.

Duguid argues in favor of moral education. Where cognitive development may improve an individual's perceptions, moral development affects how perceptions are interpreted and the behavioral outcomes. The manner in which an individual perceives something is more than a cognitive operation, it also includes the individual's beliefs and values. These beliefs and values are part of the developmental process which can be affected by education (Duguid, 1981c). The standard liberal arts curriculum of the university prison education program is used to address these principles and rests on the concept of the democratic community.

In discussing how education can be used to enable an offender to make decisions which will not lead to further criminal activity, Duguid states:

. . . decisions take place within a material and cultural environment which education can do little to affect. In addition to that base, however, there is a further condition which is central to decision-making, that being the range or

repertoire of analytical thinking skills and moral principles available to the individual decision-maker and education can most certainly affect this inner context (1981a: 241).

What are viewed as common attitudes of offenders, for example, the dismissal of any feelings about the consequences of their actions, may arise from cognitive factors and level of reasoning ability. With reference to Kohlberg's Stage 2 of moral reasoning, where decisions are made in terms of personal need, reciprocity is the dominant interpersonal style. Egocentrism results in an inability to empathize with others. Similarly, Duguid states a lack of analytical skills prevents offenders from integrating past experience with the present or anticipating the future:

Thinking skills and their corresponding stages of cognitive-moral reasoning are a major factor in establishing a 'predisposition to offend' among criminals and potential criminals. It is these skills and stages of reasoning which, when coupled with a moral/ethical framework, make up the crucial inner context for the decision-maker. It is this inner context which the prison educator must hope to affect through mechanisms of development (Duguid, 1981a: 425).

There are then two major factors which affect the offender as a decision-maker. The first is his level of cognitive development and the second, his social, economic and personal situation. Social mobility or economic well-being can be changed somewhat but it is often beyond individual or social control. The level of development of an offender, his decision-making processes and behavior can be targetted for change through an educational approach.

There has been considerable emphasis on the liberal arts and humanities as a focus for prison education and much of this has been brought to the forefront by the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program (PEP). PEP, with its early emphasis on cognitive and moral development, and its current focus on democratic relations has continued throughout to utilize the humanities as a base.

In a recent discourse on PEP, Duguid (1985) described the humanities as a "logical centrepiece" for prison education. Attributes of the humanities include: a focus on writing and expression of ideas; the ability of the humanities to be applied to issues of value and opinion in a non-relativist manner; that they are removed from the direct relevance of the lives of the students; and, participation in humanities courses does not require prior extensive background knowledge.

The Ross and Fabiano Model

According to Ross and Fabiano (1985) the cognitive or educational model is based on a "conceptualization of criminal behavior which holds that offenders evidence cognitive deficits, or delays, in the acquisition of certain cognitive skills" (See Appendix B). Based on the premise that cognition is an important factor in criminal behavior, inadequacies in cognitive functions are in the general areas of rational self-analysis, self control, means-end reasoning, critical thinking and interpersonal cognitive problem-solving. The cognitive model is

not a theory of crime, nor does it uproot other sociological models of crime, but rather it is compatible and offers programs of crime prevention and offender rehabilitation.

In examining the kinds of thinking offenders evidence and the cognitive skills lacking in some, it is believed that offenders are action oriented and impulsive. When a problem is encountered, they act without analyzing the consequences. Reasoning may be simplistic and the world is seen in absolute terms with little appreciation for the complexities of social interactions. Once a decision is made, offenders may adhere to it rigidly. Often offenders externalize the blame for their actions on events beyond their control. Victims are given little concern as offenders may be unable to take the perspective of the victim and are without empathy.

In linking cognition and crime, two different aspects of cognition are examined. Impersonal cognition is thinking which deals with the physical world. Interpersonal cognition is the understanding of people and their interactions. It is with interpersonal cognition that offenders have difficulty. Impulsive behavior negates the ability to use problem-solving skills. It may reflect a failure to rehearse a response internally, or to use verbal mediation to regulate behavior. Offenders may not have learned to tolerate frustration or to delay immediate gratification. With an action oriented cognitive pattern, offenders are likely to focus on the immediate future and are unable to see the longterm outcome of their behavior.

For many offenders, the continuation of maladaptive or criminal behaviors may be the result of not having acquired a sufficient number of cognitive skills to enable them to analyse problems and respond to them in alternative ways. Cognitive processes can be taught, and taught in ways which allow for a general approach to problems. Through an examination of research on successful programs, Ross and Fabiano found that all successful correctional programs were multi-faceted. These programs were complex, offering a different selection and combination of intervention techniques. Almost all had some technique expected to impact on the offenders thinking.

The cognitive model (Ross and Fabiano, 1985) was derived from an analysis of both correctional programs and the literature. Through an indepth examination of the criminological, psychological, sociological and educational literature, evidence was found that the cognitive functioning of offenders was different from non-offenders. Such areas as self control - impulsivity, self-talk, concrete vs. abstract thinking, cognitive rigidity, fantasy and locus of control were given critical review.

Ross and Fabiano studied the success, defined through recidivism rates, of one hundred and eleven programs, categorizing the programs: effective cognitive, effective non-cognitive, ineffective cognitive or ineffective non-cognitive. Their analysis found that the effectiveness of programs was associated significantly with the use of cognitive

training. Support was found for the view that how an offender thinks may be associated with criminal behavior and subsequently with rehabilitation. Ross and Fabiano found the following general conclusions: many, but not all, offenders exhibit inadequacies in the development of their cognitive skills, which may limit their ability to function effectively in a prosocial manner; many effective correctional programs provide a cognitive training component; and, cognitive training may be the critical element to the success of these programs (Ross and Fabiano, 1985). Ross and Fabiano found that effective programs:

. . . included some technique which could increase the offender's reasoning skills, improve his sensitivity to the consequences of his behavior, teach him to stop and think before acting, increase his interpersonal problem-solving skills, broaden his view of the world, help him to develop alternative interpretations of social rules and social obligations, and help him to consider and comprehend the thoughts and feelings of other people (1985: 7-8).

The cognitive model has a basic assumption that the primary target for rehabilitation is an offender's thinking. Equipping an offender through improvement of his cognitive skills may assist in preventing anti-social behavior. Cognitive skills may aid offenders in improving self control and restructuring a cognitive pattern which is action-oriented rather than reflective. While it is not possible to change intellectual ability, it is possible to use cognitive training techniques to use intelligence more effectively. Offenders may reflect deficits in the social environmental circumstances in which they were raised or the opportunities to which they have been exposed

rather than personal deficits in their learning capacity. Cognitive training may help offenders to function successfully in a prosocial manner.

At the programming level, specific cognitive training may be applied to various types of offenders (eg. murderers, rapists). The effectiveness of a program may be maximized if programs have a variety of cognitive training components designed to improve functioning in a number of cognitive skills. In addition, without the appearance of therapy, these programs have an appeal for offenders. Ross and Fabiano state:

Prisons provide time to think, but time alone may not be a good teacher. Unfortunately, many prisons 'lack any of the elements of experience required for intellectual, social or moral growth' (Ayers, 1976). Most are cognitive slums; ghettos of impoverished thinking and inadequate intellectual stimulation where cognitive lethargy rather than cognitive development is promoted (1985: 207).

Standard objective procedures for assessing cognitive functioning levels were examined by Ross and Fabiano with the notion that these procedures were required for the development of cognitive training. A literature review on cognitive assessments determined which assessment devices appeared to be most valuable for offenders. In recommending tests, Ross and Fabiano included a combination of tests which were felt to address all of the cognitive functions which have been found to be problematic for offenders. These cognitive functions were self-control, abstract reasoning, social perspective-taking, interpersonal cognitive problem solving and locus of control. ³

³ For example, Ross and Fabiano recommended Levinson's

Morin's View

Relevant to the cognitive model, Morin (1981a) discussed offenders' rights to education. He offered three propositions:

1. the idea of right must be subservient to that of fraternal obligation;
2. the inviolability of an inmate's right to education is rooted in the concept of human dignity;
3. education means human development (Morin, 1981a; 24).

Morin argued that offenders' right to education must be understood in terms of human development. Education, as previously stated, is often seen as preparation for employment. There is an assumption in today's society that a high school education is necessary for survival and to that end, the focus of education is on education which fits employment requirements. This philosophy disregards "learning how to be," or human development, and in Morin's view, education which does not first address human development is without meaning.

Morin cautioned that cognitive theory, with its focus on the cognitive deficits of offenders, is dangerous from an ethical standpoint. With emphasis on developing the intellectual capabilities of offenders, there is the notion that intellect relieves moral obligation. Morin argues that intellectual knowledge alone does not promote what is necessary for social adaptation, which must encompass the total person and that includes an individual's passions, emotions, feelings and mind.

³(cont'd) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale for testing Locus of Control.

Morin (1981b) discusses values education in concert with moral education, and with the view that criminal behavior is moral conduct. In defining a value, Morin states, "A value. . . is not the product of some arbitrary choice nor the result of mental invention. Rather, value is something which imposes itself upon man's faculties and to which he can only respond (1981b: 168)." He provides justification for values education in prison on three grounds:

1. From a moral point of view, values education is a being-becoming fulfillment affecting the entire person;
2. from a logical point of view, values education exhibits polarity and polarization, allowing for the contrast required in adult reasoning;
3. from an educational point of view, no education makes sense if it isn't first of all values education (1981b: 160).

Values education can not be taught through the recognized formal education process. "Concrete incarnation being its destiny, value requires the contribution and collaboration not only of the cognitive powers of the mind but all the energies and vital capacities of heart and soul" (Morin, 1981b: 161). In Morin's view, values education requires the commitment of the entire person, where cognitive learning encompasses the mind alone (1981b: 164).

Morin examines the development of reasoning in terms of the cognitive model which, in his belief holds that "inmates do not think like adults but like children (1981b: 166)". He states,

if the criminal mind is to be accused of child-like reasoning, this is probably due to undifferentiated globalism or egocentrism. If it is to be associated with un-adult thinking, this could be explained by the incapacity or

unwillingness to recognize logical contrast
(1981b: 168).

Values education is committed to discerning truth and Morin argues that in the investigation for truth, what comes first is doubt. Doubt is then the first condition necessary in the search for truth. He states, "knowledge of truth grows in proportion to the effort of reason in studying the origins of doubt or contrary opinions. In this sense, values education can be a most valuable contribution to logical development" (1981b: 169).

With values education as the goal of all education, human growth is the most important element. The second most important element following human growth in developing values education in prison, are the instructors. Morin holds:

. . .the teacher must be first and foremost an educator of men - not of learners and doers - a promoter of human vision and hope. Literally, he is a philanthropist (philein, to love, anthropos, man) a lover of mankind, a professor of humanity (1981b: 179).

The content of what it taught, whether it be welding or post-secondary education courses in the humanities is not relevant.

Cognitive-Moral Development: The Final Answer?

For many individuals, education is viewed as an end in and of itself regardless of the context in which it is conducted or the individual who is the student. For prison education programs this may not be sufficient and therefore education is linked to

various theories and paradigms. Duguid states that, "Of particular relevance to this discussion are linkages between prison education and cognitive development - all of which are connected to the larger paradigm of change, development, maturation, and - dare we admit it - rehabilitation" (1986:60). The cognitive-moral development theory which gives emphasis not to social forces but rather focuses on the responsibility of the inmate for the circumstances he is involved in.

Cognitive deficits may be described in terms similar to Piaget's description of the egocentric child. The egocentric child is unable to look beyond the surface of another's behavior or motives. The behavior and motives of others are not understood except by reducing everything to the child's point of view and projecting one's own thoughts and desires. For Piaget, it is normal for a child to assert and reassert one's position when in an argument or when dealing with opposing viewpoints. Duguid states:

For some prisoners the 'problem' is a generalized one of cognitive-moral underdevelopment in most spheres of mental activity. For others it may manifest itself as a 'blindspot,' an inability to perceive values issues in one corner or area of life or an inability to make connections across situations. For others yet it may be a pathology, a refusal to make connections. Whatever the case, the 'cognitive condition' of the prisoner students seems to be overshadowed by the perils of their moral or value position (1986: 62).

Thus there is a need for prison education to have a moral dimension, but not to promote prison education as being moral education. An essential feature then is the moral dimension of prison education. Concern with values and with ethical choices

must be part of the whole curriculum. Instructors must understand that the curriculum encompasses all of their interactions with their students. The instructors behavior must communicate moral choices in all of their encounters which link learning to actions.

Tope and Warthan (1986) hold the view that the moral education process must encompass a holistic approach. The holistic approach to teaching offenders holds that offenders must be taught how to think, how to reason and how to make judgments:

In order to fill the moral void left by the deterioration of major institutions such as the family and church, education must step to the forefront, especially in prisons, and must encourage self-growth while providing the criminal-student with an awareness of social order and teaching the criminal how to build a sense of social consciousness as he relates to others (Tope and Warthan, 1986:76).

Tope and Warthan (1986) believe that education frees the inmate from irrational judgment-making and assists in promoting the mental and emotional growth of the individual from an adolescent to a communally functioning adult. They state:

Mass production of job-skilled criminals with general equivalency diplomas is not enough to effect personal change and restructure growth. If this were true, then rehabilitation would have worked . . . Introducing inmate-students to acceptable moral codes is needed to provide understanding and interpretation about what is to be expected (1986:77).

Semmens (1989) explored a social interaction model for prisons and found that high student performance was correlated with receiving more attention from the instructor, instructor

patience, friendly interaction between instructor and student, and a program that was intellectually demanding. Learning was argued to be more than a cognitive process, it is a process that includes an interaction between personal motivation and factors in an individual's life situation which include other people in the environment.

Semmens believes that prison education programs should share the same education theory as regular school programs. If the goal of regular school programs is participation in the community, then that direction needs to be reflected in the curriculum content and teaching style of prison education programs. ⁴

Campbell (1974) describes the characteristics of adult learners which are pertinent to prisoner-students. Adult learners are under no compulsion to determine the learning they undertake. They are in the large sense "volunteers." This differs from younger learners whose decision to learn stems from parents and the larger society. Further, adult learners are not tied to a specific standard of achievement such as a high school diploma, the area of study chosen is out of personal interest.

⁴ Note that the current philosophy that prison education programs need to have "the same education theory and direction as regular school programs" (Semmen, 1989:90), echo MacCormick's 1931 philosophy, "to consider the prisoner as primarily an adult in need of education and only secondarily as a criminal in need of reform (MacCormick, 1931:11). MacCormick argued that the normality rather than the abnormality of the student should be stressed and the importance of applying the standard educational practice rather than developing a special educational technique designed for the prisoner-student.

Adult learners also differ in that they may be impatient learners who have clear needs and high motivation. They demand to be treated as adults and have an expectancy that they will be able to share experiences and their own assessment of life. They may be intolerant of what they see as poor instruction and their acceptance of information is more subject to critical analysis. Adult learners' goals in education are more clearly defined and their intention to achieve more deliberate.

Houle (1961) in discussing adult education, described three basic categories of motivation for adults continuing their education. The first category of motivation was described as goal-oriented motivation. Adults continue their education in order to obtain a certificate or degree or some form of recognition of their competence. Second was learning-oriented motivation, where the focus is on learning for its own sake, or motivation out of the desire to know. Lastly, Houle described activity-oriented motivation where the concern is less with the course and more with the social activities associated with the course.

Adults may want to continue their education in order to acquire or improve a skill, to become more employable, and to gain a sense of satisfaction, accomplishment or dignity. They may want the experience in terms of how it will help them cope with life problems. Learning is important to assist in solving problems and achieving goals that have been set. Adult learners have a desire to share in determining the purposes of learning,

and want to be actively involved in the learning process.

The Value of Post-Secondary Education Programs

A number of studies have reported on the value and effects of post-secondary prison education programs. These programs have ranged from correspondence courses to structured programs within prisons which have formal relationships with universities. Heyns (1989) states that in prisons where education programs are available, that there are a number of prisoners eager to continue their education but, that these are often the prisoners who are determined that they will not continue their criminal behavior. There are also a great number of prisoners who are able to gain from an educational experience but who are not interested. To motivate interest, Heyns argues that one must start with the Warden and the institutional staff who must promote the education program.

In motivating the offender, the education program must have "dignity and standing in the institution." The program should have sufficient space, teachers, equipment and appropriate texts. Subject material should be relevant and non-dogmatic. Heyns also states that the recognition an offender receives for his scholastic achievements should be granted from universities or schools, in the form of a high school diplomas, if that is what has been earned, and so on.

Forster (1977) examined basic education and vocational training in a number of prisons in Great Britain. He interviewed 53 students most of whom were taking higher education courses through the Open University. Forster concluded that the courses added to the prisoners' social and occupational skills, significantly changed their sense of values, assisted long term prisoners to cope with their sentences, and enabled rehabilitation (Forster, 1977).

In commenting on prison education, Forster argues that there is communality between prison education and public adult education. Prison educators should approach the students and situation primarily as an adult educator, while recognizing the practical constraints involved in education in the prison setting. These constraints included security and routine considerations. Examples include time of day when the inmates are available to attend class, ability of inmates to attend classes on a regular basis and availability of materials. The location of the institution is important as it may limit the number of instructors able to travel to the institution. Length of sentence, either too short or too long, must also be carefully considered. Of vital importance is whether or not the institution has space available to accommodate the program. Finally, cost is a factor, as is the hierarchy in terms of the need for the program to achieve a spot in the power structure of the institution.

Forster also indicated concern with curriculum development in prisons which face special dilemmas. There is evidence that generally prisoners have a history of negativity toward school (Campbell, 1974). Forster states four factors that should be considered. The first is an examination of the needs and desires of the students. Courses available may have to go beyond the curricula of official agencies or universities and include special, non-credit courses. Secondly, the constraints both practical and ideological must be taken into account. Prisoners come and go at all times of the year. In a different vein, prison education programs may be required to justify their existence in part, by their effect on recidivism (Campbell, 1974). Assurances must also be made to ensure that the curriculum properly reflects the body of ideas and practice it represents. Fourthly, the curriculum must present the maximum opportunity of choice and progress to the students.

In reporting on the findings of his work, Forster found that many prisoners believed there was a link between their educational activity and their sense of self-respect. Students spoke of a new process of self-discovery or saw their current educational activity as maintaining a part of themselves that they could disassociate from crime and punishment. Forster warns:

Perhaps most dangerously, certainly in the higher reaches of academic education, an alienating obsession can take over. Is it right that we imprison a man, and then provide him with so rich a diet of educational experiences that he can, more or less, emotionally and intellectually reject his surroundings? And prisoners can become

alienated from their peers in the system, their family and the system which contains them. There is a range of subjects (mainly in the arts) which, pursued obsessively, can take a man away from prison . . . (1981:67).

Forster also cautions that if education is obsessively pursued, it can result in an over-concern with prisoners' immediate situation. Topics such as psychology can become focused on the study of deviance, or sociology can become an examination of the sociology of the institution. With a maintenance of self-respect, there may come to be a denial that a crime was ever committed.

Parlett, Ayers and Sullivan (1975) examined data from interviews with prisoners involved in the University of Victoria's Prison Education Program and concluded that there was strong evidence to support the UVIC program as effective in changing attitudes and values. Greater than half of the subjects expressed beliefs that interpersonal relations had improved and 50% had developed goals which were realistic. A greater understanding of society's institutions and individuals roles in society were expressed by 20% of the subjects. More than one-third of the subjects demonstrated through their comments, a more mature, rational approach to problem-solving.

Ayers (1980) conducted a study in Canada, the United States and Great Britain to obtain the views of prisoner-students on the effectiveness of various educational programs. His emphasis was on education at the post-secondary level. From the student evaluations, it was determined that there had been significant

intellectual, social and moral growth. This was particularly the case for students in humanities and social science courses that emphasized discussion of social, political and ethical issues, or in programs that developed problem-solving skills and interpersonal relations. Ayers states:

an adequate educational model would comprise three basic assumptions: (1) that delinquents and criminals have deficits in cognitive, social and moral development, (2) that development of cognitive skills is a necessary condition for the development of interpersonal skills and for moral development, and (3) that the delinquent or criminal is more a decision maker than a victim or a pawn (1980: 76).

He concluded that appropriate educational interventions can habilitate prisoners.

One of the most comprehensive evaluations of prison education programs was undertaken by Seashore and Haberfeld in 1976. Their study examined Project Newgate, a program which provided university courses to prison inmates, and began in 1967 in Oregon State Prison. Project Newgate expanded to six state penitentiaries, and was based on a model that was more ambitious and comprehensive than any other college program in existence at that time. Project Newgate intended to establish a self-contained program which would prepare prisoners for college by offering quality courses, therapeutic and academic counselling, and individual attention from program staff.

In developing the educational program, it was acknowledged that prisons were not considered likely settings for academic programs (Seashore and Haberfeld: 1976). Within the prisons, the

focus on custody and security, and the rigidity of the physical structures, were taken into account and attempts were made to create an academic atmosphere. Similarly, attention was placed on the fact that prison inmates were not usually thought of as potential students, where the average inmate's past school records demonstrates an unimpressive scholastic history. To assist prisoner-students, each education program provided preparatory work in addition to an undergraduate liberal arts curriculum. The major subject areas were english, history, economics and psychology. Courses were taught by regular instructors from neighboring universities or colleges. Both pre-release and post-release counselling were available and a number of prisons had housing facilities for students in study release programs. Arrangements were also made for prisoner-students to receive financial aid for their education upon release.

Seashore and Haberfeld compared the Newgate Program in five institutions with three institutions which did not offer the program. They also utilized a comparison group of inmates not in the program, but who had been released from the same institutions as Newgate prisoner-students. Seashore and Haberfeld used recidivism rates, stable life-style, and degree to which life goals were realized as measures of effectiveness of the program. They reported that there was no evidence that that participation in the program led to a significantly more successful post-prison career. It was also found that there were no significant differences on realizing life goals, achieving

stability or recidivism. Further, it was reported that administrators were committed to the Newgate Project and the university was positively involved in the program. However, the program was described as too limited in scope and too narrowly conceived. The program reflected the primary concerns of the prison for custody and control. There were no special incentives or accommodations in the normal day-to-day activities of the institution. Recommendations for educational programs included, that programs must be comprehensive, that students should be involved in the program for a period of time and that there should not be too long a gap between completion of the program and release.

There have been very few follow-up studies and little significant data on the post-release effects of college and university programs in prisons. In 1980 a post release study which examined the effects of the University of Victoria's Prison Education Program was undertaken. The program, based on the assumption that prisoners were lacking in cognitive development, social skills, and moral reasoning ability, had conducted prior evaluations annually. In these evaluations, students reported significantly more cognitive and affective effects than for other insitutional programs. Two types of cognitive changes were reported, the first was style of perceiving problems. Students reported that they could consider problems from several points of view rather than from an ego-centric view. Secondly, students reported a greater awareness of the functions and purposes of society. Affective

changes reported included a better understanding of one's self and one's interpersonal relations, a commitment to study and learning, and an increase in self-esteem. The follow-up study examined whether the self-reported effects of the program were long-term or short-term.

The evaluation was based on information on men's background and present life situation, statements by the men on the program and its effectiveness and statistical inferences drawn from both sources. Data collected indicated a reincarceration rate of 14% to 16%, an unemployment rate of 3%, and considerable changes in residential, marital and friendship patterns. The men's statements demonstrated cognitive growth and an increased sophistication of thought and reasoning ability. Attitudinal changes with regard to the law, politics, criminal behavior and friendship were also reported. An assessment of the significance of the reported changes resulted in the conclusion that the UVIC program had a decisive influence with some men and encouraged and facilitated development and change in others.

Eggleston and Gehring (1986) state that correctional education in Canada may be summarized as having five major elements which include, cognitive instruction, participatory decision-making, Kohlberg's moral education, Samenow and Yochelson's theory of criminal personality and an emphasis on the humanities.

Cognitive instruction, based on cognitive psychology, is markedly different from the behavioral psychology which is the

base for most United States education theories. Correctional educators advocate the cognitive focus on specific mental functions and instructional strategies because of the effect on school performance, social behaviors and employment. Further, the relationship between thinking errors and criminal behavior is given wide support. An example of the cognitive model was Feuerstein's cognitive model which utilizes mediated learning in a highly structured learning environment as an intervention strategy. Canadian correctional education also supports the use of relatively unstructured cognitive systems which may involve discussion of social, political and ethical issues. Ross and Fabiano distinguish between impersonal and interpersonal cognitive skills. Interpersonal skills are also known as social cognitive skills and address more closely the problems of incarcerated individuals. Feuerstein's cognitive model fits most closely into the interpersonal skills category.

The second major element, participatory decision-making, is exemplified through Kohlberg's therapeutic community or through democratic decision-making. Democracy emphasizes that there can be many legitimate perspectives regarding any situation. The ability to see the perspectives of others is viewed as an important cognitive skill.

Kohlberg's theory of moral development and the stages it encompasses, the third major element, contrasts with other earlier theories such as values clarification. The debate about the possibility of a direct link between cognitive and moral

learning has not been resolved, while Kohlberg himself now refers to his theory as "cognitive-moral development." Ross and Fabiano found little evidence of a direct link, but found that the structure of the moral dilemma strategy can be used to promote interpersonal cognitive skill development. At the programming level, there is a strong connection between moral and cognitive development and between moral development and democracy. Despite criticism regarding the sampling techniques and generalizability of findings, Kohlberg's work remains prominent in correctional educational thought.

The system developed by Samenow and Yochelson emphasizes the identification and correction of thinking errors which are viewed as the cause of criminality. As discussed earlier, the work of Samenow and Yochelson has received heavy criticism in Canada due to the generalization to all offenders of data gathered from a relatively small sample of criminally insane subjects and the lack of emphasis on causality or the causes of criminal thinking errors.

The prevailing theory in Canada is that criminal behavior is caused by interaction between cognitive deficits and environmental conditions. Canadian correctional educators point out that criminals can decide not to commit crimes, and they are not fond of theories that can be mistaken for the "born criminal idea" (Eggleston and Gehring, 1986: 86).

The last element in Canadian correctional education is concerned with the humanities where the humanities are viewed as an arena for interpersonal cognitive development. Emphasis is placed on the benefits of liberal education and on the English

and Canadian dichotomy between education and socialization. From this perspective, education is seen in terms of relaying culture and from the cognitive perspective, culture is a mediator of learning.

Problems today are still centered on motivating prisoner-students, who find it difficult to see the long-term rewards offered by education. The high turnover of the prison population both in terms of length of sentence and the policy of cascading prisoners from maximum to minimum security also makes it difficult for prisoner-students to complete course work or continue with their programs. Where prisoners act as teachers there is always the danger that the learning process can be corrupted, and research remains inadequate. Over-riding all of these concerns and the most critical dilemma faced today remains the conflict with the dual functions of the institutions, custody versus rehabilitation.

CHAPTER III

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA PRISONS

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Early Years

The British Columbia Penitentiary (BCP), built in the 19th century, was the first site of structured post-secondary education classes within the prison system in British Columbia. In 1966, Anthony Parlett started teaching university level courses to inmates in William Head Institution. He found that fewer of his students returned to prison after release. In an effort to determine if university level courses affected recidivism, he began what was called the "university project," offered through the University of Victoria (UVIC) in BCP in 1972. Parlett, the Acting Regional Director (Programmes) of the Canadian Penitentiary Service and a Master of Arts candidate, began the experimental project specifically to test the effects of an English literature course on moral development and attitude change. At the end of the project, the Canadian Penitentiary Service entered into a contract with UVIC and Douglas Ayers, the Coordinator of the UVIC Correctional Education programme, to offer introductory credit courses in the Humanities and Social Sciences to volunteer students at BCP and at Matsqui Institution.

In the early days of the BCP program, classes were held in a hut off the central dome. Those days were characterized by a

lack of reference books, constant noise, interruptions by security staff seeking particular students and full days lost when the fog resulted in prisoners being locked up for the day.

In 1973, Matsqui was in a transition phase from a drug treatment centre to a regular prison. Student enrollment at Matsqui was significantly lower than in BCP, where by 1974 class sizes were averaging 65 men for first year courses, compared with 35 men in Matsqui. Matsqui classes were originally taught in classrooms off the main concourse, but by 1975 the university had a separate building in the corner of the grounds.

Primary concerns centered on stability of the program and expansion. Almost from the program's inception students were requesting more of a variety of courses and, eventually third and fourth year courses. Students further wanted a transition from the temporary connotation of a "project" to the permanency of a "program."

By the end of 1974, 150 prisoner-students were enrolled in BCP and Matsqui. Four full-time Program Staff had been hired and ten courses were offered. Seven prisoners who had been granted day parole, based on their high grades and status of low-risk danger to society, had completed their first year of courses while living at the 7th Step Halfway House in New Westminster.

Institutional staff had mixed feelings about the program. Guards who had been encouraged to take the UVIC classes were given no leeway on shift changes, and the manner in which

prisoners were able to attend classes without this extra difficulty, was resented. In a larger sense however, the guards approved of the program as the program kept the prisoners quiet and occupied with their studies. A contrasting view was offered by the R.C.M.P., who argued that inmates were provided an education at public expense and the result would be more educated criminals.

Between 1976 and 1979, the Liberal Arts Curriculum was firmly established within the program, and there was in-class instruction of full-time students, close liaison with institutional and correctional staff, and a research agenda aimed at measuring the programs effectiveness. By the early 1980's, the education program was receiving widespread attention across North America, and other institutions were interested in replicating what was referred to as the "Matsqui Model," and its liberal arts focus.

The Liberal Arts Focus

The liberal arts program was operating at three distinct levels. First, courses were offered, which led to a Bachelor of Arts degree, that were fully accredited and transferable to any university in Canada. Second, the focus was on cognitive development, reasoning ability, and greater moral awareness. The program was based on the work of Kohlberg, and Yochelson and Samenow (Duguid, 1980: 30), with emphasis on the issues of moral development and moral reasoning ability. Duguid stated:

. . .it is held that cognitive development is a necessary step in moral development, that to advance from one stage of moral development to another, more 'social' stage one must be able to reason in a more sophisticated and analytical manner. Through the medium of university courses, the program attempts to facilitate that cognitive development, enhance reasoning abilities and thus lay the groundwork for the adoption of a more socially acceptable sense of morality in the individuals concerned (Duguid, 1980:30).

Finally, a sense of an alternative community based on principles of democracy and justice had been incorporated into the structure.

For the creation of the alternative community, there were three necessary requirements. First, the education program existed with as much isolation as possible from the rest of the institution. This requirement was based on the belief that institutional practices and institutional employees were of a similar nature and background to the social circumstances the prisoner-students were familiar with. Through this kind of a separation, prisoner-students would more strongly identify with their role of student. This was facilitated by a number of factors: the physical location of the program being separate from the rest of the institution; having a minimum of prison personnel in the building; and, students being allowed to spend the entire day in the school. Finally, through alternative social relationships, the prisoner-students were presented with a variety of ideas and social practices.

Second, instructors selected for the program challenged the views the prisoner-students had of themselves. Prison Education

Program Instructors hold a unique position within the prison. In the prison environment, they have no authority. On the one extreme, they have no control over disciplinary actions, and on the other, they have no control over parole proceedings. This lack of authority, or power, was viewed as beneficial, in that communication between prisoner-student and instructors was thought to be less susceptible to manipulation and more honest. Instructors were also thought to be seen as models by their students. In determining an "ideal-type" of instructor, Duguid (1980) turned to Kohlberg's stages of moral development and cited stages 5 and 6, or the post-conventional stage.

Moral development within the cognitive framework requires a relationship of mutual respect between teacher and student, authoritative but not authoritarian. Instructors must therefore tread between the poles of permissiveness and authoritarianism (Duguid, 1980:33).

Third, prisoner-students were exposed to new or out of the ordinary cultural input. This was in a variety of areas and through such mediums as books, films or music. A sense of community was developed through student councils, group decision-making and other responsibilities.

In discussing the ideal structure for an educational program, Duguid states:

. . . the twin goals being pursued must be kept in the forefront: cognitive development to facilitate moral development and the attempt to translate that cognitive/moral growth into changed behavior . . . the structure necessary to accomplish these ends has three fundamental aspects: the academic program, relations with the institution and the nature of the staff (1980:31).

Within the prison environment, prisoners distrust programs offered by the institution which they believe are not credible. This makes it necessary for the education program to be contracted out. Further, programs contracted out to a university are seen as more credible by prisoners than programs contracted out to a community college. The off-campus university program has its own administrative structures and staffing. Beyond academic qualifications, instructors have an interest in teaching in prison. Full-time staff have responsibilities beyond teaching; to maintaining the atmosphere and integrity of the program. Sessional Instructors for specific courses increase the dimension of the program.

Cognitive development was the base justification of the program and was facilitated through academic courses. History and literature were given special emphasis:

While philosophy and mathematics are appropriate disciplines for teaching abstract reasoning, history and literature have the advantage of providing content for the exercise of reasoning skills. In addition, there are implied moral and ethical issues in these disciplines which are not necessarily present in others (Duguid, 1980:32).

Due to their role in the central basis of the program which was the encouragement of moral development and, also due to their emphasis on writing skills, History and English have remained the core disciplines. The program emphasized:

. . .the role of cognitive growth in producing changes in moral reasoning which in turn facilitates changed behaviour. This, in turn, is based on two premises which have their origin both in theory and observation. First, the criminal has been more a decision-maker than a victim. . .The

second premise. . . is that the decisions of the criminal are made in the context of a certain stage of cognitive/moral development and that this stage can be altered in order to facilitate different decisions within the same or similar environment. Thus, the emphasis is on cognitive growth rather than direct behavior change (Duguid, 1979: 84).

There was no attempt to directly or deliberately affect the value system of individual students, rather, through the content of the academic course work, issues were raised that allowed for connections to be made in terms of the students' own value systems. Moral rules relying on abstract principles were not taught:

Above all the point is that moral content is not to be taught but rather the practice of critical thinking encouraged through confrontation with moral issues. It is this issue of critical thinking combined with a knowledge of ethical issues that is the key to the cognitive-developmental approach (Duguid, 1979: 85).

The core courses, history and literature, were offered along with social science courses and fine arts courses. Non-credit English composition and general study skills courses, taught by fellow prisoner-students, provided the introduction to the program.

Many of the structures and practices that are now inherent in British Columbia's prison education program were started during the early years. These include: active student councils; introductory writing and study skill courses with senior students acting as tutor-instructors; English as a second language courses with prisoner-students conducting classes;

research libraries with prisoner-students trained to operate them; intramural sports teams; a literary and public affairs journal; liaison with outside student and community groups; and, an emphasis on participatory decision-making in program affairs.

Times of Growth and Turbulence

Student enrollment in the Matsqui program grew from 35 in 1974 to an average of 65 students per trimester in 1979. A large percentage of students enrolled in the Matsqui program had begun their coursework in BCP. The Matsqui program was expanded so that students could transfer from BCP to Matsqui without losing their class standing during 1976 and 1977 when the problems brewing in BCP threatened to end classes at that institution.¹ By 1977, students who had completed the first and second year courses were able to enroll in a full four year program leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree. At this time, Matsqui was the only prison in Canada offering third and fourth year university courses and prisoners in the prairie provinces began to transfer to Matsqui to complete their degrees.

As a result of problems in BCP, there was discussion of BCP's eventual closing and the opening of its replacement, Kent Institution. Students were concerned that the focus of Kent,

¹ Problems in BCP, which may be identified as beginning in the 1963 prison riot and hostage taking, continued to escalate. In 1973, 200 cells were destroyed and in 1975 a prison social worker was killed in a hostage taking incident. Half the institutional staff resigned every year. In April of 1976, guards refused to work overtime as they felt conditions were not safe, and the sixth hostage taking incident in fourteen months took place with the entire East Wing of BCP destroyed.

which was on industrial programs, would destroy the UVIC program and that the education program would be lost. Due, in part, to a follow-up study of post-release students made public in 1979, this was not to be the case. The results of the study indicated that the UVIC program had an impact on individual development, employment, and life-style. In addition, a very low recidivism rate of 14% for ex-prisoner-students was found in comparison to the 50% recidivism rate for the general population. One of the results of the follow-up studies findings was program expansion in 1979/80. BCP closed and the program re-opened in the new federal facility, Kent. In 1980, William Head Institution, also introduced a university program and by 1981 a university program was in operation at Mountain Medium Security Institution.

With the closing of BCP, the nature of the population at Matsqui changed. Without BCP, Matsqui served as a reception centre for men newly sentenced. As a result, the population became younger, more volatile and more transient. The prisoners were no longer socialized to life in prison as they had been when BCP was in existence, and Matsqui once seen as a reward, was no longer viewed as such. In June of 1981 prisoners at Matsqui rioted. The institution was devastated with fires which destroyed 50% of the prison buildings, including the administration building, the cafeteria, an auditorium, a storeroom, the chapel and most of the residential complex. The last building occupied by the prisoners during the riot was the academic centre, and despite the tradition in prison riots to destroy the last place the prisoners have control over, the

Centre suffered almost no damage.

The Matsqui riot resulted in a number of students transferring to William Head Institution and the education program there subsequently became high profile. In particular the theater program attracted attention from the community. Audiences from the community attended productions within the institution and some productions were performed outside the prison. With low-medium security status, there were more opportunities for this type of programming than at the other prisons.

In 1981 the university prison program had reached a peak. Despite the positive reviews of the program, the attention on the education program at Matsqui, the desire of other programs to duplicate the "Matsqui Model," and the exposure of a National Conference On Prison Education hosted by UVIC, problems began to surface.

Queries were raised on the validity of the Follow-Up Study. Issues with regard to elitism, the bias of self-selection and the methodology the study employed were questioned. Criticisms of the program were also beginning to come from the Correctional Service of Canada and Instructors in other prisons.

Despite the demonstrated cost-effectiveness, international recognition and good relations within the institutions, in 1983 the Federal Government announced a cancellation of all post-secondary education for prisoners as a cost saving measure.

In the January 24, 1983 Commons Debates, Robert Kaplan the Solicitor General of Canada stated:

My hope is that post-secondary education can still be brought to them by self-help, by group sessions and by correspondence courses. I believe that, if those inmates really want to have the benefit of post-secondary education, they can develop it in some way that will cost the taxpayers less money (Commons Debates, January 24, 1983).

The operating budget for correctional services was approximately \$400-million a year. Of this, \$17-million was utilized for training and education programs. The result of cancelling the four educational programs then operating in Canada (University of Manitoba, Queens University, Laval University and UVIC) represented about \$1-million or a quarter of one per cent of the entire budget, or approximately six per cent of the training and education budget.

Throughout 1983 there was widespread public support for the university program and an extensive lobbying campaign was mounted in an attempt to keep the program. The government responded with a series of four month contracts. These contracts were drawn up in isolation of each other, with no guarantee that they would be renewed.

As a compromise to the extinction of the programs, a decision was made that students would be assessed a tuition fee to partially pay for courses. Implementation of this policy began with the government opening bidding on post-secondary education in prisons to all universities in Canada. A condition for application was that the university must accept the tuition

fee scheme, in which prisoner-students would be responsible to pay for a portion of their courses.

Under the federal policy of job provision, all prisoners were required to be gainfully employed and prisoners enrolled in the post-secondary education program were considered employed. In 1983 prisoners made \$1.60 a day if for some reason they were not employed. The maximum pay was \$7.00 a day with the average pay \$4.00 a day. Of their earnings, prisoners were required to put some funds into a compulsory savings account and money left was used for amenities. With the remaining funds, it would be unlikely that prisoners would be able to enroll in correspondence courses where fees were between \$300.00 and \$400.00 a course, and prisoners would be expected to pay \$20.00 per course tuition fee.

UVIC strongly objected to the tuition fee scheme on a number of grounds. It was argued that recruitment of students would be made more difficult, as initially prisoners enter the program for reasons other than education. For example, a prisoner may enroll because he believes it will aid his chances of parole or that the program is easier than the other jobs available. Once in the program, the prisoner-student may become focused on his education and accept the hard work it entails, or he may drop-out. UVIC also objected on the grounds that inmates enrolled in college or vocational programs were not subject to tuition fee payments. A major issue against the tuition fees was simply that prisoners could not or would not pay.

Both UVIC and Simon Fraser University tendered bids for the prison university contract. UVIC was given the first opportunity to come to an agreement due to the preceeding twelve years during which they were responsible for the program. They chose not to accept the student fee policy. As a result of UVIC's refusal to tender a bid, last minute revisions to the fee policy were made which gauranteed that students would not be denied access to courses due to inability to pay and, changes were made in the payment of fees so that fees would be deducted from students compulsory savings rather than their disposable income. On the basis of the revisions, which were never presented to UVIC, Simon Fraser University concluded their agreement in March of 1984.

Despite the change in universities, the program remained largely the same, but with a broadened context. Teaching staff remained with the program. Program activities expanded in the areas of curriculum and research. As well, students leaving prison were given on-campus assistance in the transformation from prison to campus. The change in fee policy did not deter students and by July of 1989 the fee policy was eliminated.

Over the years, the theory behind the Prison Education Program evolved in such a manner that outcomes could be measured and evaluated, and questions from funding bodies could be answered and substantiated. By 1987, the focus of the program had narrowed to democratic relations.

The program attempted to create a link between educational content and action. Situations were created in the learning environment where learning was transformed into action. The educational context which provided the forum also provided a sense of fairness, justice and democracy, with the goal being a democratic educational community. At the same time, the earlier attention to cognitive and moral development continued to be the underlying foundation and guide to the program's direction.

The objectives of a classic liberal education which include effective communication, wise judgement of acts, enhancement of clear and creative thinking, and an increased capacity to act in a socially appropriate and ethically responsible manner, were maintained. The additional objective of the acquisition of democratic skills became one of the major objectives of prison education (Duguid, 1987). To develop democratic skills, they must be practiced within the democratic or just community, a notion relying heavily on Kohlberg's theoretical base. Kohlberg holds democracy as central to moral development, with morality made up of fairness and justice. Further, the objectives of fairness and justice can be learned through literacy, cultural knowledge and discussion of the individual and society.

In examining the theoretical rationale for democracy, Duguid (1987) argued that there is a developmental process proceeding through stages, and, in the fashion detailed by Piaget, holds that the development of a sense of justice is attained through social interaction between peers. With this, the just community

is necessary to the developmental process. Duguid states:

. . .educational communities based on democratic principles are desirable in that they promote responsible social behaviours and promote or make possible the internalisation of the cognitive and moral development made possible through education (1987:62).

Duguid believes that the educational rationale for democracy is two-pronged; the first being the participation of the student in learning and the second, the impact of the nonacademic components of the total education experience. Students learn more when they are involved in the learning process, yet, within the confines of the environment, the carryover from the classroom to other aspects of the prisoner-students lives is difficult. However, the second point, the impact of the non-academic components, is developed through other aspects of the Prison Education Program.

THE SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY PRISON EDUCATION PROGRAM

In Canada the responsibility for adult corrections is shared by federal, provincial and territorial governments. The Government of Canada through the Ministry of the Solicitor General, the Correctional Service of Canada and the National Parole Board has the responsibility for all offenders sentenced to two years or more. The national headquarters for the Correctional Service performs overall planning and policy

development and the five geographic regions administer the operation of the correctional institutions and parole offices. The Mission Statement of the Correctional Service of Canada states:

The Correctional Service of Canada, as part of the criminal justice system, contributes to the protection of society by actively encouraging and assisting offenders to become law-abiding citizens while exercising reasonable, safe, secure and humane control (Draft - Mission Document, January, 1989).

Section 2 of the Penitentiary Act, which governs correctional institutions, defines a penitentiary as an institution for the training and custody of persons sentenced or committed to it. Section 29 provides for the education and custody of inmates, and Section 2.10 of the Service Regulations provides the basis for education programs, ". . . designed, as far as practicable, to prepare inmates, upon discharge, to conform to the requirements of the law" (Liaison, 1979).

There are eight federal correctional institutions in British Columbia. These institutions include the Regional Psychiatric Centre (Pacific), and Kent, Mountain, Mission, William Head, Matsqui, Elbow Lake and Ferndale Institutions. Under the Education and Personal Development Division of the Correctional Service of Canada, five of these institutions; Kent, Mountain, Matsqui, Ferndale, and William Head, offer university programs.

Simon Fraser University is responsible for the administration of the the University programs in British Columbia. There are a number of rationales for the program.

These are based on the liberal arts focus of the curriculum and, in particular, on the humanities. The liberal arts focus is on critical thought, ethical issues, communication - both verbal and written, and on discussion and debate of controversial issues. These are linked with the theoretical base of the program, namely that a link exists between behavior and skills and abilities in moral, intellectual and social reasoning. Individual development in the areas of communication, empathy, critical thinking, moral awareness and, cultural, social, and political norms are facilitated through the curriculum. The program attempts to supplement the goals of the curriculum through an educational community which involves a separate facility, a full-time Program Coordinator, and student involvement in program decision-making.

University staff provide instruction in a range of Liberal Arts courses, with the largest part of the curriculum consisting of 1st and 2nd year courses. The university also offers a non-credit University Preparation Program which generally consists of an integrated Writing, Grammar and Humanities courses with tutorials in computer literacy, and more advanced courses leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree.

Degree requirements may be met in History, English, Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology. The most frequently offered courses include: History; English; Humanities; Psychology; Kinesiology; Anthropology; Sociology; and Women's Studies. Dependent upon student interest, funding and instructor

availability, courses in Political Science, Geography, Economics, Theatre, Computing Science and Criminology are also offered.

In attempting to be an appropriate educational program within the setting of a correctional institution, the prison education program attempts to meet the institutional objectives of: addressing the need for literacy instruction; for enhanced employment opportunities; and, teaching life skills to a broad range of inmates.² The prison education program seeks to attract a cross-section of the prison population by: easing access through open admission; provision of academic counselling in the program and at the University; provision of academic upgrading programs; refusal to allow prison politics to enter the academic area; encouragement of a social environment with widespread participation; and, holding higher education rather than adult education as the rationale for the program.

The Prison Education Program in Kent, Mountain, Matsqui and William Head institutions enrolls approximately 40 to 50 men at the beginning of each trimester. Following an interview with the -----

² At the present time, the Correctional Service of Canada's new Mission Document which describes goals and provides the framework for policies, plans, and decisions through four components; the Mission Statement, Core Values, Guiding Principles and Strategic Objectives, is in draft form. Guiding principles, Core Value 2, holds: "We believe that programs and opportunities to assist offenders in developing social and living skills will enhance their potential to become law-abiding citizens. We must ensure that offenders participate in such programs and we will strive to motivate them to contribute to their development" (1989:9). Strategic Objective 2.4 holds: "To ensure that offenders are productively occupied and have access to a variety of work and educational opportunities to meet their needs for growth and personal development" (1989:10).

SFU Resident Coordinator, these men are admitted to the program as mature students. Within prison administration, the university program is considered a work placement and prisoners are hired into the program. Through this system, most prisoner-students carry a full course load and spend the entire day in the academic center. The enrollment number of 40 to 50 prisoner-students, represents about 15 - 20% of the population of the institutions and is only slightly higher than post-secondary enrollment for citizens of British Columbia. At the conclusion of each trimester, approximately 35 men are still enrolled for credit in the programs in Kent, Mountain, Matsqui and Willaim Head institutions. Reasons for drop-out include dropping-out by choice because of academic difficulty, or through prison-related matters. The Correctional Service of Canada has a policy of cascading inmates through the system from higher to lower levels of security institutions. This transfer system is cited as responsible for at least half of the drop-out rate (Duguid, 1987:2).

In completing a university level course a number of academic skills are necessary. The skills the prisoner-student must be able to accomplish include: the ability to follow instructions; understand complex written and verbal material; organize data, form opinions and debate points of view; respond to questions and assignments; develop the ability to communicate in writing; and, to work under pressure. These academic skills are considered to be life skills, easily transferable and necessary for appropriate functioning in the social environment.

As an off-campus program of Simon Fraser University, the prison education program must adhere to the University regulations. All courses must be started and completed within the established timetable and all ethical and social rules in force at the University must also be adhered to within the prison education program. Prisoner-students must also be responsible for assuming responsibility, in part, for the welfare and administration of the program. Student councils are utilized as are meetings among students themselves and with program instructors. Students advise on such matters as curriculum design, budgetary matters and so on:

It is in this realm of limited self-government that the notions of reason, common sense, compromise, empathy, causation, and ethics which were dealt with intellectually in the classroom are dealt with politically. And it is here, in this arena of clashing interests, constant tensions and incessant rumours, where theory becomes practice, where ideas become internalized or are tossed aside (Duguid, 1987:4).

The self-government, or democratic community, is not closed to the rest of the prison environment. In each of the institutions, there are forms of community outreach in that each has its own adult or continuing education program. Senior level students work as instructors for new students, whether with general study skills or with specific courses. In close association with Simon Fraser University, speakers, student groups and films are brought into the prison and assist in breaking down the social isolation of the student-prisoners. Contact and discussion with the wide variety of individuals brought into the prison and the resulting interaction regarding

political and social issues, encourages the prisoner-student to more closely identify with the role of student. This student identity may be useful as a model for prisoners to adopt after release. Some prisoners, approximately 5 men per trimester, do adopt the student role and attend SFU upon release.

It is also felt that attendance in the Prison Education Program assists students in finding employment upon release:

Finally, in total opposition to most of conventional wisdom on such matters, the university Liberal Arts curriculum is probably the most effective type of education for enabling these men to engage once again with the contemporary job market. With its focus on the breadth of knowledge, on the mastering of sophisticated communication skills, on computer and scientific literacy, and on critical thinking and argument, the Liberal Arts educational experience trains people for an adaptation to changing economic and social realities (Duguid, 1987: 6).

The cost of the program to the Correctional Service of Canada may be determined by staff time, space and funding. The program is self-sufficient within the prisons, having its own administrative, clerical and accounting staff. There is no requirement for security to be within the university area. The program requires space for, at minimum, a library, two classrooms, one office and room for study.

The stated university program philosophy is not based on the claim that there is any evidence that education has any effect on the behavior of prisoner-students other than increasing their grade levels, or any evidence that it enhances prisoner-students' parole success. It is clearly stated,

however, that:

. . .immersion in a university-level educational experience is quite another matter and, while still far from a panacea, such immersion can in fact have a decisive impact on the present and future behavior of the individuals involved (Duguid, 1987:1).

This may be in reference to the notions of cognitive development, humane values and democratic practice.

CHAPTER IV

RATIONALE

INTRODUCTION

In this section, three topics pertinent to the rationale of this thesis will be examined. It may be demonstrated that many of the cognitive skill deficits evidenced by prisoners are similar to those of individuals who believe that the environment exercises the major influence on their behavior. These individuals are termed "Externals" on the Locus of Control Scale and they believe that chance or powerful others control the course of events. A second topic of discussion will be psychological well-being. Of importance here are findings that higher levels of education are associated with higher levels of psychological well-being, or positive affect, and that individuals with greater internal locus of control score higher on the positive affect scale. Finally, a study by Lewis (1973), of a correctional institution which utilized humanities courses as a rehabilitative technique, will be discussed. This section concludes with the rationale for the present study.

LOCUS OF CONTROL

The concept of locus of control emerged from social learning theory, where emphasis is upon how choices are made, or on what has been described as learned social behavior. An individual's behavior is determined not only by the nature or importance of goals or reinforcements (situational specific factors), but also by the anticipation that these goals will occur (dispositional elements).

E.J. Phares, who developed the first locus of control scale, stated:

Expectancies are regarded by social learning theorists as prime determinants of behavior; reinforcement alone does not explain behavior adequately. In other words, according to this theory, behavior is determined by the degree to which people expect that their behavior will lead to goals, as well as by reinforcement through goal achievement . . . Expectancies for the outcomes of behaviors are learned, and they depend upon the degree of success or failure they have enjoyed in the past. Changes in expectancies can be brought about by introducing new experiences that alter previous patterns of success and failure (Phares, 1976:13).

The Locus of Control Scale measures the degree to which people believe that they exercise control over their lives. Perceived locus of control may be seen as a fairly narrow expectancy of reinforcement, arising out of a specific situation or as a relatively stable characteristic that people carry with them from situation to situation. An individual's generalized belief about control affects his/her behavior, as does the

structure of specific situations. Behavior then may be determined both by the expectancies brought to the situation and the structure of the situation.

The most widely used locus of control scale has been Julian Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale (Rotter, 1966). This scale consists of twenty-nine items. Each item has paired alternative statements and subjects must choose the one statement which they believe to be more true.¹ The scale was designed to measure the degree to which an individual believes that he is self-motivated versus the extent to which an individual believes the environment exercises the major influence on his behavior. Those individuals who believe that they are self-motivated or directed are termed "Internals," individuals who believe that fate, luck, chance, or powerful others determine their behavior are termed "Externals."

Rotter hypothesized that the locus of control variable is important in understanding learning processes in different kinds of situations. Also consistent individual differences exist among individuals in the degree that they attribute personal control to reward.

In discussing the construct validity of the I-E scale, and with reference to his previously mentioned hypothesis, Rotter

¹ For example, in Item 2. of Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale (1966), subjects are requested to select the one statement they believe to be more true:

- a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
- b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

stated that there is:

. . . strong support for the hypotheses that the individual who has a strong belief that he can control his own destiny is likely to (a) be more alert to those aspects of the environment which provide useful information for his future behavior; (b) take steps to improve his environmental condition; (c) place greater value on skill or achievement reinforcements and be generally more concerned with his ability, particularly his failures; and (d) be resistive to subtle attempts to influence him (1966: 25).

Rotter cautions that, "We do have indications, however, that the people at either extreme of the reinforcement dimension are likely to be maladjusted by most definitions," (1966: 4). This finding has been supported by a number of studies (Hersch and Scheibe, 1967; Kiehlbauch, 1968).

Using Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale (I-E scale), Seeman and Evans (1962) studied tuberculosis patients who demonstrated greater self-effort towards recovery versus those who were more passive. It was stated that:

The anticipated formula is simple enough: high alienation goes with limited knowledge, for, in an important sense, knowledge acquisition is irrelevant for those who believe that fate, luck, chance or external forces control the fall of events (Seeman and Evans, 1962: 773).

Their study tested the validity and internal consistency of Rotter's scale, and utilized I-E as a control dimension. Seeman and Evans found externally oriented patients scored lower on an objective test about their illness. The rationale behind this result was that internally oriented people would attempt to control their environment through knowledge (Levenson, 1974).

A similar result was found by Davis and Phares (1967) which supported the notion,

. . .that individuals with a generalized expectancy that reinforcement is contingent upon their own behavior tend to actively engage in information-seeking to a greater degree than individuals who do not hold such a generalized expectancy (1967:556-557).

In a later study which gave further evidence to the construct validity of the I-E scale, Seeman (1963) examined memory of reformatory inmates for various kinds of information the inmates had been exposed to in an incidental fashion. A significant correlation was found between internality-externality and amount of information remembered regarding how the reformatory was run, parole, and economic facts that might affect inmates upon their release from the reformatory, with internals remembering more. Further, the correlation was found to be independent of intelligence. (See Appendix C for other relevant studies which utilized the Locus of Control scale.)

Hanna Levenson (1974) developed the Internal, Powerful Others and Chance - Locus of Control Scales (I, P, and C scales) in response to problems with Rotter's scale. Levenson states:

The items on the I, P, and C scales differ from Rotter's I-E scale in four important ways: (a) Instead of a forced choice format, a Likert 6-point scale was used so that the three scales are statistically independent of one another; (b) On the I, P, and C scales a personal-ideological distinction has been made. All the statements are phrased so as to pertain only to the S himself. They measure the degree to which an individual feels he has control over what happens to him, not what he feels is the case for people in general;

(c) No reference is made in the items which would assume the modifiability of the specific issues. These latter two factors of personal versus ideological control and system modifiability were found by Gurin et al. (1969) to be contaminating factors in Rotter's I-E scale; and, (d) The I, P, and C scales have a high degree of parallelism in content among each triad (1974:378).

Levenson's scales were constructed to divide the broad category of externality and enable measurement of belief in fate or chance expectancies separately from an orientation to powerful others. She stated that the reason behind the differentiation was that "people who believe that the world is unordered (chance) would behave and think differently than people who believe that the world is ordered but that powerful others are in control" (Levenson, 1973: 398).

In a study with "normal" subjects, Levenson (1972) reported that adults with a chance orientation did not participate in a social action group. This was in opposition to individuals with a powerful others, or an internal orientation, who did participate. Levenson argued that the people who become involved in the social action group did not believe that chance controls events; however, they may believe that powerful others do control events:

It, therefore, appears that there is some validity for separating out dimensions within Rotter's external classification, since externally oriented people may behave quite differently depending on whether they expect to be controlled by chance forces or by powerful others (Levenson, 1973: 398).

(See Appendix C for other relevant studies.)

PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

During the 1960's there was a rise in interest in the evaluation of the quality of life through social rather than economic indicators. The subjective experimental component of the quality of life has been life satisfaction, happiness or psychological well-being (Bradburn, 1969). In evaluating the quality of life, the focus has been on indicators of short-term stress arising from events in day-to-day life rather than long-term problems or pathological conditions. Bradburn (1969) argued that psychological well-being is contingent on the absence of negative factors, such as unhappiness or loneliness, and also on what may be termed positive mental health. Positive mental health has been determined by the occurrence of such positive experiences as interest, excitement or elation.

Bradburn devised the Affect Balance Scale, a ten item instrument, to investigate two hypothesized dimensions. Five items dealt with the positive aspect of well-being, or positive affect and the remaining five items dealt with the negative aspect of well-being, or negative affect. Bradburn conceptualized well-being as a day-to-day experience, not an enduring personality trait.

Bradburn's findings from large scale surveys in the United States indicated that the positive and negative affect scales were good predictors of psychological well-being. Further, the excess of positive over negative affect was related to greater

satisfaction with life. The reverse was also found to be true, with the excess of negative over positive affect related to greater dissatisfaction with life. The two dimensions were independent of each other but correlated equally with other measures of well-being. A subject's score on one affect dimension did not predict the subject's score on the other dimension, therefore the two aspects were not measures of one dimension, but rather of two distinct dimensions. Further, the two affect dimensions were related to two different sets of variables. Positive affect correlated with higher levels of education, social participation, exposure to new experiences and social economic status. Negative affect related to worry, anxiety, ill-health and fear of a nervous breakdown.

Bradburn also found that the difference between a subject's score on the positive affect scale and the negative affect scale was the best predictor of an individual's current level of psychological well-being, and produced higher correlations with other measures of life satisfaction than either scale taken separately. Therefore, an individual's overall sense of well-being is a function of the difference between the individual's levels of positive and negative affect.

Cherlin and Reeder (1975) note that studies using Bradburn's Affect Balance Scale offer a broader perspective of psychological well-being than the earlier mental health orientation which had received widespread support. They state that subjective measures of satisfaction and happiness are now a

part of the repertoire of social measurement in the development of social indicators (1975:190).

In their study, Cherlin and Reeder (1975) found that positive and negative affect were independent factors. Their results confirmed Bradburn's report that a higher level of education was associated with a higher positive affect score but was independent of negative affect. Further, a relationship was also found between the affect scales and feelings of internal locus of control as measured by a subset of four items drawn from Rotter's (1969) Internal-External Control Scale. Individuals with more internal control tended to score higher on the positive affect scale and lower on the negative affect scale.

With regard to the Affect Balance Scale, where an individual's well-being is determined by the balance of positive and negative affect, Cherlin and Reeder found that the Affect Balance Scale had lower correlations with education and employment status than did the Positive Affect Scale. Cherlin and Reeder offer three problem areas:

- (1) positive and negative affect may hide a complexity of emotional feelings which make interpretation difficult,
- (2) the situationally specific focus and emphasis on occurrence of feelings rather than frequency may contribute to the independence of the affect dimensions, and
- (3) the utility of the Affect Balance Scale and the balance model have yet to be demonstrated satisfactorily (1975:210).

Harding (1982) utilized a British sample to confirm Bradburn's model. Support was found for the determination that

the balance from adding the scores of positive and negative affect were a stronger predictor of psychological well-being than either of the scales taken separately. In contrast to Cherlin and Reeder's cautions, Harding concluded that, ". . . the Affect Balance Scale offers a short, reliable measure of psychological well-being" (1982:174).

THE LEWIS EVALUATION TECHNIQUE

The State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill, Pennsylvania introduced a program which used humanities courses to assist in rehabilitation. Based on the premise that prisons should be correctional institutions and should therefore rehabilitate, the goal of the program was to introduce materials and activities that would lead students to examine their lives, find an identity, and a set of values. Humanities courses were seen as a rehabilitation technique, where group discussion of significant issues might lead to an examination of values and attitudes.

A major problem area for the program was security, and the environment which was inherently punishing. Within this environment, instructional techniques aimed at presenting stimulating and provocative material to enhance discussion resulted in teachers being labeled by prison staff as being a source of disruption. This attitude was perhaps promoted by the

role teachers assumed. As Lewis states:

In a prison, one can choose to identify with either the staff or the inmates. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to occupy a middle ground. This polarization proved to be a major problem in the humanities program. The teachers were selected and oriented to be understanding of the characteristics and problems of the inmates. The University staff believed then, and still believe, that only teachers who communicate a sense of concern can reach students who are alienated by education and school like activities . . .(1973:71).

Evaluation procedures designed by Lewis (1973) to assess the immediate and long-term effects of the program were directed at two general areas. The first area was acceptance of the program, where acceptance was seen as an important indicator of the success of the program. The second general area was observed changes in the inmate student. Anonymous questionnaires were administered half-way through the program and again at the completion of the program. The results indicated that the majority of inmate students did not believe that what they had learned would be useful either in prison or after their release and further, responses remained the same over time. Some immediate effects of the course were observed while the student inmates were still in prison but there was no lasting effect after release.

In examining the program, Lewis argues that true rehabilitation cannot take place in a punishing environment, and in his evaluation of the program, he found that prison education programs have little post-prison effect.

Lewis concluded that there was no evidence to support the view that humanities assisted in the rehabilitation of offenders. He believed that education can play a role, the objective of which is not to rehabilitate, but rather to "broaden and enrich the lives of inmates" (Lewis, 1973).

RATIONALE FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

Studies on locus of control have demonstrated that external individuals who believe that events are unordered and random (chance) and individuals who believe that there is a basic order and predictability to events coupled with an expectancy that powerful others are in control, have characteristics which are similar to the cognitive skill deficits evidenced by offenders. Much of the literature, in describing offenders, state that offenders externalize the "blame" for their behavior. Ross and Fabiano (1985) state:

It has often been suggested that offenders tend to deny responsibility for their actions and to explain their behavior as being controlled by agents or circumstances beyond their control. . .many think, or claim that they think, that it is not they who are responsible for their criminal behavior. . .they cannot control their behavior and, therefore, they cannot be held responsible for it (1985:48).

Similarly, and with reference to locus of control, individuals with an external orientation were found to exhibit more blaming behavior (Davis and Davis, 1972; Phares et al., 1971; Rotter,

1966).

The cognitive model holds that offenders act impulsively, thus negating their ability to use problem-solving skills. In terms of locus of control, it has been found that while internally oriented individuals attempt to control their environment through problem-solving and knowledge and place emphasis on skill and achievement, externally oriented individuals do not (Davis and Phares, 1967; Seeman, 1963; Seeman and Evans, 1962; Rotter, 1966).

With the cognitive model, there is the assumption that while it is not possible to change intellectual ability, it is possible to use cognitive training techniques to use intellect more effectively. Studies indicate that there is no evidence that offenders as a group are different intellectually than the population at large. Locus of control studies have also found that scores obtained are independent of intelligence (Brown and Strickland, 1972; Seeman, 1963). However, it has also been found that internals have higher grades in the academic sphere (Brown and Strickland, 1972).

Studies in locus of control have found that internals are better adjusted than externals (Hersch and Scheibe, 1967) and that externals have more extreme behavior (DuCette and Wold, 1972).

In light of the findings of the research, it was felt that it would be of value to explore the locus of control of students

enrolled in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program. It was expected that the degree to which an offender believes in chance or powerful others would decrease with cognitive skill training and further, that the number of post-secondary courses a prisoner-student has completed is related to scores on Levenson's I, P, and C locus of control scales. Specifically, prisoner-students who have been enrolled in the program for some time are expected to score higher on internality.

A further exploration of the number of post-secondary education courses prisoner-inmates have completed will be examined to determine psychological well-being, through Bradburn's (1969) Affect Balance Scale. Bradburn's 1969 study with a non-incarcerated population detailed findings indicating that individuals with lower levels of education report more negative experiences in their daily lives. Similarly, he found that individuals with higher levels of education report more positive experiences. It is expected that, just as prisoners differ in the degree to which they are internal or external depending on number of courses completed, they will also differ in terms of psychological well-being.

Finally, a replication of a subset of Lewis' questions, which he used to examine humanities courses in prison as a rehabilitative technique, will be used in this study to determine prisoners' satisfaction with their programs.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Definitions

Conceptual Definitions of Major Variables

Cognition - The term "cognition" has been used to refer to a variety of functions, which include among others, thinking, reasoning, organizing, perceiving, evaluating and planning. Ross and Fabiano (1985) decided against defining cognition, "which would result in limiting our research but to use as a guide for the research a variety of terms: reasoning, problem-solving; decision-making; critical thinking; logic; conflict resolution; choice behavior; moral reasoning, cognitive style, perception, attribution, and abstraction" (1985: 32).

Psychological Well-Being - Studies of well-being have determined that while it is possible to measure the variable reliably, there is not an agreement on its status conceptually. Bradburn (1969) states that when difficulties in living are examined, the variable "happiness," or a sense of psychological well-being is of primary importance.

Locus of Control - Locus of Control is defined as the degree to which an individual believes that he is self motivated as opposed to the extent to which an individual believes the environment exercises the major influence on his behavior. Those individuals who believe that they are self-motivated or directed

are termed "Internal," individuals who believe that fate, luck, chance or powerful others determine their behavior are termed "External" (Levenson, 1974; Rotter, 1966).

Levenson (1974) has stated that the definition of External is too broad, and has further divided the External category into "Chance" and "Powerful Others" expectancies. Individuals with a Chance orientation believe the world is ordered but that it is controlled by Powerful Others.

Humanities - Lewis (1973), in determining prisoner-students' satisfaction with their programs defined "Humanities" as "any materials which will aid the subjects in arriving at a sense of personal identity which encompasses their individual strengths and weaknesses, while providing a sense of meaning in life and a set of values consistent with life in society (1973: 68)."

Operational Definitions of Major Variables

Cognition - Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance Locus of Control scales developed by Levenson (1974).

Psychology Well-Being - Bradburn's (1969) Affect Balance Scale.

Program Satisfaction - An adaptation of Lewis' (1973) Acceptance of Humanities questionnaire.

Sampling and Subject Selection

Subjects were selected from three groups:

1. Simon Fraser University on-campus Students.
2. Prisoners enrolled in PEP in federal correctional institutions in British Columbia.
3. Prisoners not enrolled in PEP in federal correctional institutions in British Columbia.

Simon Fraser University On-campus Students

Subjects were selected from the general student population at Simon Fraser University. In most cases students were approached in various locations on the campus by the researcher who inquired whether or not they would be interested in filling out a questionnaire. A number of questionnaires were also distributed by a Teaching Assistant to students in an evening class. Those who expressed an interest were given a copy of the Information Sheet, a Consent form and a copy of the questionnaire.

Prisoners Enrolled In PEP And Prisoners Not Enrolled in PEP

All PEP students and all prisoners who were employed in work placements (not enrolled in PEP) who were interested in filling out the questionnaire were given a copy of the Information Sheet, a Consent form and a questionnaire. Random sampling was to take place after the questionnaires were completed.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire included five sections: 1) Internal, Powerful Others and Chance scales, 2) Perceptions of the Education Program, 3) Perceptions of the Work Program, 4) Psychological Well-Being, and 5) Demographic Data.

Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance Scales

Levenson's (1974) Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance scales were utilized to determine the degree to which subjects believed that they exerted control over their environment. The results of these scales were thought to be related to levels of cognitive development. The 24 item scale was presented at the beginning of the questionnaire.

Perceptions of the Education Program and Perceptions of the Work Program

A subset of Lewis' (1973) "Acceptance of the Program: Ratings of the Humanities Program," questionnaire was used to discover both prisoner-students and Simon Fraser University Students perceptions of their educational experiences. The questions were revised from the educational program questionnaire to suit prisoners' in the work program who were not involved in the education program.

Psychological Well-Being

Bradburn's (1969) Affect Balance Scale (ABS) was used to obtain subjects' perceptions of their placement on the dimension

of psychological well-being.

PROCEDURE

The Physical Setting

Subjects were drawn from Simon Fraser University and from the five federal correctional institutions in which PEP was offered. The five correctional institutions included Kent, Mountain, Matsqui, William Head, and Ferndale.

Kent Institution is a maximum security institution located near Agassiz. The institution offers employment in industrial and educational programs, in addition to producing wood furniture and textile products. At the time of the study (October, 1989), 115 prisoners required segregation from the general population and were housed in Units H and K. Of these, 15 were enrolled in PEP. The total prison population was 235, of these a total (including Units H and K) of 35 prisoners were enrolled in PEP.

Mountain Institution is located on the same grounds as Kent and is a medium security institution. Employment includes education and industrial work consisting of upholstery, carpentry, industrial painting and finishing, and horticulture. In October 1989, the total population was 273, with 40 enrolled in PEP.

Matsqui Institution is a high-medium security institution near Abbotsford. The institution operates educational and

vocational work programs which include welding, automotive, woodworking, graphic arts and autobody. Matsqui has the capacity to house over 400 prisoners and at the time of the study, 40 prisoners were involved in PEP.

Located on a peninsula on Vancouver Island, William Head Institution had a total population of 204 with 45 prisoners in PEP. Of the 45 prisoner-students', 15 were part-time students. William Head is classified as a medium security institution. Educational and vocational programs are offered.

Ferndale Institution is a minimum security institution located on one hundred acres east of Mission. Prisoners are employed through contracts with B.C. Forest Service and Agribusiness projects, Provincial Parks, cutting firewood and maintenance and operation jobs. Education and training programs are available and focus on skills necessary for re-entry into the community. The number of prisoner-students in PEP during the study was 8 out of the 110 total population.

Procedure for the Administration of the Questionnaire

Questionnaires were administered during September and October, 1989. For questionnaires administered within the prisons, the general procedure involved an initial meeting between the Program Coordinator, Student Council, Inmate Committee and the researcher. At that time the researcher introduced herself and the study. Confidentiality was discussed

and all questions regarding the study, and the procedures were addressed. At that time the Program Coordinator, Student Council and Inmate Committee in most institutions agreed to support the study and to inform prisoners in both the education and work placements of the study through word of mouth and through posted notices. A date for the researcher to return to administer the questionnaire was made and was for a time when prisoners would be able to attend without greatly disrupting their schedules.

The initial visits to the prisons proved valuable in a number of ways. In several prisons the researcher spent the entire day in the prison, familiarizing herself with the physical surroundings of the prison and in particular the Academic Centre. Also the researcher was able to meet with both Program Coordinators and prisoner-students and discuss and observe the Prison Education Program in some detail.

The classrooms within the Academic Centre were utilized in most cases for administration of the questionnaire to subjects in both the education and work groups. Prisoners attended on the arranged date and at that time the researcher introduced herself and the study. In some institutions the Student Council members also announced that the student council endorsed the study. Subjects were then given Information Sheets, a Consent Form, a Questionnaire and a pencil. Upon completion of the Questionnaires, the researcher gathered the Consent Forms and the Questionnaires.

The majority of subjects from Simon Fraser University were randomly selected from different areas within the University campus. Subjects were approached by the researcher who introduced herself and the study. Students who were interested in participating in the study were given an Information Sheet, Consent Form and a Questionnaire.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

Introduction

This study attempts to examine some of the differences which may exist among federal prisoners enrolled in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program, federal prisoners not enrolled in the Prison Education Program and Simon Fraser University on-campus students. The areas in which differences between the groups may be found include scores on the Locus of Control Scale and Psychological Well-Being Scales, and subjects' satisfaction with their programs. Studies have demonstrated that prisoners evidence certain cognitive deficits that are similar to characteristics of individuals with high beliefs in External control (Powerful Others and Chance). It was felt that enrollment in the Prison Education Program might assist prisoner-students in cognitive development, and that prisoner-students may score higher on the Locus of Control scale than those prisoners not involved in the program. Similarly, it was noted that prisoner-students may have a higher sense of psychological well-being and have greater satisfaction with their program than either of the other two groups.

The SPSS-X Introductory Statistics Guide (1988) was utilized to generate statistics and assist in data analysis. A number of procedures were used which included frequencies, Pearson's correlation coefficient, crosstabulation, and analysis of

variance.

Subject Characteristics

Age

The age range of the sample of 154 male subjects was between 18 (n = 1; .7%) and 70 (n = 1; .7%) years old. The average age of the subjects at the time of the study was 29 years old (SD = 9.89 years), with the median age 27 (n = 10; 7.3%). When the subjects were categorized into Simon Fraser University on-campus students (SFU), federal prisoners enrolled in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program (PEP), and federal prisoners in work placements (Work) the age ranges varied. The age range for SFU (n = 50) was between 19 (n = 7; 14.3%) and 40 (n = 2; 4.1%) years old. The average age was 23 (SD = 5.68 years), with the median 21 (n = 6; 12.2%) years old. The age range for PEP (n = 58) was between 18 (n = 1; 1.9%) and 70 (n = 1; 1.9%) years old. The average age was 33 (SD = 9.9 years), with a median of 31 (n = 3; 5.6%) years old. The age range for Work subjects (n = 46) was between 19 (n = 1; 2.9%) and 59 (n = 1; 2.9%) years old. The average age was 33 (SD = 10.4), with a median of between 31 (n = 1; 2.9%) and 34 (n = 1; 2.9%) years at 32.500. (n = 3).

Level of Education

Prior to entering their current education or work program, the level of education completed for the sample ranged from no

education (n = 1; .7%) to completion of graduate studies (n = 2; 1.4%). More subjects (n = 34; 23.6) had completed high school than any of the other levels of education. When the subjects were categorized into groups according to program, it was found that for the SFU subjects the range was between completion of high school (n = 18; 36%) and completion of graduate studies (n = 1; 2%). The majority of subjects were in the completion of high school category which indicated that some of the subjects in the SFU and PEP samples were in the first semester of university studies. For the PEP group it was found that the level of education subjects had completed prior to entering their current program ranged from some elementary school (n = 2; 3.6%) to completion of some graduate studies (n = 1; 1.8%). The majority of PEP subjects had completed some high school (n = 16; 28.6%). The level of education completed for the Work subjects ranged from no education (n = 1; 2.6%) to completion of graduate studies (n = 1; 2.6%). Most Work subjects had completed some high school (n = 11; 28.9%). Table 1 presents the level of education SFU, PEP, and Work subjects had completed prior to entering their current program.

Length of Time in Program

The length of time subjects in the sample had spent in their programs ranged from less than one year (n = 39; 27.7%) to more than 10 years (n = 11; 7.8%). Table 2 presents the length of time the SFU, PEP and Work subjects had spent in their respective programs.

Table 1
Level of Education Completed by SFU, PEP, and Work Subjects

Item	SFU	PEP	Work
No Education	0	0	1
Some Elementary	0	2	5
Completed Elementary	0	2	2
Some High School	0	16	11
Completed High School	18	12	4
Some Community College or Technical School	6	8	1
Completed Community College or Technical School	4	6	3
Some University	15	7	6
Completed Undergraduate Degree	6	2	2
Some Graduate Studies	0	1	2
Completed Graduate Studies	1	0	1
Total	50	56	38

Table 2**Length of Time in Education or Work Program**

Time	SFU		PEP		Work	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Less than one year ago	7	15.2	22	37.9	10	27
1 to 2 years ago	10	20	12	20.7	12	32.4
2 to 5 years ago	21	42	16	27.6	7	18.9
5 to 10 years ago	4	8	4	6.9	5	13.5
more than 10 years ago	4	8	4	6.9	3	8.1

Total	46		58		37	
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Number of Courses Completed by PEP and SFU Subjects

The number of courses subjects had completed at the time of the study ranged from 0 (n = 23; 14.9%), which would include those subjects in the first semester of university, to completion of over 40 courses (n = 17; 14.2%). For the SFU group, 9 (18.3%) subjects were in the 0 to 10 courses completed category, and 9 (18.3%) subjects had completed 41 or more courses. For the PEP group, 37 (62.8%) subjects were in the 0 to 10 courses completed category and 5 (10.5%) subjects had completed 41 or more courses. Table 3 presents the number of courses completed by the PEP and SFU subject groups.

Number of Courses Currently Enrolled In

The number of courses the subjects were enrolled in at the time of the study, for both the SFU and PEP groups ranged from 1 (n = 19; 17.8%) course to 6 (n = 3; 1.9%) courses. The majority of SFU subjects were enrolled in 4 courses (n = 26; 55%). The majority of PEP subjects were enrolled in 3 courses (n = 14; 26%). Table 4 presents the number of courses the subjects were enrolled in at the time of the study.

Offense Type

The offense types for subjects in the PEP and Work groups are presented in Table 5. For the PEP subjects the most frequent offense was Murder (n = 17; 32.7%). This was also true for the Work group (n = 7; 20%).

Table 3**Number of Courses Completed**

Number of Courses Completed	SFU n	PEP n
0 to 10	9	37
11 to 20	19	7
21 to 30	6	3
31 to 40	7	6
41 and over	9	5

Total	50	58
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Table 4

Number of Courses Currently Enrolled In

Number of Courses	SFU		PEP	
	n	%	n	%
1	3	7	13	24
2	2	4	12	23
3	7	15	14	26
4	26	55	10	19
5	7	15	3	6
6	2	4	1	2

Total	47		53	
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Table 5

Offense Type

Offense Type	PEP n	Work n
Murder	17	7
Sexual Assault	7	5
Kidnapping	0	2
Armed Robbery	8	5
Drug Related	8	4
Assault	3	2
Robbery	4	4
Arson	3	2
Impaired	1	0
Fraud	3	0
Break and Enter	1	3

Total	52	34
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Length of Sentence Ordered

The length of sentence ordered for PEP subjects ranged from 2 years (n = 6; 10.5%) to life (n = 18; 31.6%). For the Work subjects the sentence length again ranged from 2 years (n = 2; 5.6%) to life (n = 9; 25%). For both groups the most frequent sentence was life.

Length of Sentence Already Served

The length of sentence PEP subjects had already served at the time of the study ranged from 4 months (n = 2; 3.5%) to 17 years (n = 2; 3.5%). The median length of sentence already served by the PEP subjects was 2 years and 4 months. The length of sentence already served by subjects in the Work group ranged from 3 months (n = 1; 2.8%) to 20 years (n = 1; 2.8%). The median length of sentence already served for the Work subjects was 3 years and 6 months.

Enrollment in PEP

Of the SFU group, 1 (n = 2%) subject had been enrolled in PEP. Of the Work group, 38 subjects responded to this item and of the 38, 27 or 71.1% had been enrolled in PEP at some time prior to the current study.

Intercorrelations Between Subjects Characteristics

Characteristics of Sample Subjects

Age

Intercorrelations between subjects' demographic variables were analyzed to determine if relationships existed. For the sample taken as a whole, age of the subjects was significantly correlated with level of education ($r = .191, p < .014$). Older subjects had accomplished higher levels of education. Older subjects were also found to be taking fewer courses at the time of the study ($r = .284, p < .000$). Younger subjects planned on completing a degree in their current institution ($r = .284, p < .001$), either at Simon Fraser University or at one of the federal correctional institutions.

Education

Subjects with lower levels of education were found to have more recently entered their particular institution ($r = .166, p < .025$). Subjects with higher levels of education had completed more courses ($r = .381, p < .000$). Subjects with higher levels of education also had categorized themselves as better students or workers ($r = .151, p < .036$).

Post-Secondary Education In Previous Institutions

It was found that if subjects were in an institution that offered post-secondary courses, prior to entering their current institution, they had taken post-secondary education courses ($r = .519, p < .000$).

Courses

A correlation was found between number of courses taken and plans to complete a degree at the subjects's current institution. Further, subjects who had completed more courses, planned to complete a degree at their current institution ($r = .332, p < .000$).

Characteristics of the PEP and Work group Subjects

Length of Sentence

In terms of the PEP and Work groups, it was found that the length of the sentence ordered was correlated with the time at which subjects entered the institution they were in at the time of the study ($r = .248, p < .008$). It was also found that the length of the sentence ordered was correlated with when the subjects began their education or work program ($r = .295, p < .002$).

Length of Sentence Already Served

A correlation was found between length of sentence already served and courses taken at a prior institution ($r = .243, p < .020$). Subjects who had served more of their sentence had been in their current institution longer ($r = .416, p < .000$), had entered the education or work program longer ago ($r = .553, p < .000$) and had completed more courses ($r = .344, p < .001$).

Plans To Attend University

It was found that those subjects who were planning on attending university upon release had been enrolled in PEP ($r = .189, p < .036$).

There were no other notable significant correlations other than those mentioned above.

Locus Of Control Scale

The Internal, Powerful Others and Chance Locus of Control Scale consists of 24 items. For each item, the possible responses are:

- (-3) Disagree strongly,
- (-2) Disagree somewhat,
- (-1) Disagree slightly,
- (+1) Agree slightly,
- (+2) Agree somewhat, and

(+3) Agree strongly.

Both the instructions and the presentation of the items utilized for the present study were exact replications of Levenson's (1974) instrument. The three measures of Locus of Control are independent and the mean scores obtained on each item are presented in Table 6 for each of the three subject groups.

Crosstabulation Analysis

A crosstabulation analyses of the three subject groups by the items contained in the scales revealed significant differences between the SFU, PEP, and Work groups on the Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance Locus of Control Scales.

Internal Locus of Control Scale

A significant difference (chi-square = 30.933; $p < .000$; DF = 10) between the SFU, PEP, and Work groups was found in response to item 1, "leadership depends on ability." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 9 out of 18 or 50%, the disagree variables were collapsed into one variable. Cross tabulation analysis then resulted in a significance of .001 (chi-square = 21.604; DF = 6). Both the PEP group (n = 20; 35.1) and the Work group (n = 22; 47.8%) had the majority of responses in the "agreed to strongly" category. The majority of SFU subjects' responses (n = 24; 48%) fell into the "agreed somewhat" category. The results of the analysis of

Table 6**Internal Locus Of Control Scale**

Internal Items	SFU mean	PEP mean	Work mean
1. Leader depends on ability	1.420	1.404	1.783
4. Car accident depends on how good a driver I am	.388	.328	.609
5. I make plans work	1.480	1.759	1.978
9. Number of friends depends on how nice I am	1.040	.456	.674
18. I determine what will happen in my life	1.360	.828	1.356
19. I am able to protect my personal interests	1.880	1.931	2.174
21. When I get what I want it's because I work hard	1.960	2.138	2.174
23. My life is determined by my own actions	2.080	2.190	2.674

subject's responses indicated that both the PEP and the Work group scored higher on the Internal control variables than the SFU subjects.

A significant difference (chi-square = 33.460; $p < .000$; $DF = 10$) between the three groups was found in response to item 4, "Whether or not I get into a car accident. . ." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 2 out of 18 or 11.1%, the collapsing of cells was unnecessary. The majority ($n = 19$; 32.8%) of the PEP responses were in the "agree slightly" category. The SFU responses ($n = 20$; 40.8%) largely fell in the "agree somewhat" category and the Work group responses ($n = 13$; 28.3%) fell largely in the "agree strongly" category. The Work group demonstrated stronger Internal responses to this item than either the SFU or PEP subjects.

A significant difference (chi-square = 25.185; $p < .005$; $DF = 10$) between the three groups was found in responses to item 9, "friends because I am nice." Cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 3 out of 18 or 16.7%, therefore the collapsing of cells was unnecessary. The majority ($n = 15$; 25.9%) of the PEP responses were in the "disagree slightly" category. SFU responses ($n = 16$; 32%) were largely in the "agree slightly" category and the majority of the Work responses ($n = 14$; 30.4%) fell into the "agree somewhat" category. The Work group again demonstrated stronger Internal responses than either of the other two groups.

A significant difference (chi-square = 21.799, $p < 0.016$; DF = 10) between the groups was found for responses to item 21, "I get what I want because I work hard." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 9 out of 18 or 15%, the three disagree variables were collapsed into one variable. Cross tabulation analysis then resulted in a significance of .007 (chi-square = 17.430; DF = 6). The majority of responses for both the PEP (n = 31; 53.4%) and Work (n = 27; 58.7%) groups fell in the "agree strongly" category. Responses for the SFU group were largely (n = 28; 56%) in the "agree somewhat" category. In terms of this item, both the PEP and Work groups had stronger Internal responses than did the SFU group.

Responses to the item 23, "life determined by my own actions" were found to be significant (chi-square = 21.406, $p < 0.018$; DF = 10). As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 11 out of 18 or 61.1%, the disagree variables were collapsed into one variable. Crosstabulation analysis then reported no significant differences between the three subject groups in response to this item.

The crosstabulation analysis revealed no other significant relationships.

Powerful Others Locus of Control Scale

A significant difference (chi-square = 19.820, $p < .031$; DF = 10) was found between the groups in response to item 3, "life determined by powerful people." As the number of cells with

Table 7

Powerful Others Locus of Control Scale

Powerful Others Items	SFU mean	PEP mean	Work mean
3. What happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful others	-1.120	-.690	-.696
8. I will not be given leadership without appealing to powerful others	.500	.000	.391
11. My life is controlled by powerful others	-1.469	-.655	-1.391
13. Little chance of protecting personal interests when conflict with groups	-.700	-.431	-1.217
15. Getting what I want requires pleasing people above me	-.260	-2.411	-.717
17. If important people don't like me I won't make friends	-2.380	-2.000	-2.261
20. Car accident depends on other driver	.000	-.993	-2.830
22. To make my plans work they fit in with powerful others	-1.000	-.509	-.935

expected frequencies of less than five were 3 out of 15 or 20%, the collapsing of cells was unnecessary. The majority of responses for both the PEP (n = 16; 27.6%) and the Work (n = 19; 44.2%) groups fell into the "disagree strongly" category. In contrast, the majority of the SFU responses (n = 15; 30%) fell into the "disagree somewhat" category. Responses to this item indicated that the PEP and Work groups had less of a belief in Powerful Others than the SFU group.

A significant difference (chi-square = 20.291; $p < 0.026$; DF = 10) was found in responses to item 20, "car accident depends on others." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 3 out of 18 or 16.7%, the collapsing of cells was unnecessary. Both the PEP (n = 15; 25.9%) and the Work (n = 10; 21.7%) groups had the majority of responses in the "disagree strongly" category, while the majority of SFU responses (n = 14; 28%) fell into the "agree slightly" category. The responses to this item indicated that the PEP and Work groups had less of a belief in Powerful Others than the SFU group.

A significant difference (chi-square = 18.834; $p < 0.042$; DF = 10) was found between the subject group's responses to item 22, "In order to have my plans work, they must fit with desires of others." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 6 out of 18 or 33.3%, the agree slightly and agree somewhat variables were collapsed into one variable. Crosstabulation analysis then resulted in a significance of .045

(chi-square = 15.798; DF = 8). The majority of the PEP responses (n = 14; 24.6%) fell into the "disagree slightly" category. The majority of the SFU responses (n = 16; 34.8%) fell into the "disagree somewhat" category and the majority of the Work group responses (n = 16; 32%) fell into the "disagree strongly" category. These responses indicated that in response to this item, the Work group had less of a belief in Powerful Others followed by the SFU group and the PEP group respectively.

The crosstabulation analysis revealed no other significant relationships.

Chance Locus of Control Scale

A significant difference (chi-square = 27.164; $p < .002$) was found between the groups responses to item 7, "I get what I want because I'm lucky." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 6 out of 18 or 33.3%, the agree strongly and agree somewhat variables were collapsed into one variable. Crosstabulation analysis on the PEP, SFU, and Work groups showed a significant difference in response patterns (chi-square = 21.446, $p < 0.006$; DF = 8). The majority of responses for both the PEP (n = 30; 51.7%) and the Work (n = 12; 26.1%) groups were in the "disagree strongly" category. The majority of the SFU responses (n = 21; 42.9%) fell in the "disagree somewhat" category. The responses indicated that the PEP and the Work groups had less of a belief in Chance than did the SFU group.

Table 8

Chance Locus Of Control Scale

Chance Locus Of Control Items	SFU mean	PEP mean	Work mean
2. My life is controlled by accidental happenings	-1.340	-1.414	-1.326
6. No chance of protecting personal interests from bad luck	-.796	-1.138	-.935
7. When I get what I want it's because I'm lucky	-1.490	-1.793	-.761
10. What is going to happen will happen	-.061	.328	.978
12. Car accident is a matter of luck	-1.000	-1.690	-1.739
14. Not wise to plan ahead many things due to good or bad fortune	-1.286	-.948	-.022
16. Leader depends on luck	-.796	-1.138	-.565
24. Fate determines number of friends	-1.980	-1.862	-1.630

A significant difference (chi-square = 21.457, $p < 0.018$) was found between the groups in response to item 12, "car accident depends on luck." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 6 out of 18 or 33.3%, the agree strongly and agree somewhat variables were collapsed into one variable. Crosstabulation analysis then resulted in a significance of .006 (chi-square = 21.079; DF = 8). The majority of responses of both the PEP ($n = 20$; 34.5%) and the Work ($n = 21$; 45.7%) groups fell into the "disagree strongly" category. SFU responses ($n = 22$; 44.9%) fell into the "disagree somewhat" category. The responses indicated that both the PEP and Work groups had less of a belief in Chance than the SFU group.

A significant difference (chi-square = 26.093, $p < 0.003$) was found between groups in response to item 14, "many things turn out to be a matter of fortune." As the number of cells with expected frequencies of less than five were 3 out of 18 or 16.7%, the collapsing of cells was unnecessary. The majority of both the PEP ($n = 16$; 27.6%) and the Work ($n = 11$; 23.9%) groups responses fell into the "disagree strongly" category. The majority of the SFU responses ($n = 21$; 42.9%) fell into the "disagree somewhat" category. Again, the PEP and Work groups responses indicated less of a belief in Chance than the responses of the SFU group.

A significant difference (chi-square = 20.979, $p < 0.021$) was found between the groups responses to item 24, "fate determines number of friends." As the number of cells with

expected frequencies of less than five were 9 out of 18 or 50%, the agree variables were collapsed into one variable. Crosstabulation analysis then resulted in a significance of .008 (chi-square = 17.093, DF = 6). A significant difference existed with the SFU group demonstrating less of a belief in Chance, followed by the PEP group, and the Work group respectively. The majority of responses for the three groups, PEP (n = 23; 39.7%), SFU (n = 22; 44.9%) and Work (n = 26; 56.5%), fell into the "disagree strongly" category.

The crosstabulation analysis revealed no other significant relationships.

Analysis of Variance

Table 9 presents the means and standard deviations of the Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance Scale scores by the sample as a whole and by the three subject groups. Looking only at the mean scores for the three groups, it is observed that with the Internal measure the Work subjects demonstrated the highest Internal responses, followed by the SFU subjects and PEP subjects respectively. Mean scores on the Powerful Others scale seem to indicate similar results, with Work subjects demonstrating less of a belief in Powerful Others. Work subjects scores were followed by SFU and PEP subjects scores respectively. When the mean scores on the Chance variable are observed, it is demonstrated that PEP subjects' scores indicated less of a belief in Chance. PEP subjects' scores were followed

Table 9**Means and Standard Deviations of the I, P, and C Scales**

Group	n	Internal mean	S.D.	Powerful mean	S.D.	Chance mean	S.D.
Sample	n = 154	1.4928	.7764	-.7902	1.0890	-1.0350	1.0073
SFU	n = 50	1.4529	.6727	-.8139	.9120	-1.1100	.9243
PEP	n = 58	1.3796	.8685	-.6918	1.1642	-1.2069	.9872
Work	n = 46	1.6790	.7400	-.8886	1.1777	-.7368	1.0723

by SFU and Work subjects' scores respectively.

To determine if true differences existed between the three subject groups the statistical procedure, analysis of variance or ANOVA was employed. ANOVA was used to examine the difference between the mean scores of the SFU subjects, PEP subjects and Work subjects with the variables which assessed the degree to which subjects were Internal in their responses. The null hypothesis that no relationship existed between program membership and scores on the Internal scale could not be rejected. Therefore, there was no statistically significant relationship between subjects' scores and program membership on the Internal variable.

ANOVA was employed to examine the differences among the three groups and responses to the Powerful Others variables. Subjects' responses to items which measured belief in Powerful Others did not allow the null hypothesis to be rejected. No statistically significant relationship was found between subjects' in the SFU, PEP or Work groups.

Statistical significance was found when the differences among the three subject groups and the Chance variables were examined through the ANOVA procedure. The PEP subjects responses demonstrated a significantly lower belief in Chance which allowed the null hypothesis to be rejected.

Relationships Between the Locus of Control Measures and Demographic Characteristics

To further analyze the data, demographic characteristics were grouped. Relationships among the demographic characteristics: age groups; levels of education; number of courses completed; offense types; sentences ordered; and lengths of sentence served were examined with the scores on the Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance variables for the three subject groups. No statistically significant differences were found.

Psychological Well-Being

Scores on the Affect Balance Scale were calculated for the sample as a whole. Table 10 shows the frequency of "Yes" responses to the individual items on the Scale.

The majority of "Yes" responses on the Positive Affect Scale were over 50%, with the one exception item 51, "Felt on top of world," where the percentage of "Yes" responses was 47.7. The highest frequency of "Yes" responses were found to item 45, "Felt particularly excited or interested in something," at 90.6%. The mean score of the responses to the Positive Affect Scale was 6.259 (SD = 1.345).

The majority of "Yes" responses to the items on the Negative Affect Scale show that over half of the subjects responded "Yes"

Table 10

Frequencies of "Yes" Responses of the Sample

Items		
(+) measures Positive Affect		
(-) measures Negative Affect	n	%
45. Felt particularly excited or interested (+)	135	90.6
46. Felt restless (-)	90	60
47. Felt proud because of compliment (+)	109	72.7
48. Felt lonely or remote from other people (-)	92	61.3
49. Felt pleased about accomplishment (+)	133	88.7
50. Felt bored (-)	95	63.3
51. Felt on top of world (+)	71	47.7
52. Felt depressed or very unhappy (-)	76	51
53. Felt things were going your way (+)	109	73.6
54. Felt upset because of criticism	45	30.2

to the majority of items, with item 54, "Felt upset because of criticism," being the exception with a "Yes" percentage at 30.2. The highest frequency of "Yes" responses ,at 63.3%, was found in item 50, "Felt bored."

Table 11 shows the total distribution of scores on the Positive and Negative Affect Balance Scales. The mean Affect Balance score of -1.068 (SD = 2.131) demonstrated generally that there was a small number of negative experiences over positive experiences.

Scores on the Affect Balance Scale were then calculated separately for the three groups of subjects. Table 12 presents the frequencies of "Yes" Responses of the groups. The majority of "Yes" responses to the individual items on the Positive Affect Scale was over 50% for each of the groups. The one exception was in item 51, "Felt on top of the world." Responses to this item by both the PEP and Work groups were less than 50%, with 47% of the PEP group responding "Yes" to the statement, and 44% of the Work group responding "Yes" to the statement.

The majority of "Yes" responses to the negatively worded items on the Negative Affect Balance Scale were over 50%. Responses to item 52, "Felt depressed or very unhappy," show that 44% of the SFU group responded "Yes" to the statement and 39% of the Work group responded "Yes." In contrast 65% of the PEP group responded "Yes" to item 52. Responses to item 54, "Felt upset because of criticism," showed that the three groups responded in a similar fashion: 28% of the SFU subjects

Table 11**Affect Balance Scores**

Positive Affect Score
n = 147

	n	%
5	57	38.8
6	36	24.5
7	30	20.4
8	10	6.8
9	11	7.5
10	3	2.0

mean = 6.259 SD = 1.345

Negative Affect Score
n = 149

	n	%
5	17	11.4
6	33	22.1
7	33	22.1
8	31	20.8
9	19	12.8
10	16	10.7

mean = 7.336 SD = 1.505

Affect Balance Score
n = 147

	n	%
-5	8	5.4
-4	14	9.5
-3	21	14.3
-2	15	10.2
-1	27	18.4
0	28	19.0
1	18	12.2
2	9	6.1
3	5	3.4
4	2	1.4

mean = -1.068 SD = 2.131

responded "Yes"; 33% of the PEP subjects responded "Yes"; and, 29% of the Work subjects responded "Yes."

Analysis of Variance

Tables 13 and 14 present the means and standard deviations of the Positive Affect Balance scores, the Negative Affect Balance scores, and the Affect Balance Scores. To determine if true differences existed among the three subject groups, the statistical procedure ANOVA was employed. Using ANOVA the difference among the mean scores of the SFU subjects, PEP subjects and Work subjects with the Positive Affect Scale scores, the Negative Affect Scale scores and the Affect Balance scores were compared. The null hypothesis, that no relationship existed between program membership and scores on either the Positive Affect Scale, Negative Affect Scale or the Affect Balance Scale could not be rejected. Therefore, there was no statistically significant relationship between subject scores and program membership.

Relationships Between Psychological Well-Being and Demographic Characteristics

To further analyze the data, demographic characteristics were grouped. Relationships between the demographic characteristics: age groups; levels of education; number of courses completed; offense types; sentences ordered; and length of sentences served were examined with the scores on the

Table 12

Frequencies of "Yes" Responses for the Groups

Items		SFU		PEP		Work	
(+) measures Positive Affect	(-) measures Negative Affect	n	%	n	%	n	%
45.	Felt particularly excited or interested (+)	47	94	51	89	37	88
46.	Felt restless (-)	36	72	32	55	22	52
47.	Felt proud because of compliment (+)	40	80	41	71	28	67
48.	Felt lonely or remote from other people (-)	27	54	43	74	22	52
49.	Felt pleased about accomplishment (+)	45	90	55	95	33	79
50.	Felt bored (-)	33	66	35	60	27	64
51.	Felt on top of world (+)	26	52	27	47	18	44
52.	Felt depressed or very unhappy (-)	22	44	38	65	16	39
53.	Felt things were going your way (+)	38	78	41	71	30	73
54.	Felt upset because of criticism (-)	14	28	19	33	12	29

Table 13

Positive Affect and Negative Affect Scores for the Groups

Positive Affect Score

	SFU		PEP		Work	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
5	19	38.8	24	42.1	14	34.1
6	18	36.7	9	15.8	9	22.0
7	7	14.3	14	24.6	9	22.0
8	1	2.0	5	8.8	4	9.8
9	3	6.1	5	8.8	3	7.3
10	1	2.0	0	0.0	2	4.9

SFU mean = 6.061 PEP mean = 6.263 Work mean = 6.488
 SD = 1.232 SD = 1.330 SD = 1.485

Negative Affect Score

	SFU		PEP		Work	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
5	2	4.0	10	17.2	5	12.2
6	13	26.0	14	24.1	6	14.6
7	13	26.0	12	20.7	7	19.5
8	13	26.0	8	13.8	10	24.4
9	5	10.0	9	15.5	5	12.2
10	4	8.0	5	8.6	7	17.1

SFU mean = 7.360 PEP mean = 7.121 Work mean = 7.610
 SD = 1.306 SD = 1.579 SD = 1.611

Table 14

Affect Balance Scores for the Groups

Affect Balance Score

n = 147	SFU		PEP		Work	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
-5	3	6.1	2	3.5	3	7.3
-4	2	4.1	7	12.3	5	12.2
-3	8	16.3	7	12.3	6	14.6
-2	6	12.2	5	8.8	4	9.8
-1	14	28.6	6	10.5	7	17.1
0	10	20.4	14	24.6	4	9.8
1	3	6.1	9	15.8	6	14.6
2	1	2.0	5	8.8	3	7.3
3	2	4.1	1	1.8	2	4.9
4	0	0.0	1	1.8	1	2.4

SFU mean = -1.265
SD = 1.846

PEP = -.860
SD = 2.167

Work mean = -1.122
SD = 2.410

Positive Affect Scale, Negative Affect Scale and the Affect Balance Scale for the three subject groups. No statistically significant differences were found.

Satisfaction With Program

Table 15 presents the mean scores for the SFU, PEP and Work subject groups.

Combining items 28 to 35 (SFU and PEP) with the same items 37 to 44 (Work), the mean scores for the three groups have been presented. In observing the pattern of the mean scores for the subject groups, with one exception, the scores indicating satisfaction with the program are highest for the Work group, followed by the SFU group and then the PEP group. The one exception, item 31/43 "How are/is the courses/work, compared to other courses/work you have taken," the scores are highest for the Work group, followed by the PEP group and the SFU group respectively.

Table 15

Program Satisfaction

Items	SFU mean	PEP mean	Work mean
28. Do you like the program	2.000	1.448	2.302
29. Is the program interesting	1.979	1.672	2.395
30. Learned anything	1.837	1.431	2.186
31. How is program compared to others	2.083	2.161	2.512
32. Help in current situation	2.167	1.759	2.333
33. Help after you leave	2.000	1.586	2.286
34. How are courses compared to high school	1.447	1.431	3.122
35. Program changed your mind	2.375	2.017	2.561
Totals			
SFU mean = 1.986 PEP mean = 1.787 Work mean = 2.462			

CHAPTER VII
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study examined post-secondary education in federal correctional institutions in British Columbia. The sample consisting of 154 male subjects was gathered from three groups: prisoner-students enrolled in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program; prisoners within the same institutions not enrolled in the university program; and, Simon Fraser University on-campus students. Subjects were surveyed to determine their level of development in categories of self-assessment which were seen as compatible with the objectives of correctional education and the employment of the cognitive model. To that end, it was believed that the prisoner-students would evidence the positive influence of their university education in terms of cognitive development and psychological well-being, and that they would experience greater satisfaction with the program.

It was the intention of the researcher to collect data from the five federal correctional institutions in British Columbia where the Prison Education Program is currently offered. These institutions included Kent, Mountain, Matsqui, William Head and Ferndale. The procedure employed generally called for the researcher to attend each of the institutions on two separate occasions. The initial visits enabled the researcher to familiarize herself with the institutions, discuss the program

with the Prison Education Program Coordinators and to introduce the study to members of the student councils and inmate committees. In the majority of the institutions, the Program Coordinators introduced the researcher to the committees and joined in discussion regarding the study.

Kent institution, at the time of the study, had approximately half of its population in administrative security which required two separate schools to be conducted within the same institution. Thus the researcher met with one of the student councils and inmate committees on the same day as the survey took place, and arrangements were made to follow the same procedure at a later date with the other half of the population.

With one exception, the institutions' student councils and inmate committees supported the study and assisted the researcher in making the necessary arrangements for the survey to take place. Matsqui institution's student council and inmate committee members had been under the assumption that the researcher was a Correctional Service of Canada employee and in conversation with the researcher voiced their distrust of the researcher. While arrangements were made for the researcher to administer the questionnaire in Matsqui institution, the federal strike by Correctional Service of Canada's employees interfered with the data collection and data were not collected from that institution.

On the second visit to each of the institutions, the researcher introduced the study and responded to questions. The

most frequently asked question was whether or not the researcher intended to become a guard. Since this was not the case, the prisoners agreed to assist in the research and the questionnaire was administered. The questionnaire incorporated the Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance Locus of Control Scale (Levenson, 1974), the Affect Balance Scale (Bradburn, 1969), and questions related to education or work placement experiences that were based on a subset of questions designed by Lewis (1973).

Initially, it had been the intention of the researcher to employ a random sampling technique. This was discarded on the basis of a number of factors. First, it did not seem appropriate to turn away any prisoners who were willing to take part in the study. A decision was then made that random sampling would take place after data collection but at that time it became apparent that the number of prisoners surveyed was not large enough to permit random sampling. Finally, the usefulness of random sampling would be eliminated as the subjects had volunteered to participate in the study. Thus, generalization of the results to other populations is difficult.

The Locus of Control Scale

Levinson's (1974) Locus of Control Scale, which measures the degree to which individuals believe that they exercise control over their lives, was utilized as a means of assessing cognitive development. The scale, recommended by Ross and Fabiano (1985) as a means of assessing cognitive functioning levels, had been

tested for reliability and validity in previous research. The research in the areas of cognitive development, as it pertains to offenders, and in the area of characteristics of individuals who score high on External control (Powerful Others and Chance) seem to be parallel in several respects. In light of this, it was felt that prisoners who were involved in the humanities-based Prison Education Program, which has been described as having a cognitive component (Ross and Fabiano, 1974), would score higher on Internal control than prisoners not enrolled in the university program. It was also expected that the degree to which prisoners would believe in chance or powerful others would decrease with university studies and that the number of courses a prisoner-student had completed would be related to the Locus of Control scores.

The results of the current study did not support the hypothesis, that prisoner-students would score higher on Internal control than those prisoners not enrolled in the Prison Education Program, when the responses to all items contained on the Internal scale were tested for significant differences among the groups by ANOVA. When individual variables were examined through the crosstabulation procedure, the PEP group had scores that were either similar to those of the Work group or lower than the Work group. Further, when age groups, number of courses completed, offense types, sentence length and sentence served were held constant, there were no statistically significant differences found.

Since these findings were unexpected, possible explanations were examined. One possible explanation was that at the time of the study, the Correctional Service of Canada was emphasizing literacy and completion of Adult Basic Education or Grade Twelve Equivalency Diplomas were considered favorably at parole hearings. Further, attainment of a grade eight level of education was required before a prisoner was eligible for a work placement. In meeting these requirements some prisoners, categorized for the purposes of this study as Work subjects as they were not enrolled in university studies, were involved in an education program and it may be that cognitive skill deficits are addressed successfully at the lower educational levels.

Another possibility is that the democratic community, given emphasis in the Prison Education Program, has far reaching effects. The concept of the democratic community is one of the focal points in the development of cognitive skills. Some of the prisoner-students attend the Prison Education Program in addition to holding some other form of employment within the institution. It is likely that the prisoner-students are passing on their skills to other prisoners in their work placements or at some other activity.

Still another possibility for the lower scores of the prisoner-students in comparison to the work subjects on the Internal score may be found in the fact that of the work subjects who responded to the item inquiring whether or not they had ever been enrolled in the prison education program, 71.1% of

the work subjects responded "Yes." It may be that these individuals had developed a competent level of cognitive skills because of their earlier PEP experience and that they were then able to practice these skills at their work placements; perhaps even increasing their level of skills as a result.

A significant relationship was found to exist between the prisoner-students and the other subjects on the Chance Scale scores. Individuals with a Chance orientation believe that events are unordered and random. This finding supported the view that prisoner-students' would score lower on the Chance Locus of Control Scale, and is significant in terms of testing cognitive development with the Locus of Control instrument. The view that cognitive skill training may decrease beliefs in Chance was supported within the bounds of the present study.

There were no significant differences between the scores of the three groups on the Powerful Others variable as tested by ANOVA. Individuals who believe that there is a basic order and predictability to events, coupled with an expectancy that powerful others are in control may be described as having a Powerful Others orientation. This finding did not support the view that the prisoner-students would score lower on the Powerful Others Locus of Control.

Psychological Well-Being

There was no statistically significant differences found among federal prisoners enrolled in the Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program, federal prisoners not enrolled in the Prison Education Program and Simon Fraser University on-campus students with regard to the Positive Affect Scale scores, the Negative Affect Scale Scores and the Affect Balance scores. Contrary to the findings of Bradburn (1969) and Cherlin and Reeder (1975), no significant differences were found between the levels of education attained and Affect Balance scores. Further, the results of the study did not permit the view (Cherlin and Reeder, 1975), that feelings of Internal control were related to the Affect Balance scores, to be substantiated. Perhaps the most interesting result is not that the PEP subjects did not score higher in comparison to either of the other groups, but that the scores of the SFU group were not unlike those of the PEP or Work group subjects.

Program Satisfaction

Results of the items regarding subjects' satisfaction with their program were among the most interesting. In all but one item the PEP subjects responses indicated less satisfaction with their program than either of the other two groups. This was interesting in that the researcher was impressed with the high degree of concern and dedication these subjects verbally

demonstrated toward their particular program. It may be that the results indicate that these subjects have spent considerable time examining their program within the context of a prison and have been able to view the short-comings of the program that prison environment makes necessary. As an example, the prison libraries are somewhat impressive at first glance due to the number of books available. However, when mentioning this to a prisoner-student, the researcher was informed that many of the books are out of date and that new books are required.

Implications For Future Research

Often, it may be the prison environment which stands in the way of undertaking research which may lead to truly valuable information. For instance, access to correctional institutions may be too difficult and too time consuming to undertake for short-term research. Once access is granted, the institutional goals of custody and control make it difficult to meet the requirements necessary for good research. For example, in Mountain Institution, movement is restricted during certain hours throughout the day therefore, the administration of a survey must recognize time restrictions. Even with tight scheduling one is unable to predict the occurrence of certain events which may have implications for the research. An example of this occurred at William Head Institution where the Citizens Advisory Board arrived the same day the survey was to take place, making it impossible at that time, for the inmate

committee to assist the researcher in accessing prisoners for the "work" group.

Difficulties may also occur if the researcher is unable to have access to institutional information prior to the design of the study. The present study did encounter a problem in that many (71.1%) of the subjects in the "work program" had at one time been enrolled in PEP. If it were possible to select the "work" subjects from a group that had never been involved in PEP, the findings may offer different results. Further, in the present study only those prisoners who were involved in PEP were categorized as belonging to the "education program," and all others were designated as members of the "work program." With the current emphasis of the institution on Basic Adult Education and Grade Twelve Equivalency Diplomas, some prisoners were involved in these programs. That they were categorized in the "work program," was not viewed highly by those prisoners.

Further research in this area might take into consideration other methodologies. Archival research may be utilized to eliminate some of the problems encountered with random sampling, as would a larger sample size. In addition, observational data collection may offer insight into some of the unique aspects of the Prison Education Program.

The present study offers only a limited examination of selected areas with regard to prison education. Future studies

may also find it useful to focus attention on the views and concerns of the PEP staff and of the institutional barriers they encounter.

APPENDIX A

Kohlberg: Stages Of Moral Development

Three Levels of Moral Development

1. Preconventional Level

At this level the child is responsive to cultural rules and labels of good and bad, right or wrong, but interprets these labels either in terms of the physical or the hedonistic consequences of action (punishment, reward, exchange of favors) or in terms of the physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels. The level is divided into the following two stages:

Stage 1: The punishment and obedience orientation. The physical consequences of action determine its goodness or badness regardless of the human meaning or value of these consequences. Avoidance of punishment and unquestioning deference to power are valued in their own right, not in terms of respect for an underlying moral order supported by punishment and authority (the latter being Stage 4).

Stage 2: The instrumental-relativist orientation. Right action consists of that which instrumentally satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Human relations are viewed in terms like those of the market place. Elements of fairness, of reciprocity, and of equal sharing are present, but

they are always interpreted in a physically pragmatic way. Reciprocity is a matter of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," not of loyalty, gratitude, or justice.

II. Conventional level

At this level, the expectations of the individual's family, group, or nation is perceived as valuable in its own right, regardless of immediate and obvious consequences. The attitude is not only one of conformity to personal expectations and social order, but of loyalty to it, of actively maintaining, supporting, and justifying the order, and of identifying with the persons or group involved in it. At this level, there are the following two stages:

Stage 3: The interpersonal concordance or "good boy . . . nice girl" orientation. Good behavior is that which pleases or helps others and is approved by them. There is much conformity to stereotypical images of what is majority or "natural" behavior. Behavior is frequently judged by intention - "he means well" becomes important for the first time one earns approval by being "nice."

Stage 4: The "law and order" orientation. There is orientation toward authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of social order. Right behavior consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining the given social order for its own sake.

III. Postconventional, autonomous, or principled level

At this level, there is a clear effort to define moral values and principles that have validity and application apart from the authority of the groups or persons holding these principles and apart from the individual's own identification with these groups. This level again has two stages:

Stage 5: The social-contract legalistic orientation, generally with utilitarian overtones. Right action tends to be defined in terms of general individual rights, and standards which have been critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. There is a clear awareness of the relativism of personal rules for reaching consensus. Aside from what what is constitutionally and democratically agreed upon, the right is a matter of personal "values" and "opinion." The result is an emphasis upon the "legal point of view," but with an emphasis on the possibility of changing law in terms of rational consideration of social utility (rather than freezing it in terms of Stage 4 "law and order"). Outside the legal realm, free agreement and contract is the binding element of obligation. This is the "official" morality of the American government and constitution.

Stage 6: The universal-ethical-principle orientation. Right is defined by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. These principles are abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule, the

categorical imperative); they are not concrete moral rules like the Ten Commandments. At heart, these are universal principles of justice, of the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons (Kohlberg, 1986:57-58).

APPENDIX B

In a 1989 Research Summary based on the book, Time To Think: A Cognitive Model Of Offender Rehabilitation and Delinquency Prevention, Ross defined the cognitive skills which his research had indicated offenders' evidence developmental delays in acquiring.

COGNITION & CRIME: A LINK

1. Self-Control/Impulsivity. Many offenders fail to stop and think before they act. When they get an idea or a desire, they immediately respond without stopping to consider whether they should act or not. Many also fail to think after they act--they do not reflect back on their behavior and its consequences. Therefore, even when they experience punishment, they do not learn to modify their behavior. Moreover, many delinquents do not attempt to analyse situations, conflicts or problems; they only react to them. They do not think; they act.

2. Cognitive Style. Many delinquents are external. They believe that what happens to them depends on fate, chance, or luck. They believe that they are powerless, that they cannot control what happens to them, that they are controlled by other people and circumstances over which they have no influence. Such thinking makes them feel that there is no point in their trying to succeed because their fate is controlled by other people.

3. Concrete vs. Abstract Thinking. The research suggests that

offenders are very concrete in their thinking. If they can see, touch, hear, feel or smell something, they can understand it, and they can deal with it. But if they have to think about something in the abstract (something that is not in their immediate perception) they have major difficulty. . . because they have not developed abstract reasoning skills. Their inability to abstract gives them major difficulties in understanding their world, including difficulties in understanding the reasons for rules and laws or the idea of justice. They may also have major social problems because abstract reasoning is required for social understanding - you cannot understand how other people are thinking or feeling just by their appearance; you cannot see thoughts or feelings - you must use abstract reasoning to consider what is going on inside their heads.

4. Conceptual Rigidity. Research suggests that the thinking of many offenders and delinquents is inflexible, narrow, rigid, intolerant of ambiguity, and dogmatic. Because of this, they persist in behaviors which get them into trouble and get them few rewards. It is very difficult to reason with them; to get them to consider another point of view.

5. ICPS Skills. ICPS means interpersonal cognitive problem solving - the thinking skills which are required for solving problems which we all encounter in interacting with other people. A growing body of research has found that many anti-social individuals have deficits in IVPS skills: 1) in

their interpersonal relations they often fail to recognize that an interpersonal problem exists or is about to occur; if they do recognize it, they fail to understand it. 2) they do not or cannot consider alternative solutions to such problems but keep responding in their same old ineffective way. 3) they do not calculate the consequences of their behavior on other people. 4) they cannot determine the best way to achieve what they want in their interactions with other people. 5) they do not understand the cause and effect relationship between their behavior and people's reactions to them. 6) they think only about the short-term, not the long-term consequences of their behavior.

6. Egocentricity vs. Social Perspective-Taking or Empathy. This may be the most important deficit. Many offenders are totally egocentric - they see the world only from their own perspective and fail to recognize that other people may think or feel differently than they do. They have never learned to consider how other people think or feel and, as a result, they often misinterpret that actions and intentions of others. Their lack of awareness or sensitivity to other people's thoughts or feelings severely impairs their ability to form acceptable relationships with people.

The offender's well-known selfishness or callousness may not be just a matter of temperament. It may be a matter of thinking; a cognitive deficit. They may never have developed social perspective-taking. They may lack an awareness or an appreciation of an important factor in the inhibition of illegal

behavior - its effects on other people. Many offenders encounter frequent interpersonal problems. Why? Because they do not think about how other people will feel about their behavior. Their egocentricity causes them to be ostracized and alienated by others.

7. Values. The offender's values tend to be highly egocentric. In deciding what is right, they only consider how it affects themselves, not how it affects other people. They think, "if it is good for me, it's good." They are indifferent to others, not only at the behavioral level, but at the cognitive level.

8. Critical Reasoning. The thinking of many offenders is irrational and illogical and lacks self-criticism. As a result they are gullible and easily influenced by others. They are easily manipulated and may be good at manipulating others because in deciding what to say they are not constrained by logic or reality.

Let us caution that the research indicates that not all offenders have those cognitive deficits; but a considerable number do. There are, of course, offenders who think very well indeed; too well, in fact! (Ross, 1989:4-6)."

APPENDIX C

Studies with Rotter's Locus of Control Scale

Kiehlbauch (1968)

A student of Phares, John Kiehlbauch (1968), studied change over time in subjects scores on Rotter's I-E scale, in a penal institution. He hypothesized that as inmates spend time in an institution, they move from greater to lesser externality. The trend, according to Kiehlbauch, would reverse as inmates near their release dates. It was felt that an institution initially is an unfamiliar environment. Once an inmate becomes familiar with the institution and the demands placed on him, he would acclimate to it and would establish behavior patterns in response to situations. When nearing release from the institution, and,

. . .facing a situation wherein those generalized I-E expectancies relative to the prison setting need to be changed or modified once again, there is anticipated a reversal of the trend so that generalized I-E expectancies will again tend to move in the external direction (1968: 22).

Kiehlbauch further hypothesized that for inmates nearing release who would complete the last several months of their sentence outside the institution employed in regular jobs in the community, there would be a modification of the trend toward externality. He states:

. . .a group experiencing such transitional situations should not be subject to the pressures of imminent release so abruptly as the group released from inside the institution, and this should reformulate expectancies relative to

community adjustment more gradually and less dramatically than the latter group. Thus, a work release group should show I-E scores significantly more internal than those of a non-work-release group when I-E is measured shortly before release (Kiehlbauch, 1968: 23).

Findings of the study supported Kiehlbauch's hypotheses. Scores on the I-E scales indicated inmates first entering the institution scored higher on externality and then became more internal at the end of one year. Nearing release, I-E scores were more external. Similarly, there was a modification on external scores for inmates on the work release program, with those inmates demonstrating a significantly more internal orientation.

Brown and Strickland (1972)

Brown and Strickland (1972) hypothesized that a belief in internal control was related to involvement in campus activities, leadership position, and school achievement. In particular, it was believed that internal males would have higher grades than external males. With subjects drawn from undergraduate students, it was found that internal students were more likely than external students to participate in academic activities, to hold office in various organizations and to have higher grades. Brown and Strickland eliminated the impact of intelligence as a major influence as internal students did not score higher on entrance exams than externals. They concluded that internal control is related to general achievement oriented behavior for males and also that internal locus of control was

predictive for males.

Warehime (1972)

Warehime (1972) examined the relationship between internal locus of control and academic achievement. Utilizing Rotter's scale, internal-external scores at the beginning of the University of Iowa's academic year were correlated with grade point averages obtained at the end of the first year. Results supported the locus of control construct for males. Warehime stated that the internal-external measure holds no practical utility for the prediction of academic achievement.

DuCette and Wolk (1972)

DuCette and Wolk (1972) studied the relationship between locus of control and extreme behavior. Data collected from 173 female high school students supported their hypothesis that externals were more extreme in their estimation of success related to cognitive, academic and occupational activities. Further, externals could be characterized by low persistence, shifts in aspirations and preference for extreme risks. They state, ". . .the study has demonstrated that locus of control (in particular the last half of this dichotomy) does predict a preference for extreme behavior. This construct with its ability to predict such essentially deviant behavior would seem to have utility in a variety of applied situations" (DuCette and Wolk, 1972: 258).

Davis and Davis (1972)

Davis and Davis (1972) found that differences between internals and externals in their tendency to attribute responsibility for an outcome to luck depends, in part, on whether individuals succeed or fail in a task. They found no significant difference between internals and externals in their tendency to take personal responsibility or credit for success, but when an outcome was negative, internals blamed themselves more than externals. Davis and Davis state:

. . .it may be useful to distinguish two types of externals on the basis of defensiveness. Some individuals, identified as externals by their scores on the I-E scale, may have adopted this orientation as a defense against failure. In less competitive situations where failure is not a likely outcome, these individuals would be expected to behave much like internals. In contrast, other individuals, who also obtain external scores on the I-E scale, may have developed this expectation because it more or less accurately reflects their life situation. (1972: 133).

In a similar study conducted by Phares et al. (1971) in which subjects were failed on two tasks which had been described to them as measuring intellectual functions, externals exhibited more blaming behavior following failure than internals.

Hersch and Scheibe (1967)

Hersch and Scheibe (1967) used Rotter's I-E scale to determine the I-E control dimension in relationship to adjustment. Their findings indicated that, ". . .internality is consistently associated with indexes of social adjustment and personal achievement" (1967: 613).

Hersch and Scheibe also stated that I-E may be too simplistic and suggested a diversity in the meaning of externality. They state:

. . .the utility of I-E for behavioral prediction would be increased if externality were to be differentiated. . .(Hersch and Scheibe, 1967).

Studies with Leveson's Locus of Control

Levenson (1973)

With the results of Levenson's 1972 social action participation study indicating that the I, P, and C scales offer a better understanding of phenomenological variables, it was hypothesized that the scales would have validity when administered to a psychiatric patient population (Levenson, 1973). The goal of therapy with a psychiatric population is often seen as the encouragement of the development of an internal locus of control belief. This is believed to signify competence and mastery over the environment. Hospital inpatients, diagnosed as either functionally psychotic or neurotic were administered the I, P, and C scales at monthly intervals. Levenson reported that testing within five days of hospitalization indicated that, when compared with a "normal" sample, patients perceived more control by powerful others and chance. Further, she states:

. . .data contributing to the construct validity of the scales comes from the correlations between expectations for control and other variables. As expected, committed patients believed significantly more than voluntary patients that powerful others controlled their lives. Readmitted patients had significantly higher powerful others

and chance scale scores than new patients, indicating the readmitted patients were more disorganized and believed more in the power of others. At the time of admission, short-term patients were significantly less likely to believe in chance than those who stayed longer (Levenson, 1973: 403).

Levenson (1975)

In a similar demonstration of the usefulness of the I, P, and C scales, Levenson (1975) studied offenders' expectancies of control in relation to length of time in prison and institutional infractions. Levenson found that, ". . . inmates who had been imprisoned a long time believed that they were controlled by powerful others significantly more than those who had been recently admitted. There were no significant differences between groups on the Internal or Chance scales," (1975: 344).¹ Responding to an earlier study (LeBlanc and Tolor, 1972) which found that externality could be related to length of sentence because externals might receive longer sentences, Levenson stated, "expectancies of control are not related to the originally imposed length of the sentence (1975:346). Levenson further found that perceptions of control by powerful others were related to rule infractions.

¹ These findings are in opposition to those of Kiehlbauch's (1968) study in which it was found that initially when inmates enter prison they score high on externality and become more internal over time. This may indicate the usefulness of the I, P, and C scale and the division of externality.

Kohut ek (1983)

Using Levenson's I, P, and C scales, Kohut ek (1983) conducted a study using bibliotherapy, or assigned readings, to determine if this would aid offenders in making a positive change in their self-concept and locus of control. Subjects were 54 male inmate volunteers from a federal maximum security penitentiary. Half of the subjects were from the general population, the other half from segregation. Subjects were administered an I.Q. pretreatment, were rank-ordered on the basis of their scores and were matched across treatment groups. Subjects were then given one of three sets of readings which made up bibliotherapy:

1. a personal growth packet,
2. a rational growth packet, and
3. a general readings packet.

All subjects completed the locus of control scale and a Personal Attribute Inventory after treatment and at a 6 week follow-up. Regardless of reading material, a positive change was found on both variables. A significant effect was found between testing periods for both self concept and locus of control. Also, a significant interaction was found on the chance scale between treatment methods and treatment groups. Testing indicated an increase of internal locus of control during treatment but not at follow-up. Kohut ek states:

The second hypothesis, which stated that participants in the general population would demonstrate a more positive change on the dependent measures than those on segregation status, was supported partially in that there was an interaction effect between treatment methods and groups for the dependent measure of chance

locus of control. The high score achieved by the rational-growth group on segregation status indicated that these inmates attribute a larger number of the events that occur in their life to fate or chance (1983: 922).

APPENDIX D

The Questionnaire

Each statement represents a commonly held opinion. There are no right or wrong answers. You will probably agree with some items and disagree with others. We are interested in the extent to which you agree or disagree with such matters of opinion.

Read each statement carefully. Then indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the number following each statement. The numbers and their meanings are indicated below:

If you agree strongly: circle +3

If you agree somewhat: circle +2

If you agree slightly: circle +1

If you disagree slightly: circle -1

If you disagree somewhat: circle -2

If you disagree strongly: circle -3

First impressions are usually best. Read each statement, decide if you agree or disagree and the strength of your opinion, and then circle the appropriate number.

GIVE YOUR OPINION ON EVERY STATEMENT.

If you find that the numbers to be used in answering do not adequately reflect your opinion, use the one that is **closest** to

the way you feel. Thank you.

1. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends mostly on my ability.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
2. To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
3. I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
4. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on how good a driver I am.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
5. When I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
6. Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interests from bad luck happenings.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
7. When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky.
-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
8. Although I might have good ability, I will not be given leadership responsibility without appealing to those in positions of power.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

9. How many friends I have depends on how nice a person I am.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

10. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

11. My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

12. Whether or not I get into a car accident is mostly a matter of luck.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

13. People like myself have very little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

14. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

15. Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

16. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends on whether I'm lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

17. If important people were to decide they didn't like me, I probably wouldn't make many friends.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

18. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

19. I am usually able to protect my personal interests.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

20. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on the other driver.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

21. when I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

22. In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over me.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

23. My life is determined by my own actions.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

24. It's chiefly a matter of fate whether or not I have a few friends or many friends.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
25. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends mostly on my ability.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
26. To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
27. I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
28. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on how good a driver I am.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
29. When I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
30. Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interests from bad luck happenings.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
31. When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

32. Although I might have good ability, I will not be given leadership responsibility without appealing to those in positions of power.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

33. How many friends I have depends on how nice a person I am.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

34. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

35. My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

36. Whether or not I get into a car accident is mostly a matter of luck.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

37. People like myself have very little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

38. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

39. Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
40. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends on whether I'm lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
41. If important people were to decide they didn't like me, I probably wouldn't make many friends.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
42. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
43. I am usually able to protect my personal interests.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
44. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on the other driver.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3
45. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it.
- 3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

46. In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over me.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

47. My life is determined by my own actions.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

48. It's chiefly a matter of fate whether or not I have a few friends or many friends.

-3 -2 -1 +1 +2 +3

Please turn to the next page.

SECTION II

The next set of questions are related to how people feel about their school or work situation. If you are currently taking one or more education courses, please answer questions on education.

25. Please circle the program you are currently involved in.

1. Education 2. Work

If you are currently enrolled in an education program, please answer questions 26 to 35. If you are working, please answer questions 36 to 44.

26. Which facility is your university program located in?

1. Kent
2. Mountain
3. Matsqui
4. William Head
5. S.F.U. On Campus (Burnaby)

27. What is your major area of study?

1. History
2. English
3. Psychology
4. Sociology
5. _____

28. Do you like the education program?

1. I like it very much.
2. I like it alot.
3. I like it a little.
4. I don't like it at all.

29. Is the education program interesting?

1. It is always interesting.
2. It is interesting most of the time.
3. It is boring most of the time.
4. It is always boring.

30. Do you think that you have learned anything?

1. I have learned a great deal.
2. I have learned a lot.
3. I have learned a little.
4. I haven't learned anything at all.

31. How are the courses, compared to other courses you have taken?

1. They are much better.
2. They are a little better.
3. They are about the same.
4. They are a little worse.
5. They are much worse.

32. Do you think you have learned anything which might help you get along better in your current situation?

1. I have learned a great deal.
2. I have learned a lot.
3. I have learned a little.
4. I haven't learned anything at all.

33. Do you think you have learned anything which will help you get along better after you leave your current situation.

1. I have learned a great deal.
2. I have learned a lot.
3. I have learned a little.
4. I haven't learned anything at all.

34. How are the courses compared with other courses you have taken in high school?

1. They are much better.
2. They are a little better.
3. They are about the same.
4. They are a little worse.
5. They are much worse.

35. Has taking the course changed your mind about anything?

1. I have changed my mind on very many things.
2. I have changed my mind on many things.
3. I have changed my mind on a few things.
4. I haven't changed my mind at all.

After you have completed the above questions on education, please turn to Section IV on page 17.

SECTION 111

36. Which facility are you currently working in?

1. Kent
2. Mountain
3. Matsqui
4. William Head

37. Do you like your work?

1. I like it very much.
2. I like it alot.
3. I like it a little.
4. I don't like it at all.

38. Is the work interesting?

1. It is always interesting.
2. It is interesting most of the time.
3. It is boring most of the time.
4. It is always boring.

39. Do you think that you have learned anything?

1. I have learned a great deal.
2. I have learned a lot.
3. I have learned a little.
4. I haven't learned anything at all.

40. How is the work compared to other institutional work you have done?

1. It is much better.
2. It is a little better.
3. It is about the same.
4. It is a little worse.
5. It is much worse.

41. Do you think you have learned anything which might help you get along better in your current situation?

1. I have learned a great deal.
2. I have learned a lot.
3. I have learned a little.
4. I haven't learned anything at all.

42. Do you think you have learned anything which will help you get along better after you leave your current situation?

1. I have learned a great deal.
2. I have learned a lot.
3. I have learned a little.
4. I haven't learned anything at all.

43. How is the work compared with other work you have done?

1. It is much better.
2. It is a little better.
3. It is about the same.
4. It is a little worse.
5. It is much worse.

44. Has taking this job changed your mind about anything?

1. I have changed my mind on very many things.
2. I have changed my mind on many things.
3. I have changed my mind on a few things.
4. I haven't changed my mind at all.

Please turn to the next page.

SECTION IV

The following questions relate to how people are feeling these days. Please circle either 1. YES or 2. NO.

45. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel particularly excited or interested in something?

1. YES 2. NO

46. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel so restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?

1. YES 2. NO

47. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel proud because someone complimented you on something you had done?

1. YES 2. NO

48. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel lonely or remote from other people?

1. YES 2. NO

49. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel pleased about having accomplished something?

1. YES 2. NO

50. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel bored?

1. YES 2. NO

51. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel on top of the world?

1. YES 2. NO

52. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel depressed or very unhappy?

1. YES 2. NO

53. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel that things were going your way?

1. YES 2. NO

54. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel upset because someone criticized you?

1. YES 2. NO

Please turn to the next page.

SECTION V

Finally, I require some background information for statistical comparison purposes. If a question does not relate to your current situation, please mark it Not Applicable or N/A.

55. What is your age?

56. Before entering the education or work program, what was the highest grade or level of education that you ever completed?

1. No Education
2. Some Elementary
3. Completed Elementary
4. Some High School
5. Completed High School
6. Some Community College or Technical College
7. Completed Community College or Technical
8. Some University
9. Completed Undergraduate Degree
10. Some Graduate Studies
11. Completed Graduate Studies

57. Before you entered **this** institution, were you in an institution that offered a post-secondary education program?

1. YES 2. NO

58. If the institution that you were in prior to this one had an education program, did you take any courses?

1. YES 2. NO

59. When did you enter **this** institution?

1. Less than 1 year ago
2. 1 to 2 years ago
3. 2 to 5 years ago
4. 5 to 10 years ago
5. more than 10 years ago

60. When did you first enter the education or work program?

1. Less than one year ago
2. 1 to 2 years ago
3. 2 to 5 years ago
4. 5 to 10 years ago
5. more than 10 years ago

61. What is the total number of courses that you have completed to date?

62. How many courses are you taking this semester?

63. What is the total number of credits that you have earned in the education program?

64. How would you categorize yourself as a student or worker?

1. Below Average
2. Average
3. Above Average

65. Have you ever been enrolled in the Prison Education Program?

1. YES
2. NO

66. What is your average grade or mark?

67. Were you enrolled in the education program last semester?

1. YES
2. NO

68. Do you plan on enrolling in the education program next semester?

1. YES
2. NO

69. Do you plan to complete a degree at this institution?

1. YES
2. NO

70. Once you have completed the necessary courses, what area will your degree be in?

1. History
2. English
3. Psychology
4. Sociology
5. _____

71. What was the offense that resulted in your incarceration?

72. What length of time were you sentenced to serve?

73. How much of your sentence have you now served?

74. Do you plan on attending University upon release?

1. YES
2. NO

75. What is your race?

1. Caucasian
2. Black
3. North American Indian
4. Other

76. What is today's date?

Thank you for your participation!

INFORMED CONSENT BY SUBJECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

This form and the information it contains is given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures involved. Your signature on this form will signify that you have received the information below regarding this project, that you have considered the information in this document, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Having been asked by Karen Almond of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University to participate in a study which examines the influences of post-secondary education on general well-being, educational experiences, and cognition, I understand the procedures to be used in this study in which I have voluntarily agreed to take part.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this study at any time. I also understand that I may make any complaint I might have about the study with the researcher, Miss. Karen Almond, or with Dr. Simon Verdon-Jones, the Chairman of Graduates Studies, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

Free copies of the results of this study, upon its completion, may be obtained by contacting:

Karen Almond,
School of Criminology,

Graduate Studies,
Simon Fraser University,
Burnaby, B.C. Canada, V5A 1S6.

DATE:

SIGNATURE:

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