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The Life Management Project: A comprehensive treatment and training approach to rehabilitation for adult offenders

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The Life Management Project: A comprehensive treatment and training approach to rehabilitation for adult offenders

Abstract

In the past fifteen to twenty years, penal reform has undergone a structural and service model trend toward vocational training and counseling. In many state penal facilities inmates can now take advantage of vocational/technical training and even obtain external degrees through correspondence programs with local colleges and universities. There is a need to supplement these training efforts by preparing inmates emotionally and socially for the kinds of pressures they will face upon release. The high rates of recidivism, substance abuse and unemployment represented by the ex-offender population are highly indicative of the special needs of this group .

THE LIFE MANAGEMENT PROJECT: A COMPREHENSIVE
TREATMENT AND TRAINING APPROACH TO REHABILITATION
FOR ADULT OFFENDERS

A Research Paper
Presented to
the Department of School Administration
and Personnel Services
University of Northern Iowa

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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Elaine Rose Penn
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In the past fifteen to twenty years, penal reform has undergone a structural and service model trend toward vocational training and counseling. In many state penal facilities inmates can now take advantage of vocational/technical training and even obtain external degrees through correspondence programs with local colleges and universities. There is a need to supplement these training efforts by preparing inmates emotionally and socially for the kinds of pressures they will face upon release. The high rates of recidivism, substance abuse and unemployment represented by the ex-offender population are highly indicative of the special needs of this group.

Among other things, deprivation in the areas of personal stress and resource management, along with deprivation in the area of building effective support networks, create primary inhibitors for the released offender.

There are many reasons why offenders may not have acquired these life-coping skills which are necessary for a smooth transition back into our stress-producing free society. Assuming that there is a direct or non-direct correlation between non-acquisition of these skills and the high rate of recidivism, this research proposes that there results an inherent right of the offender and of society to

have these deprivations satisfied at some junction in the penal network.

A Comprehensive Approach

Lipton (1975), has documented many treatment studies which have been undertaken in the prison setting in his book, The Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment. He cited studies done by Schnur (1948) and Bernstein (1965) which concluded that there is a positive relationship between education and success after release. Further, if the rate of lowered recidivism (recidivism defined as the "commission of a new criminal offense") by these program participants is taken as a measure of success, these and other studies have shown that the greater the time spent in an educational program, the greater the likelihood for rehabilitation.

This finding is significant to this research because it supports the contention that because of the prison's position in the penal hierarchy, it must extend its obligation past the custodial function which it has traditionally served well. This is not to suggest that all other alternatives to the institutional setting should be absolved of treatment responsibility to the offender. In this light, there arise the questions of whether the prison setting is conducive to the objectives of "rehabilitation"; and what the limitations are which come as a result of conflicting purposes in the prison's objectives and the objectives of rehabilitation.

Since there is a question in the literature as to whether

unemployability is a cause or effect of criminality, it is one which must be examined in this research. The assumption made that there is in fact a relation between employability and criminality lends itself to the argument proposed here in favor of a comprehensive treatment and training approach toward the objective of successful rehabilitation for ex-offenders.

In summary,

Vocational adjustment means more than simply obtaining a job (or acquiring an education*). It also may refer to issues such as job stability, job satisfaction, ability to get along with co-workers and supervisors, satisfaction of employer with the employee, job responsibility, job social status, etc. (*Addition by writer) (Lipton, 1975, p. 613).

Vocational decisions should be arrived at independent of perceived personal needs. Nor should vocational decisions be made independent of appropriate resource exploration. In fact, when an important decision such as that of a vocational or education career is made independent of some careful weighing of benefits and costs, the result can become a future disaster of disappointment and disillusionment.

As suggested, when the methods for this type of life management planning supplement the institutional training received in chosen programs of vocational or educational content, then offenders are more readily prepared for a smoother and more prosperous transition back into the free society. This comprehensive approach suggests that offenders be presented with the tools by which they can integrate the whole of a lifelong experience.

Amenability to Rehabilitation

Not all lawbreakers are rehabilitative, however. Some will often and quite frankly admit that they have no plan whatever of abandoning their criminal life styles upon release. But because some lawbreakers are amenable to rehabilitation, it is this group toward which our efforts must be directed. However, rehabilitation cannot be forced upon an individual; it is strictly a matter of choice.

There are several key concepts which will appear in this research, and which therefore need to be defined. Of note at this point is the term "rehabilitation." Proponents of the rehabilitation ideal usually avoid having to define the term, it is probably easier for them to state what it is not.

The greatest hindrance encountered is the fact that the term, by virtue of the manner in which it is popularly construed, infers a measurable outcome. The term would suggest a behavioral and/or attitude change as reflected in a positive transition back into the free society. Unfortunately, neither, independently, is a reliable measure that would ensure the occurrence of "rehabilitation."

Adding to the confusion is the inverse concept of recidivism. Recidivism is defined generally as the commission of new criminal acts by released offenders. (And there occurs much controversy over this definition also.) The concept is important to this research because it is popularly used to disprove the substantiality of rehabilitation. The argument follows the reasoning that if a released offender commits a new crime, then obviously no change in *the individual's predisposition to crime has occurred. And,*

therefore, such an individual has not been "rehabilitated." Problems in such reasoning are immediately obvious. Recidivism is just not a trustworthy measure of failure. It supposes a behavioral regression and assumes that attitude is similarly affected. To present argument on the point, as non-recidivism cannot reliably indicate a successful and law-abiding transition back into the free society, a rate of recidivism cannot reliably indicate regression.

Non-recidivism (or, no further convictions) does not account for the possibility of an ex-offender's renewed transgressions not being reported, nor does it account for non-productivity--both of which are indicative of regression not progression. Therefore, an ex-offender who remains unconvicted of further offenses does not necessarily become a model for rehabilitation. Nonetheless, the rate of recidivism has become a universal measure of rehabilitative failure. Hence, and unfortunately, it cannot be discarded offhandedly. The fact that it cannot, poses certain limitations for assumptions made here. If the rate of recidivism could somehow control for the patterned behavior of each individual, then there would exist a greater indication of the degree of change. Meaning, that if an offender who is disposed to serious crimes demonstrated a change toward less serious crime--perhaps this may be indicative of rehabilitation of a sort--for this particular individual. By the same token, though non-recidivism is not--per se--a positive indication of rehabilitation, it may indicate just that for a chronic offender who breaks such a criminal pattern. For the purpose of this study, rehabilitation is defined as a new or renewed move towards enhanced

personal development, vocational development, or greater social and familial stability. Further, to add credibility to the research, a rate of recidivism is taken to indicate failure, but only in cases where individuals have been disposed to the comprehensive type of vocational and counseling treatment program which is proposed here.

Structure of the Research

Historically, the American prison system has been plagued by a triad of unreconciled goals. First, it was conceptualized as a site to extract penitence of its evil captives: this is the retributive arm. Second, it was seen as the most appropriate way station for discouraging potential unlawful behaviors (as much in the case of its captives as for free citizens): this being the deterrence arm. Third, and finally, via the fulfillment of the previous two objectives, it has sought to remake its captive non-conformers into lawabiding citizens: thus, we have the reform arm. Recognizing the ideological complexities in which our prison system has floundered, it is important to note that these triadic objectives have served to cripple what should have become the natural and progressive development of this early system.

These early ideological conflicts have shown up in an increasingly complex and uncompromising form. Of important to this study is the fact that these historic conflicts have served to inhibit successful integration of the more progressive rehabilitation ideal. As the penal network progressed, its antiquated ideals should have

been replaced. Unfortunately, they were not. New ideals were placed side by side with the old. This leads into an examination of whether the objectives of rehabilitation can reasonably be integrated into the custodial facility. Along these lines it will be necessary to take a look at the task of custody as far as it may oppose the reform ideal.

Current Vocational/Educational Programs

In looking at some important findings which have been drawn from recent prison treatment programs, the examination will begin with a look at the historic presence of education in the prison setting. This part of the research will look at the initial purposes of these early programs; and some of the possible causes of failure in prison vocational/educational settings.

A proposed comprehensive treatment program will be integrated; accompanied by an explanation of its special emphasis on vocational adjustment, and building effective support systems--as they relate to the assumptions made concerning the failure or success of the aforementioned treatment programs.

A central part of this proposed treatment approach is a counseling paradigm. The chapter will look at the historic introduction of the counseling approach in the treatment ideal. This examination will involve: a) a look at the traditional goals of institutional counseling; and b) a particular argument which has been posed in the literature opposing general adjustment counseling for prisoners. Finally, this proposal will consider a counseling

methodology which is determined to be more suitable to the special needs of our population.

Chapter 2

THE REHABILITATION IDEAL

As stated in the introduction to this research, the American prison system was crippled very early in its infancy. We have named the conflicting triadic objectives of this early system as being retribution, deterrence, and reformation. Each arm of this triad seeks to bring about a positive change--of sorts--either in the individual for his own good, or through the individual for the good of others. Further, though the functional direction for each of these three objectives operate within differing rationales, all have as their impetus the idea of rehabilitation.

This point leads us to the opinion that contrary to popular belief, the idea of rehabilitation is not a new-fangled invention of our society today. It is, in fact, a concept which is finely interwoven into the very fabric of penology. The definition of the concept has, however, changed threads.

...Let the most obdurate and guilty felons be immured in solitary cells and dungeons; let them have pure air, wholesome food, comfortable clothing, and medical aid when necessary; cut them off from all intercourse with men; let not the voice or face of a friend ever cheer them; let them walk their gloomy abodes, and commune with their corrupt hearts and guilty consciences in silence, and brood over the horrors of their solitude, and the enormity of their crimes, without the hope of pardon (Lewis, 1922, p. 81).

Fortunately, this sentiment clearly and frankly set forth by

the Board of Inspectors of Auburn Prison in the 1800's, did not become a prevailing one. The idea of reforming the convict was an intrinsic part of the humanitarian ethic of prisoner treatment of this early period. Criminals were redeemable, if guided with a stern hand of discipline. Central to the concept, however, was the idea that prisoners could be made to feel guilty for their misdeeds, and that such guilt could reform their propensity to future such behaviors. Note that the idea involves a change of mind and then a change of behavior on the criminal's part. Punishment, in this early period, was seen as the vehicle for this initiation. It can be stated that the idea of refining the convict educationally, and even vocationally, is a more modern addition to the prerequisites for rehabilitation of the offender.

Prisoner labor was an early introduction in the program of reformation, but was not intended as much to reform the prisoner as it was intended to make him help defray the costs of his maintenance to the state. Hence as early as 1796, we take note of a full-scale labor program at the early Walnut Street Prison. Such a device was clearly more beneficial to the state than to the convict. Reformers of the period acknowledged this point and even felt that the objective was as it should have been. However, some--realizing the contradiction--reasoned that prison labor taught the convict industry and disciplined him for industrious habits once released (Lewis, 1922). In the earliest prison labor program, inmates worked at carpentry, joinery, weaving, shoemaking, tailoring, and the making of nails (Lewis, 1922). This earliest program would pose an

embarrassment to some current prison labor programs.

To conclude, the ideal of reformation at this early period was defined in terms of making the individual useful to society, but more as a ward of society--not a member. Hence, focus was placed on the idea of creating inmate resourcefulness during the custodial period rather than instilling the same thing for the purpose of making the offender himself better off upon release. Reform was observed as a process whereby offenders were encouraged to repent for their sins committed against society, and, after a vigorous discipline of labor in the prison industry, re-enter society.

Why Rehabilitate the Offender?

If creative rehabilitation is unavailable, the offender will find it difficult to function effectively in the community. The failures may cause consternation and public outcry and even a demand to return to the safety of the custodial institution. But let us never forget that the community is being insulted every day by aggravated incidents of crime, often by recidivists who in almost all cases were untreated in prisons (Phelps, 1975, p. 177).

The fundamental problem with the retributive vestige of our early system is that incarceration simply does not deter a significant number of offenders. Granted, some groups of offenders, e.g. first-time offenders, might become "rehabilitated" after the first nights spent in some of our state and local prisons. For them, the initial experience is devastating. For the rest, or quite a large percentage, prison is more like an old, uncomfortable hat. One may rather not wear it, but if forced to, at least the holes and worn spots will lessen the impact of adjustment problems.

Many offenders may resort to lives of crime because the costs

are not as high as for legitimate careers. If we realize that the costs for a legitimate career are high in view of the time it takes to reap the benefits after bearing the costs, we may also see that the criminal may be making a rational choice in his selection of crime. It is self-defeating to speculate about why people commit crimes against society without acknowledging the actual benefits of crime. This acknowledgement need not be blocked by moralism. Crime does pay in very real monetary terms whether it is morally wrong or not.

For the sake of argument, if the gain from criminal association and activity can be freely acknowledged, one can at once also see the resulting suffering that the victimized public must endure. Hence, where the question of cost is involved, we begin to see the attendant burdens of having an unskilled, unrehabilitated offender released into the same environment from which he came-- and, no less, among the same associations from without he committed present criminal acts. Certainly, such an individual has not been deterred, as can be evidenced by the probability that he will return to old associations because he has acquired no inclination to enter new, more productive ones. Further, since society will be forced to pay for further criminal acts committed by this individual, it is unlikely that the retribution received for past acts will now account for much. And finally, since the individual has been made actually worse off by the duration and the association in the incarceration period, certainly no rehabilitation can be said to have taken place.

The burdens which the public is forced to bear when the released offender has not been rehabilitated has been noted.

There are, of course, other costs.

There are costs to the individual who has never been presented with the necessary skills by which he/she can effectively maintain a physically and emotionally healthy existence. There are the attendant social and emotional damages wrought on this individual because of his incarceration in the denigrating environment of the prison society. And then there are the much larger costs to society of having such a disproportionate loss of human resources (Hefferman, 1977). Not only is this human potential lost to the progress of the larger society, but not having the benefit of this vast resource means that some other area of the society must suffer. These men and women who will not fill the ranks of doctors, nurses, plumbers, electricians, etc. must alternatively fill the beds of mental institutions, extend the welfare rolls, and occupy the dependent classification of all other such social institutions.

Unemployability: Cause or Effect of Criminality?

Work is perhaps the most important determinant of a successful adjustment to life...and employment problems both reflect and cause difficulties elsewhere (Taggart, 1972, p. 15).

There is a good, but unsettled question in the literature as to whether or not there exists a correlation between the unemployability of the ex-offender and his propensity toward continued criminal activity. As Taggart (1972) has thoughtfully pointed out, proving that there is a correlation between unemployment and

criminality does not prove that there exists a cause/effect relationship there. While the point is very valid, in rebuttal it is interesting to note the curious phenomenon that occurs when as the national rate of unemployment rises, so too does the national crime rate. The question is one of devastating importance here, because of the argument posed in favor of making the offender more employable and more autonomous as a means of breaking the criminal cycle.

In allowing for the correlation between unemployment and crime as Taggart did, a case proving that there may in fact exist a cause/effect relationship is simultaneously made in light of extenuating data on the subject. Consider the unofficial estimates made by officials of the Federal Bureau of Prisons that state that twenty to fifty percent of the approximately half-million adults incarcerated in American federal and state prisons can neither read nor write. As many as 90% of the adult prisoners in the penal system are school drop-outs and in a majority of prisons more than 50% of the adults incarcerated above eighteen years of age have less than an eighth grade education (Seashore and Haberford, 1976).

As we look at these statistics it must be realized that while employment--as an alternative behavior to crime--may figure questionably into the cause/effect debate, the absence of employability excludes the employment alternative.

One of the most frequent reasons for not hiring offenders in the first place is the demand for higher levels of education and participation in rehabilitation programs (Taggart, 1972). This

would tend to suggest that in order to make offenders more employable (thereby initiating the law-abiding alternative), progressive prison education and training programs are an absolute must where the question of genuine rehabilitation is concerned.

To make one final argument on the subject of the cause/effect relationship between unemployment and crime, it is a fact that though the courts have prohibited employers from asking about prior arrest records, ex-offenders are still subject to employment discrimination in both the private and public sectors. Albeit, nine states have adopted expungement procedures in an attempt to remove some of the disabilities imposed on the ex-offender, numerous exceptions have made this attempt toward expungement relatively ineffective (Morse, 1976). As a result, a double-bind situation occurs where the ex-offender may either be void of employable training--thus the employment alternative is inhibited in favor of the former patterned behavior; or, he may be employable but also victimized by discriminatory practices--which would additionally inhibit the employment alternative. To conclude and to answer the question posed at the beginning of the section: understandably, if an offender is unemployed because he is unemployable, certainly the fact of his unemployability will have a cause/effect bearing on his criminal proclivity.

The Task of Custody vs. The Goal of Rehabilitation

It is often said ...that to teach the habit of obedience in prison will make the ex-prisoner a conforming member of society. Even granted that this were true, it seems that many

other roles are inculcated which seriously unfit the ex-prisoner for life beyond the institution (Klare, 1977, p. 144).

Since the responsibility of rehabilitating the offender has been placed squarely on the shoulders of the penal network, it is important that we examine its capabilities as a facility for treatment. Our system has defined rehabilitation as re-socializing the offender into a law-abiding and industrious citizen. It is assumed that the lawbreaker is as far from being a law-abiding citizen as possible. That is, he is always disposed to criminal acts and thoughts, unwilling to work or occupy his time industriously, and void of the qualities needed to escape both of these negative traits. If the prison is to remake individuals, ideally, its responsibility must include training and discipline in these areas and others. Arguments posed in favor of more progressive prison policy and facilities, point to the fact that current penal policy and facilities actually inhibit the acquisition of these qualities.

In deciding whether the custodial facility is even conducive to the objectives of rehabilitation (education and training), note that the very physical structure of most prisons are sorely repressive. As Sykes (1958) so vividly alludes to in his book, The Society of Captives, the physical properties of a prison reflect the dullness and hopelessness that is so typical of "total institutions" like asylums, prisons and hospitals. The prison walls are built as much to contain its captives as to hide its captives from public view. The structure is designed to confine and to restrict. Considering the traditionally isolated rural environment in which it exists, with

its barbed wires, its towers, its bars, its drab mortar and steel barriers, its long dimly-lit corridors, and its locks and keys, the prison aptly fulfills its primary objective--that of confinement. As Sykes pointed out the captive is confined not only to the prison but within it.

In the Goffman (1961) study, Asylums, he presents a very interesting and useful analysis of how "total institutions" de-individualize inmates. First, these institutions disrobe individuals of most mental and physical props. When an inmate enters the custodial prison he is stripped of his Christian name and given a number in its stead. He is divest of all of his material possessions and compensated with a set of standard institutional clothing. He is then housed with one or more others in a unit appropriately called a cell. His possessions in the cell are restricted to a toilet, a washbowl, a bed, a table, a footlocker, and several shelves. His mail is censored and he is only allowed to receive a particular number of visitors a particular number of times a month. If the removal of these physical properties isn't enough, the "total institution" seeks complete de-individualization by restricting mental props. As Goffman (1961) asserted, "total institutions" seek ultimately to untrain people and to dispossess them of the functional roles they filled in free society.

Because the prison is a custodial facility, apparently it cannot afford to train individuals to be autonomous, but obedient, and all on the same hand. Inmates must be controlled. Therefore, they must be disciplined and trained into a set of behaviors which

are in direct conflict with desired rehabilitative behaviors. Obviously the prison system views conformity to discipline and regulations as partly rehabilitative. The promise of pardon, parole and honor points are viewed as positive means to rehabilitating the inmate who, advocates explain, will strive to obey and conform to expected regulations. They see this first step as a clear indication that the prisoner can be reformed to conform to society's rules. The idea is much too simplistic and echoes too much of a past era which felt that all "degenerates" required was a stern hand of guidance and breathing space to feel penitent in to be reformed to society's laws. A prisoner who strives to change his behavior to gain early release is not doing so necessarily out of a change in attitude or behavior.

As we have shown, clearly the objectives of custody and rehabilitation may indeed be conflicting ones. Much more clearly is the fact that the prison community is not an ideal training ground. The situation is not, however, hopeless. The management and administration of the American penal network can be progressive without being archaic or lax in its ultimate responsibility to society. Hence, it is not suggested here that custody has no place in the rehabilitation of offenders. Rather, it is wrong to conclude that the task of custody should preclude efforts toward the healthy restoration of the offender back into the mainstream of society.

History of Education in the American Prison System

...Education for adult prisoners--Its philosophy is to consider the prisoner as primarily an adult in need of education

and only secondarily as a criminal in need of reform. Its aim is to extend to prisoners as individuals every type of educational opportunity that experience or sound reasoning shows may be of benefit or of interest to them, in the hope that they may thereby be fitted to live more competently, satisfyingly, and cooperatively as members of society (MacCormick, 1931, p. 11).

Historically, the idea of offering educational enrichment to prisoners gained momentum immediately following World War II. Correctional philosophy at this time turned from the idea of the criminal as a free-willed being to that of a determined being propelled by psychopathologies or other problems rooted in childhood (Seashore and Haberford, 1976). We see in this new train of thought allowance for the possibility that maybe the criminal type's milieu and familial base was directly contributive to the criminal propensity. Perhaps, this criminal tendency might even prove hereditary. At least these more progressive-thinking reformers were advancing in their ideologies, even if not by leaps and bounds.

A curious vestige from the early introduction of education into the penal system has been the notion that it is somehow a special privilege. Given the quality and quantitative degree of enrichment offerings then and even now, the idea of privilege is fastidious. It is odd that the same kind of public sentiment has never so strongly indicted the prospect of vocational training in the same setting.

As alluded to earlier, the introduction of work detail came as early as the early prison, though it could not be placed on a respectful level of "vocational" training today. The reasoning

for this earliest introduction, as some would have it, was to occupy inmates until their sentences were served.--"Idle hands are the devil's workshop."

Back to the subject of penal education, as has been shown, prisons are generally not considered appropriate settings for academics. Further still, inmates are certainly not thought of as being "college material," as the average inmate's school record is sorely unimpressive. Usually, the average inmate has not completed high school, and is two to three years behind in the last completed grade level. As a further restraint, such an inmate may additionally come from the lower socio-economic strata of society and/or come from a minority status in this society (Seashore and Haberford, 1976).

The central idea of our proposed rehabilitative model is comprehensiveness. Since the meatiest part of comprehensiveness involves perpetual evaluation not only in terms of quality and quantity, but also involves an understanding of what is being corrected, why it is being corrected, and for whom, programs already in progress are in need of this type of evaluation. Seashore helps us in this area by providing a skeletal framework of some issues involved in this type of evaluation. First, it is important to know what the structure and function of college programs are, which are now in operation (Seashore and Haberford, 1976). Many of these programs are correspondence type programmings, or which involve instructional personnel on loan from the parent university. In evaluating structure and function, it is important to know what the guidelines

of quality are, what body has set those guidelines, and finally, how those guidelines are adhered to--if in fact they are. Second, evaluation must involve some type of rating from participants. This complements the first goal of evaluation set forth above and additionally ensures that participants' perceived needs are at least being solicited. The third requirement involves the guidelines mentioned in the first criterion. It is important that evaluators utilize some type of apparatus whereby they can measure the extent to which students have achieved academically.

Now as far as vocational training is concerned, either the inmate can perform the assigned tasks successfully--in the recommended training period--or he can't. If successful completion is not met within specified time restraints, this may or may not be indicative of a wrong vocational choice on the inmate's part. This again is based, in large part, on the quality and level of instruction and supervision. Many things come into play where academic programs are subject to evaluation--thereby involving the interactional process of student and instructor. Not surprisingly, the delicate presence of institutional training in the prison setting would tend to heighten these evaluative difficulties.

Finally, a central criterion of the vocational and educational programs in this setting must always incorporate the cost/benefit question (Seashore and Haberford, 1976). The costs and benefits of having such programs are circular and extend as much to the free society as to involved participants. At best, it will never be a question of who benefits more, as much as the question will be who

bears the cost of not having such programs the most.

To conclude this section as a lead-in to the proposed project, it is interesting to make note of some standard causes of failure in American prison schools. Enrichment courses have always suffered both in the quantity offered, and of those offered--the narrowness of scope. These courses have generally adhered rigidly to the content and method of juvenile education, and of course, the participation by adult prisoners in these courses have reflected this. Even with the swift turns and bends of psychotherapeutic knowledge and the more advanced educational systems of the external society, there has been an unfortunate failure to apply these progressive techniques and systems in the penal society. Since the prison society has historically furnished the scientific and medical community with experiential guinea pigs, it is curious that the scholastic community has not taken advantage of the same. But perhaps again we encounter the notion of privilege or luxury attached to educational enrichment (MacCormick, 1931).

There has also existed the controlling tendency to treat en masse. It is not curious that this tendency has been prevalent in the treatment/training offerings, when we consider all other factors. It is however curious that such a tendency is so much in violation of the most basic tenets of learning, that it has never been challenged. Offering academic enrichment to such a largely heterogeneous population en masse, is at the least self-defeating. Again, one wonders whose needs are intended to be met and what those needs have been purported to be. It comes as no surprise

then that there has resulted a failure to relate this education to real life circumstances (MacCormick, 1931).

The hostility and indifference from institutional officials who may view the rehabilitative goal as secondary (or subordinate) to the objective of custody, is a by-product of inadequate financial support from state and local concerns. This inadequate aid, and pervasive indifference, has resulted in incompetent supervision and teaching, poor textual and supplementary material, and painfully insufficient libraries (MacCormick, 1931).

Some Findings of Recent Vocational/Educational Programs

Briefly, in a study undertaken by Schnur (1948) at the Wisconsin State Prison, he tabulated data which supported the finding that there is a positive relationship between education and the success of an offender after release. Further, and more interesting still, he found that "although the size of the differences in recidivism between experimentals and controls was small and did not become substantial until after six months of schooling, it increased with increasing time in the educational program" (Lipton, et al., 1922, p. 205).

The author cautioned, however, that because an offender does not again become involved with the criminal justice system, it cannot be assumed that he is socially adjusted or rehabilitated.

His sampling involved 630 adult male prisoners, with mixed offenses. This group had participated in a year or more of treatment (he does not present adequate discussion pertaining

to type of treatment), with two years in follow-up after release.

A peculiar discovery of this study and many others is the finding that the greater the time an offender has spent in a custodial institution, the more likely he is to be reconvicted.

"It follows that studies of corrective efficacy should control for sex, age, previous criminal career, type of offense and the time previously spent in custody..." (Feldman, 1977, p. 213).

Chapter 3

THE LIFE MANAGEMENT PROJECT: A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

Failure rates may be high for a number of reasons, but the major cause is that few institutions have adequately developed comprehensive rehab programs (Phelps, 1975, p. 177).

Contained in this quote, from Phelps, is the thrust of the proposed project presented here. Modern prisons today, do, to a respectable degree, offer vocational programs geared toward the rehabilitative effort. In many of these state and federal prisons inmates are able to learn marketable trades in various occupations. Further, some states have implemented work-release programs which provide practical work experience, encourage civic responsibility, and which reinforce compliance to the work ethic. These efforts are tremendously worthwhile and deserve progressive administration.

Our population is such, however, that training--independent of treatment--may pose certain handicaps for the inmate who may feel that he/she will now encounter fewer problems in the free society. Just giving these people the training whereby they can gain employment is not a sufficient rehabilitative prerequisite. The "loser" stigma is not more pervasive in any other social institution. This thinking is bred in the mind of the average prisoner, and fed by all parties external to this individual--including perhaps the family and even his peers. The challenge

of getting inmates to reject and substitute this kind of thinking is not resolved by the acquisition of a vocational training. Training is certainly a prerequisite of rehabilitation, but it is only part of the total solution.

The purpose of this project is multifold. While the increased employability of enrollees is a desired result, there is a greater desire to see enrollees move in this direction because of a conscious and self-initiated decisional process. Summarily, it involves a process-decision based on the acquisition of project objectives.

Project Logistics

Implementation of the Life Management Project is subject to the level of progressive administration in the areas of education, vocation, medical, and counseling services offered by the facility. In addition, said facility must meet certain standards conducive to the physical and emotional well-being of its residents; and all selected institutions must have fully implemented academic and vocational/technical training programs. Additionally, in accordance with the state government regulations, all such training programs should be accredited and empowered to certify graduates at the completion of such training.

Project instructors and counselors must be fully trained in their respective areas of instruction and be prepared to function effectively in the penal environment. With respect to staff selection and integration, there are problems to be encountered when attempting

to incorporate a new system into on-going institutional programming. Special caution and diplomacy should be safeguarded when bringing other professionals into an already established structure (Bennett, et al., 1978). As far as criteria for selection is concerned, candidates must be highly motivated, they should be humanistically-oriented, and they must be flexible enough in their own thinking to benefit from an in-service training program. Frances Mary offers the additional advice that there be a constant high turnover of administrative and staff personnel. "Otherwise two things may happen: either the enthusiast...stays on the premises an unwarrantable number of hours, acutely aware of the endless problems and opportunities with which he might be dealing until staleness drives him to depression...Or, somehow the pace deadens..." (Mary, 1958, p. 274).

All enrollees to the Life Management Project must be presently enrolled in (or have just recently completed) an academic or vocational/technical training program at the facility. They must be working toward, or be in receipt of, certification for their training, or an external degree in the area of academic interest. Referrals may come from instructors under whose supervision students have worked, they may come from counselors at the facility, and they may come from direct inmate application. In any event, conduct and work records will be screened by the Project Review Board for each potential enrollee. All enrollees must have successfully completed three months of study in their respective programs at the time of Project enrollment.

Participants will be screened according to the nature of the current offense for which they are serving time, age, projected release time, pattern of behavior and cooperation since time of incarceration for current offense, etc. Using this criteria for selection, certain applicants would automatically be subject to rejection.

Offenders ranging in age twenty to forty are eligible for consideration. Offenders past the age of forty may be selected only where all other criteria for Project entrance has been fulfilled, and where Project participation is not operating at capacity. Further, offenders past the age of forty, to be considered in these special circumstances, must have previous vocational training acquired before present incarceration. No offender may be selected for enrollment in the Project who is serving time less than fifteen months and more than thirty-six months. Said offender must already be enrolled in a vocational or academic program supervised by the custodial facility. As a further stipulation for Project acceptance, each enrollee must agree to participate in a three-year follow up study upon release.

The Project setting would be held in facilities set aside in the institution for educational purposes. Since institutions must meet guidelines placed by Project administrators, such setting should be conducive to the learning objectives of the Project.

At the outset, enrollees should know exactly what is expected of them. Hence, a complete description of the Life Management Project will be presented to enrollees in detail.

Objectives of the Project will be discussed step by step, as well as the Project format and method of instruction. The Project will involve six areas of concentration, each of two month duration. In brief, the six areas are Awareness, Management of Personal Resources, Career Planning, Vocational Exploration, Resource Exploration, and Building Advocacy Networks.

Section I: Awareness

The first area of emphasis is Awareness. Enrollees should be encouraged to think of themselves as autonomous and responsible individuals capable of planning any lifestyle they desire. This first section is intended to get participants to examine self-motivations, and personal values and belief systems. Characteristically, prisoners have been found to have very unrealistic expectations of themselves when it comes to learning. Adult learners, in general, are more aware of their weaknesses than their strengths (Hefferman, et al., 1977). This hindrance is compounded in the case of the offender who is unwilling to take too many risks--though positive they may be--primarily because of the presence of so many negative reinforcers. If they also suffer from achievement anxiety, it can become patterned behavior for them to throw up their hands in surrender when they are faced with unobtainable goals (Schumacher, 1980). The Awareness section then is intended to focus on personal assessment and value clarification, as well as a demonstration of how unobtainable goals can be redefined into obtainable goals.

To complete this part of the section's intent, enrollees

would be asked to select and plan a long-term commitment to self-growth. They would be asked to voluntarily commit themselves to a written contract composed by themselves according to what they desire from the Project, what they expect to gain from the Project, and what areas of personal deficiencies they wish to see improved upon in the course of the Project. Group and individual counseling would play a significant role in this section.

The second half of this section (or last four sessions) will involve in-depth sessions dealing with job-seeking skills in the interview process, the application process, and the job-contact process (personal and written). Special attention would be given to personal hygiene and appropriate speech and writing conventions in these processes.

Section II: Management of Personal Resources

The second area of the Project is Management of Personal Resources. This section seeks to get enrollees to explore financial management in the family; budgeting money to meet rising costs in education and living; and managing time for work and relaxation.

Very basic accounting skills will be presented, with stress on its usefulness in finance management and budgeting. Basic economic concepts will be presented and discussed, with application to real life and market situations. Other sessions would deal with consumer law and basic information about consumer protection agencies. Banking tips on loans and savings transactions would also be examined during this section.

Section III: Career Planning

The third Project area is Career Planning. Enrollees should be encouraged to think about careers instead of jobs. Emphasis would be on life-long training. Each session will deal with a different aspect of career exploration.

Opening sessions would involve group discussion of career vs. job planning; the virtue of long-term vs. short-term planning of any nature; and the particular fears that students may have regarding the planning of a career rather than a job. Succeeding sessions would involve internal and external speakers addressing their respective themes to the career options available in college study, apprenticeship training, and vocational/technical training. Discussions would be focused on available financial aid for each option; the drawbacks and benefits of each option and how enrollees may achieve career goals through the selection of an option which meets their individual abilities and needs.

Since most adult learners, and particularly offenders, are uncertain as to what they are skilled at, enrollees would be introduced to several standardized interest inventories and career informational systems. (In particular, the SCII, the Minnesota Vocational Interest Survey, CISI-Quest, and especially the Vocational Exploration Group.) Finally, materials for the section would also include college catalogs to be examined and discussed, and a detailed look at apprenticeship training through contract obligations.

Section IV: Vocational Exploration

The previous section leads us into our fourth area, Vocational Exploration. This is intended to complement the previous section. In this area, however, we would focus on the different aspects of employment in the federal, state, self, public and private domains.

The second half of the section will explore vocations in detail. Offenders can be expected to have little sense of occupational structures and the levels of competence within those structures which lead to career advancement (Hefferman, 1977). Hence, specific case careers and jobs would be examined in an effort to get enrollees to look at these prospects in terms of location, job responsibilities, advancement potential, pay, and personal satisfaction. The second half of this section will also be intended to get enrollees to use skills acquired in Section II to predict job market trends and potentialities for future employment. Selected course readings and films would complement discussion. Additionally, enrollees would be asked to take in-class standardized exams with follow-up discussion on results, techniques, and applicability.

Section V: Resource Exploration

Section five will deal with Resource Exploration. There are public and private resources. Additionally, there are resources of every kind and nature. This section is intended to acquaint enrollees with the location of those resources, their availability

and accessibility, the benefits or drawbacks of each, and the location of potential resources.

Enrollees would be given detailed summaries of job, education and service resources in their own communities. They would be made aware of the hundreds of benefits which thorough search of their public libraries can yield. They will be informed of federal and state resources of information, in particular, cataloged information about jobs, health, and public welfare.

Materials for the section would include examination of federal publications (Occupational Outlook Handbook, U.S. Department of Labor), and examination of catalogs, newsletters, and various other such resource periodicals. Instruction will be given on the use of the library, and other such resource centers set in their own communities.

Section VI: Building Advocacy Networks

The final section, Building Support Service Networks, is meant as a drawing together of all previous course presentations. The section is based on a psychotherapeutic and educational model designed by Mueller and Macelveen-Holhn (1979) for their adult patients.

In her treatment of patients, Mueller began to notice that persons would come for treatment, would sound positively changed when they left--but would show up later with the same problems. She began to recognize that the kind of support clients did or did not illicit among the members of their network affected the client's ability to sustain changes in behaviors or

attitudes.

In view of this recurring phenomenon, the authors decided to make use of "network" theory (Attneave and Speck, 1973) in their design of a rehabilitation model for their adult clients. After network theory and practice was fully explained to her participating clients, Mueller first required them to map out (in pictorial form) their own networks using a technique and form developed by Attneave (1973). They were then directed to list members of their network by the following categories: Household, Close, Casual, and Distant; and to place these persons' names on their maps. During succeeding sessions participants were asked to answer several questions dealing with what they desired in relationships. To summarize, the major responses were: attachment, social integration, opportunity to nurture, validation, dependable allies, and guidance. Maps were highly indicative of the kind of people participants found themselves aligned with most of the time. When examined in conjunction with what patients felt were their own projected needs, maps became indicative of positive/negative influences that significant others had on participants' behaviors. Not only did participants discover that a wide variety of support was available in their own networks; but that support for nearly any current or new behavior was available somewhere within the network (Mueller and Macelveen-Holhn, 1979).

At this point in the section, enrollees would be introduced to the concept of "network". Following the format established by

Mueller, they would then be directed to map out their own networks: family and institutional (as well as external-social). Group and individual discussion would follow, with particular emphasis on the importance of consciously building supportive networks. During this half of the section, group and individual sessions would be set aside. Every attempt would be made to ensure that enrollees fully understand the objectives of building advocacy networks.

During the second half of the section, enrollees would be asked to plot a life-long career plan with a detailed analysis of each choice along the way. This half would be closely guided by Project personnel. Each session would be devoted to a separate stage in the career plotting stage, with the intention of getting them to think of career planning as a process which must be plotted and thought through. Analysis should reflect conscious choice, made through a weighing of realistic pros and cons. During this career plotting, a second objective of the assignment would be for enrollees to map a network of informational and support resources which would complement their career plans.

To conclude this section and the Project, the written contract which enrollees initially designed would be reviewed. At this time, they would be asked to discuss their self-perceived progress in the project, individually, with Project personnel.

Chapter 4

A COUNSELING PARADIGM IN THE CORRECTIONAL SETTING

Counseling in a correctional setting is best defined as:

Planned interaction between the correctional worker and a client or group of clients--probationers, prisoners, or parolees--with the aim of changing the pattern of the recipients' behavior toward conformity to social expectation (Bennett, et al., 1978, p. 10).

When Bennett (1978) uses the illusive phrase "conformity to social expectation" he obviously means rehabilitation. We see the first introduction of the counseling service into the prison setting in 1944 at the Reception Center in San Quentin Prison. Group counseling was the initial approach, and to a large degree still predominates institutional counseling today. Treatment, en masse, seems to hold down costs and prevent radical changes in the institutional hierarchy.

Counseling efforts of the present typically range from individual career guidance and emotional counseling, to small group counseling and family therapy, to large group interaction and therapeutic community programs (Bennett, 1978). Some standard objectives for institutional counseling can be outlined as the following:

- a) the creation of subcultures that will support conforming behavior and condemn illegal behavior

- b) development of peer pressure for conforming behavior
- c) adoption of realistic and appropriate perceptions of values and expected behavior
- d) improving the institutional climate
- e) lowering the rate of disciplinary difficulties
- f) reducing recidivism
- g) reflecting positive shifts in personality (Bennett, 1978).

As mentioned just previously, the favored approach in the penal setting has been group counseling. Though there are some merits to be upheld in the approach, it does have its drawbacks. First, to define the difference between group counseling and group therapy: Group therapy is conducted by psychiatrists and social workers who have had formal training in therapeutically-oriented groups. Additionally, as Bennett pointed out (1978), it is generally more concerned with the more serious emotional problems than is group counseling. In group counseling, the service is meant to act as a forum whereby offenders are able to feel free to discuss--with security--their own and each other's feelings about the situation in which they presently find themselves (Fenton, 1961). Hence, the major objectives are to help them adjust to the frustrations which are in fact an unalterable part of their lives--both during the incarceration and afterward. As a rehabilitative measure, it is further meant to help clients recognize the significance of emotional conflicts which may underlie the criminal propensity (Fenton, 1961).

There are various "cons" to the group counseling approach,

particularly when used in the prison setting. As delineated by Bennett (1978), if left to offenders, groupings based on racial lines, sexual preferences, etc. could immediately result in intra-group misunderstandings. And this, even if it were not used in the prison setting, is an inhibitory factor in the group approach of course. Secondly, he pointed to the unavoidable dimension of peer pressure peculiar to the institutional setting. Participants in the group approach may deliberately mask their feelings to avoid vulnerability or an appearance of unmasculinity. This approach must also be closely guided or it can become an open form for game playing and manipulations (Bennett, 1978).

Yet, the approach has its positive measures in the institutional setting. First, because a counselor may be perceived by inmates to be an outsider, the group approach makes allowances for inmates to suggest solutions to problems which--if suggested by the counselor, may not be as readily acceptable. Second, a counseling target for specific inmates (marriage, vocational, etc.) builds cohesion in the group, and encourages participants to trust each other through the sharing of experiences (Bennett, 1978).

So far, the group approach has more than adequately served the purposes of the custodial institution: generating and maintaining institutional harmony. Thus, herein lies the strongest opposition to general adjustment counseling. Though the approach provides for the skills necessary for institutional adjustment, it presents little provision for the transition and adjustment to be made back to the free society (Bennett, 1978).

Of the varied approaches which seem most relevant to offenders during the incarceration period (and also more rehabilitative in its scope), the "client-centered" or "Rogerian" approach would appear to be most beneficial.

The therapist in the Rogerian approach is active but non-directive, thereby allowing the client to resolve his own problems.

Inherent in the individual is the capacity to understand the factors in his life that cause him unhappiness and pain, and the capacity to reorganize his self-structure in such a way as to overcome those factors. Second, the individual's inherent powers will operate if a congruent therapist can establish with him a relationship involving a depth of warm acceptance and understanding (Carkhuff and Truax, 1967, p. 64).

Perhaps the most important theory in the model (and which relates to the rehabilitative directive) is that which has been termed "client personality change." As Rogers and Meador (Corsini, 1979) explain it, behavioral and attitudinal change take place along a continuum. One end is represented by repetitive and rigid behavior. It may be said for the sake of discussion that most initial client concerns may be operating or originating from this point on the scale. The other end is represented by a congruency between "inner experiencing" and a more fluid tendency toward behavioral change. As the therapist is able to help the client progress toward greater "inner experiencing," behaviors will appear at this point on the scale which reflect the change in emotional discovery (Corsini, 1979).

The Rogerian Model presents certain levels of helping techniques which enable the helper to aid the client in moving

from one point of the scale to the other. If certain ingredients so called by the Model as unconditional positive regard, empathic understanding and genuineness are introduced into the helping relationship by the therapist, the client is better able to progress along a level which he, the client, has defined for himself.

Perhaps in this we see the second most important concept in the model which is the emphasis on the needs and potentials of the client. Note that the therapist in the Rogerian approach is not concerned with getting the client where he, the therapist, thinks that person should be on the continuum. Rather, the therapist is concerned with moving the offender from whatever point on the continuum he is experiencing some malfunction--to whatever point the client wishes himself to be. The therapist in this case acts as a caring and accepting facilitator...reassuring the client as he moves toward his own perception of self-actualization.

This type of change is very important because it is the only measurable type of change. Since change can only be measured by consistency (anything less cannot be counted as "change"), imposed changes--for example those defined by the therapist or supporters of the rehabilitation ideal--are always subject to disruption. If, once the client reaches this new level of change he finds himself dissatisfied with what he has found, the end result is still a self-actualization of sorts where he is able to function autonomously as he establishes a congruence between this new "inner experiencing" and the desired behaviors. This fits the existential framework which presumes man to be rational,

able to make choices for himself, determinationalistic in the choices which he does make for himself, and more inclined toward self-affirming behaviors than self-defeating ones--when of course he is presented with a set of choices.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Rehabilitation is more than vocational training; it is more than counseling; it is more than acquiring life management skills. It is a solid incorporation of all of these factors, but is yet much more. Contained explicitly in this process is a responsibility held as much by society as the affected individual. Just acquiring the knowledge for skills is insufficient foundation for applicability: that energy must be unshackled but nonetheless guided for productive utilization. As Chapter Two illustrated, when any sizable population of our society is found to be socially handicapped, the whole of society suffers. Further, when timely amends are not properly carried out, the resulting backlash creates a legacy of nonconformity and revolt.

Presenting the ex-offender with an alternative to crime is not so nebulous that it is impossible to discharge. This, by the way, means more than simply providing jobs. Beyond the particular needs of an ex-offender is the basic human needs for acceptance, dignity, and autonomy. Stripping or dishonoring a man or woman of these most basic needs leaves less than a whole individual. Any individual who thinks of himself, or is thought of by others as being less than whole may manifest that deprivation in various forms. Respect should be the most fundamental right of each

individual.

This paper has sought to clarify the need for a comprehensive approach to penal rehabilitation which would address itself to the vocational and emotional needs of offenders. In all cases we cannot place the cart before the horse. Before the stated approach can be adapted, it is first important to establish effective and progressive prison training programs. Further, the training and treatment ideals can avail very little until the pervasive problems of illiteracy and other such deficiencies are dealt with.

Hence, the Project under consideration in this paper naturally has its drawbacks. Admittedly, it deals with most problems after the fact. In support however, it is not proposed as a cure-all. It does provide a progressive and comprehensive framework upon which a realistic notion of rehabilitation can be built.

This author did not mean to portray the penal network as a labyrinth of conflicting ideologies. For sure, the American prison society was designed to punish and contain social deviants for the good of society. It has generally always met this goal. The intent of this paper has been to point out the conflict of this earliest purpose and the purpose of rehabilitation which arose in succeeding decades. As Chapter Two pointed out, these purposes do not merge. Unfortunately, the penal institution, at present, provides the most likely facility for the treatment/training objectives of rehabilitation. Because political interests

are more open to institutional funding of this type, than to public service of the same type, the external services offered to released offenders in the guise of educational and vocational enrichment are not worth the mention.

In presenting a recommendation, the ideal situation would involve removing the rehabilitation purpose out of the prison system completely. Even in institutions where treatment/training programs are successful, the repressive conditions of the prison society retard certain growth. The Life Management Project, in whatever format, should be incorporated into any treatment/training approach to the objective of rehabilitation. Its aim is not to make-up for deficiencies faced by the offender, but to present the necessary coping skills to resolve those deficiencies.

Finally, opponents to the rehabilitation ideal can spout numerous objections on any single point. The fact always remains, however, that in the final analysis, society has the ultimate responsibility to restore the offender.

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