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BREAKING INTO SCHOOL

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF INMATES ATTENDING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

BY

SANDRA LAMBERTUS ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

IN

ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1994

ISBN 0-315-94947-3

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Sandra Lambertus

TITLE OF THESIS: Breaking Into School An Ethnography of Inmates Attending Educational Programs

DEGREE: Master of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1994

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July 11, 1994

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and research for acceptance, a thesis entitled BREAKING INTO SCHOOL AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF INMATES ATTENDING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS submitted by SANDRA LAMBERTUS in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Anthropology of Education.

Anne Marie Decore

Anthony. D. Fisher

William T. Fagan

June 23, 1994

Dedication

To my husband Marc, whose love and encouragement allowed me to meet the challenge of this project with energy and enthusiasm, and to my daughters Shannon and Heather, whose love, patience, and humor especially over the last few months, was greatly appreciated.

ABSTRACT

Breaking Into School
An Ethnography of Inmates Attending Educational Programs

Corrections literature and research often make generalizations about inmates having the same response to incarceration and that the situations in prisons are the same. This study responds to the tendency to stereotype the prison experience with a qualitative inquiry which asks inmates how they decide to commence educational programs. The inmate's individual reasons for taking programs, their responses to prison life and the specific corrections context at the time of the interviews are considered all part of the decision making process. The data were collected through ethnographic interviews with 70 inmates, representing 20% of the inmate population at a coed medium security prison. The data analysis consisted of ethnographic decision tree modeling, based on the methodology prescribed by Gladwin (1989). The findings were compared to Canadian and U.S. research regarding corrections education and studies of inmate motivations to attend educational programs.

The dialogues with the inmates revealed that their community was experiencing upheaval due to the recent reductions in the corrections budget, which rescinded the token payment that inmates received for their labour and attending educational programs. To some extent, this favoured the inmates' decision to participate in educational programs. However in this prison, many inmates have difficulties in accessing these because of the prison's need for labourers. The findings indicate that the inmate's length of sentence, their security rating, the type of work crew, their gender and whether they were under federal or provincial jurisdiction are all determinants of who is able to commence programs.

The conclusion of the study is that the difficulty inmates experience in getting into educational programs is part of an underlying conflict between the institution and the inmates over the use of the inmates' time, which is demonstrated in a binary composite decision tree model.

Acknowledgements

I owe a special thanks to the inmates who agreed to share their time and experiences with me and who co-authored much of this thesis. A note of appreciation goes to the school staff who were gracious hosts during my fieldwork and who offered their insights, and also to the prison staff for sharing their experiences and perspectives. I also wish to thank the prison administration for their encouragement and non-interference with my research, which allowed me to speak freely with the inmates and staff. Lastly, I am indebted to the Justice Department, who provided me with the opportunity to conduct my research at this prison. I have gained an awareness of what it might be like to be incarcerated, and I also learned about the challenges and difficulties of working in the field of corrections.

I wish to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Anne Marie Decore, for taking time from her hectic schedule to provide guidance and encouragement during my fieldwork, thesis writing and the oral exam. Some of my concerns over the special ethical considerations with the inmates were resolved with the help of John Young from the Ethics Committee of Educational Foundations. Thanks also to Tony Fisher and Bill Fagan, my other committee members, for their comments and suggestions along the way. Special recognition is due to Carl Urion, who first introduced me to decision tree modeling and the craft of ethnographic research. I have been blessed with wonderful teachers.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Breaking Into School
An Ethnography of Inmates Attending Educational Programs

Convicted criminals are often regarded by mainstream society in terms of their deviant behaviours and inabilities to adjust to law-abiding lives. The negative categorisation that separates criminals from the rest of the public is evident in the way that they are portrayed in the popular press. Broad generalizations about offenders can also be found in rehabilitation and corrections literature. As a result, what is known about the lives of inmates is largely based on stereotypes which are supported by statistics. Inmates become like zoo animals, dehumanized, locked away, watched from a safe distance and not really understood at all. The distance we create is a safety zone, because it fosters the impression that once someone has committed an offence they become permanently altered. The risk of getting too close to offenders not only opens one to personal vulnerability but the recognition that maybe, offenders are no different than many other people in mainstream society. But stereotypes of inmates will continue as long as they are regarded unilaterally as social deviants rather than individuals who come from a range of backgrounds and for a variety of reasons, have broken the law.

In the field of corrections, educational programs are considered an important way of rehabilitating inmates. Yet, offering inmates programs which teach information and skills to liberate their minds, offer hope and open doors for better futures is blatantly contrasted in the prison environment which controls and restricts every aspect of their lives. To-date there is no clear cut proof that educational programs are rehabilitative; the rate of recidivism remains at high levels. As a result, more and more studies are asking why inmates take programs, in the hope of finding out how to increase the rehabilitative aspect of incarceration.

A problem with these studies is that much of what is known about inmates attending programs is based on the vantage points of prison

administrators, instructors and rehabilitation professionals, but little is known about attending programs from the inmates' perspectives. Up until the last decade, studies regarding inmates' preferences such as Griffin (1978), and Eggleston and Gehring (1986). rarely include the opinions of the inmates themselves. Those studies that do, such as Shea (1980), and LaBar et al (1983), did not include enough information on inmates' viewpoints to have any empirical validity. Instead, the empirical validity is usually based on asking large numbers of prison administrators and instructors how they think inmates would respond to preferences in programs. Sometimes statistical reports of inmates are included to verify that what the administrators and instructors say about inmates can be supported, as with Duguid (1987), National Study of Vocational Education in Corrections Technical Reports 1 and 2 (1977), Seashore and Haberfeld (1976), and the National Evaluation Program Phase 1 Report (1979). Just as in prison inmates are stereotyped, inmates attending programs are also cast as a homogeneous group. Worse yet, the omission of inmates from these studies translates into the notion that they are incapable of offering much to assist in their own rehabilitation.

To understand what prompts inmates to participate in programs, first one must comprehend what it is like to be an inmate. How inmates cope with their confinement from the time they are first admitted into the facility, how they learn to adapt to other inmates and the prison staff as well as how they learn the routines, all influence how they think and how they behave. Deciding to go to school while in prison requires inmates to reflect on their past, consider their present circumstances and think about their future plans. This implies a change in inmates' orientations about how to do their time.

For inmates, getting into school is always dependent on the authority of the prison, which oversees their welfare and controls much of what goes on in the school. How the idea of schooling fits in with the prison institution is crucial, as it sends a distinct message to the inmates about their value. Indeed, the very way the prison responds to education influences inmates' reasons why they want to take programs, whether they bother to register and how they accomplish this goal.

These ideas culminate in the qualitative research question: how do inmates decide to commence educational programs?

Summary of the Literature Review

Several different literary sources in the research of prison culture and prison education from Canada and the United States provide a backdrop for this study.

From the social sciences, Goffman (1961) examines aspects of incarceration, including how inmates understand time, and how they resist the authority of the prison. Giallombardo (1966) discusses how women inmates acquire various social roles, with some comparisons to male inmates. More contemporary studies of inmates include Baunach, (1977) who says that women in prison keep the prison running with their labour and production of goods. Culbertson and Fortune (1986) conducted a study of female inmates, and note that the institutional setting must be considered when researchers are collecting data. Sacks (1978) notes that female inmates do not get the same attention as men for educational benefits, research, and community services. She uses this as an argument favouring coeducational prisons so that women inmates could obtain the same resources as their male counterparts. Erez (1987) examines the perspectives of inmates regarding rehabilitation and identified some issues and concerns of the inmates. Petersilia (1979) in a large-scale study of inmates in the U.S. provides the statistics for the number of inmates who work and those who attend programs. Thomason (1986), Young (1987) and Stephens (1990) also conducted studies in prisons. Thomason examines the reasons for low inmate participation in programs from a psychology perspective, Young analyses everyday events in the prison in an ethnography of the prison school and Stephens examines the educational histories of male inmates. The social science literature on prisons is increasingly considering the inmates' contributions and the actual situation of the prison.

In the area of prison education, several works are helpful in understanding the issues. First of all, the United Nations recently published a report on the importance of educational opportunities for

inmates (Sutton, 1992). Morrison (1993) identifies how cutbacks in corrections budgets work against the education mandate of the prisons. This has resulted in longer waiting lists of inmates wanting programs and fewer financial resources to meet the growing demands. Cosman (1980) relates how inmates are often regarded by prisons as a means to maintain the facility. As a result, the focus of educational programs shifts from the development of the individual to the development of a labour resource. Shea (1980) proposes that inmates do not find educational programs more appealing because they just want to do their time. Eggleston and Gehring (1986) report that inmates reconsider relationships in prison and they offer a general description of the non social or anti-social traits of inmates.

In addition, there have also been several quantitative and qualitative studies regarding inmates attending educational programs. Duguid (1987) reports that attrition is a serious issue for university level programs offered in prison. He also discusses the importance of changing the identities of inmates to students; the benefits of programs being offered in a prison; and inmates' goals for taking university programs. The U.S. reports, the National Study of Vocational Education in Corrections Technical Report Number 1 (1977) and the National Study of Vocational Education in Corrections Technical Report Number 3 (1977) discuss how inmates select programs; the aspects of the administration of the prison which foster or prohibit program commencement; as well as the increased inmate demand for programs and how this has resulted in longer waiting lists. Seashore and Haberfeld (1976), in their investigation of college programs in U.S. prisons, note that during the period of incarceration the inmates' decision making skills gradually atrophy. LaBar et al (1983) make some generalizations about the deficiencies in inmates' reasoning skills which impede rational and responsible judgement and actions. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Griffin,1978), review educational programs in the Canadian Penitentiary Service from the perspectives of the instructors. Among their findings were that the instructors are hesitant to generalize about inmates. From the instructors' viewpoints, several factors contribute to inmates taking programs. The U. S. National Evaluation Program Phase 1 Report (1979) on federal and state institutions examine the factors which influence inmates to take programs from the

administrators' and instructors' perspectives. The report also includes a flowchart depicting the decisions made by and for inmates regarding educational programs.

Other studies investigate why inmates take programs, incorporating the inmates' points of view. Parsons and Langenbach (1993) acknowledge that the volume of literature supporting the provision of educational programs does not include the perspectives of the inmates. The results of their quantitative study of inmate motivations from four prisons provide a summary of the reasons inmates gave for participating in programs.

Lastly, Kelly (1993), a graduate student who is currently an inmate in a Canadian maximum security prison, discusses the merits of inmates being able to contribute to investigations and studies on prison issues which affect them. In his estimation, involving inmates will assist prison administrators address problems in institutions more realistically and the inmates will benefit from the experience in having a voice in decisions which affect their well being.

From the literature cited, several points can be made. Firstly, despite the quantity of interpretations of prison life, relatively few studies incorporate the actual experiences of inmates. Secondly, the literature regarding prison education offers debates over issues from the administrators', educators' and researchers' perspectives, but not usually from the inmates' vantage point. Thirdly, the studies of inmate motivations to participate in programs are now beginning to include the ideas of the inmates. However, even the more recent studies such as Parsons and Langenbach (1993), make the generalization that the prison environment is the same for all prisons, and that prison means the same to all inmates. In addition, none of these studies from the corrections literature describe particular events in the prison which may have shaped and influenced the ideas and actions of the individual inmates. As a result, the research findings are two-dimensional and are in danger of making premature generalizations.

Therefore, a study involving the inmates' views regarding educational programs must get beyond the surface answers to the question why they

take programs in order to document the meanings behind their decision process. Such an investigation must take into consideration each individual's frame of reference of their prison experience. The decision to begin programs then is a process, involving personal preferences within the context of the prison environment. In this way, "why do inmates take programs?" becomes "how do inmates decide to commence educational programs?" This question asks for the consideration of the individual's experience of being incarcerated as well as their active response to the institution in succeeding in this goal.

In summary of the above discussion, there is little information in the literature about how inmates choose to take educational programs in light of what it means to be incarcerated, and the influence of the actual conditions of the prison. This study will address this by relating the findings of an ethnographic study of inmates utilizing a critical ethnographic approach to answer the question: how do inmates commence educational programs? Lastly, this research acknowledges that incarceration is an individual and variable experience and accounts such as this one must be open-ended, as premature closure would give rise to stereotyping.

The Prison Culture During the Period of Research

Before continuing further with the ethnography, I think it is necessary to discuss the critical events which occurred prior to and during the period of research. These events did influence the prison environment and in my estimation, they also shaped the data which I collected.

Prior to my arrival at the prison, the Justice Department instituted a series of measures to reduce the costs of operating correctional institutions. Beginning in December, 1992 there was an authorization from the Justice Department to remove the two, colour television sets from each of the living units and replace them with smaller black and white sets. I learned that most of the inmates were incensed by this decision, one reason being that watching television is a popular way to spend time after work and school. Another reason was that they believed that their inmate association had paid for the colour television sets with

the refunds from their pop cans. Technically this was correct, however it was argued by the administration (after the televisions were removed) that the institution owned the television sets because the institution sells the pop to inmates without asking them to pay for the deposit. Six months later, there was another decision by the Justice Department to discontinue providing the incentive pay to inmates for any work or educational activity. Prior to this, all of the crews received three dollars per day and the kitchen crew received six dollars per day. The inmates attending educational programs received two or three dollars per day, depending on their school performance. During my fieldwork, there was another decision by the administration to reduce the costs of inmate meals. This was accomplished by switching from whole milk to powdered milk. Students and crews inside the wall were restricted to one serving of milk a day and dessert at lunch was discontinued. For people in mainstream society, the austerity policy of the prison may not seem that drastic. However, minor aspects of daily living take on increased importance when people have little control of their lives. Inmates are in a position of forced dependence for their daily provisions, and in the situations described above, the inmates at this prison had no input and little or no recourse when the televisions, incentive pay and the food allotment were summarily removed or altered.

The inmate response to the television and incentive pay issues provides certain insights into the dynamics between the inmates and the prison administration. I pieced together this information from speaking with the inmates, some of the guards, as well as a few of the administrators and instructors. When the orders came to remove the television sets, many of the inmates wanted to protest, but little came of it. When the orders came to discontinue the incentive pay, some of the inmates wanted to riot or at least call for an inmate sit-down strike. Nothing came of it. Yet on both of these occasions, the administration braced itself for a backlash, increasing security precautions, transferring potential trouble-makers, temporarily limiting group activities, and preventing inmates from gathering in large groups by serving meals one unit at a time. These measures were in effect for less than two weeks before the regular routines were reinstated.

The loss of incentive pay had a powerful effect on the inmates, because

it forced them to reconsider how to survive economically in the prison. There were still inmates who had outside sources of income and who could afford to purchase things from the canteen and the hobby shop, such as tobacco, toiletries, snacks and hobby items. However, some of the inmates who had been sending some of their money home to supplement low incomes could no longer contribute financially to their family's earnings. A few of the inmates realized that the economic conditions were worse for their families on the outside than for themselves, recognizing that in jail they are guaranteed the minimum of their needs. This last understanding was expressed by the inmates who had been supporting their families prior to the loss of the incentive pay.

Many of those who had no source of income had to rely on other ways to obtain the items they wanted, or else go without. Some of the inmates resorted to selling their luxury items: shoes, rings, and earrings to those who had money. It became more popular for inmates to use their artistic talents to create sketches, cards and poetry to sell. Others scavenged discarded cigarette butts, collecting five butts to make into one cigarette. A few of the inmates resorted to "grinding" (asking or begging) for desired items, such as tobacco, drugs, or snack foods which, if inmates did not use too frequently, might be effective. According to some inmates, resale of medications and prostitution became more frequent than before. Yet, some positive aspects came out of the crisis, as some of the inmates created their own welfare system. Supportive families who were financially more secure provided their inmate relatives with a small allowance, which helped to foster closer ties between them. Sometimes those inmates who had money shared what they purchased from canteen with peers who had no sources of income. However, a few of the inmates obtained what they wanted from others, through "muscling". Cell theft, a taboo within the prison culture became more frequent. In order to maintain the orderly conduct of their group, inmates who muscled were sometimes policed by the inmate leaders. Some of the inmates thought that the lack of pay increased the violence in the blind spots of the units and in the showers. The above discussion demonstrates some of the ramifications of the loss of pay on the lives of the inmates as well as how they coped in order to regain some economic and social stability.

For many of the adults who were incarcerated, working for nothing also meant a loss of energy in their work duties, and it also forced the institution to increase their labour requirements. The outside crew which tended the garden could no longer be expected to work double shifts during the harvest. Ironically, the poor weather conditions of the summer resulted in a reduction in the vegetable production. As a result, the crew supervisors were able to complete the harvest with the inmates working single shifts. In the kitchen however, the institution could no longer demand double shifts from each worker which meant that the kitchen crew had to be split into two shifts. One of the living units was set-up to accommodate the kitchen workers, so that shift changes could be monitored in an orderly fashion. The inmates' response to the new work arrangements varied. A small number of inmates refused to work and were required to spend a few days in segregation, while most adapted to the situation and carried on.

The attitudes expressed by the inmates concerning the cut-backs were wide-ranging. A few of them conceded that the reductions in non-essential items were indicative of the state of the economy. For others, there was a recognition that, as inmates, they should expect some hardships. Some inmates expressed frustration about how decisions are made without their input or regard for themselves. I think that the affect of the loss of the incentive pay had a particular influence on the research. I found evidence of this in many of the inmates' responses concerning working on the crews, dealing with their relationships with other inmates as well as prison staff. To some extent, the budget cuts had an impact on the motivation for getting into educational programs.

Toward the end of the research, I sensed that the amount of the inmate tension over the loss of pay had abated but the undercurrent of inmate tension still remained, as less drastic issues between the inmates and the administration surfaced sporadically. It seemed as though the inmates and the administration were constantly jockeying for control and stability. Of course, the conflicts between the two groups is ongoing, but the tension between the inmates and the administration appeared to follow a pattern, as one issue submerged, another surfaced.

Thus the culture of this prison is complex and ever-changing. Like any

other culture, this one is susceptible to external changes influencing its internal functioning, forcing everyone to accommodate change in order to maintain stability. The influence of the ongoing tensions within this institution is critical in understanding the meanings behind how inmates decide to commence educational programs.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

The literature review for this research draws from studies of inmates, literature regarding prison education and research regarding inmates' participation in educational programs. The theory behind the research methods and the ethnographic representation informs the basic tenets of how I approached the interpretation of the culture of the inmates. Several important sociological studies of prisons are also referenced, as the authors discuss aspects of the prison culture, which has a comparative value with how the inmates describe their experience of incarceration in this investigation. Lastly, the research on prison education demonstrates the need for ethnographic research from the perspectives of inmates in order to re-evaluate previous notions about prison education. In the concluding chapter, the findings of the research address the ideas presented in the literature regarding correctional institutions and prison education.

The research was guided by a critical ethnographic approach, outlined by Lather (1986). This approach entails "the ethnographic revelation of participants' views of reality, where these views come from, and the social consequences of these views, all situated within a context of theory building" (Lather,1986, p.70). Werner and Schoepfle's Systematic Fieldwork (Vol.1&Vol.2,1987) and Gladwin's Ethnographic Decision Tree Modeling, (1989) and Spradley's Participant Observation (1979) provide the framework for the management of the data and the data analysis. The quantity of inmates who participated in the research has also allowed for some quantitative analysis of a comparison of the demographic variables of the students with the general inmate population. The demographic information for the 40 volunteer participants who were instrumental in the construction of the decision tree model compared to the demographic information to the general institution population is discussed in Chapter 3.

Doe's (1988) work is also important in how this ethnography of the inmates is approached. In Speak Into The Mirror A Story of Linguistic Anthropology, he examines translinguistics, which was conceived by

Mikhail Bakhtin in the early 20th century. According to the translinguistic tradition, communication, not language is the foundation of social life and that the life of the community pivots on behaviour, not knowledge or competence. Translinguistics anticipates that there will be conflicting voices, and that "the struggle between these voices characterize life within the community even as it characterizes life within the individual" (Doe,1988, p.189). Whereas other traditions look for commonalities and agreement, the expectation in translinguistics is diversity, with multiple senders and receivers. Translinguistics recognizes that productive communication is a struggle and that meanings are negotiated through collaboration and bivalence. Doe incorporates this philosophy to the field of anthropological research. He also points to the dangers of the researcher becoming the detached observer from those they have observed, through the use of research language rather than the expressions of those being researched. (Doe,1988, p.235). Instead, Doe calls for ethnographies which acknowledge collaboration between the researcher and the subjects. He incorporates two aspects from the feminist perspective as suggestions for ethnographic practice: critical self reflection and a willingness to tolerate diversity.

Another aspect of the work is taken from ethnography of communication, first conceived by Hymes (1962), who suggested a framework for understanding the culture of a group through the examination of speech and language. According to Saville-Troike, "Virtually any ethnographic model must take language into account, although many relegate it to a separate section and do not adequately consider its extensive role in a society". (Saville-Troike, 1989, p.32) The ethnography of the inmates identifies that communication is central to the culture of the subjects studied, and that communication is the primary channel for the data collection, analysis and the conveyance of this information. Bonvillain (1992) discusses how words are layered with many meanings and that "cultural meanings and models that are shared and assumed form a unique *world view* (italics in original), providing both an understanding of the world as it is thought to be and a blueprint for the way one ought to behave". (Bonvillain,1992, p.52) She concludes that the linguistic analysis of words and expressions "reveal underlying assumptions, interests and values" and that "the symbolic context of language transmits and reinforces complex social and cultural messages"

(Bonvillain,1992, p.82). Featured in this ethnography are the inmates' descriptions of their use of language and the various ways that inmates and staff are identified in the prison. Communication is also imbedded in how the research was conducted and the factors of the prison setting which influenced communication. In addition, the ethnography of communication has shaped the research, the analysis and the articulation of the findings.

Clifford (1988) discusses the issue of ethnographic authority, which is a contentious issue in anthropology and has influenced how this ethnography of inmates is written. For the past few decades the authority of the ethnographer/writer has diminished, which Clifford attributes to "the breakup and redistribution of colonial power in the decades after 1950" and the evaluation that "the West can no longer present itself as the unique purveyor of anthropological knowledge about others" (Clifford, 1988, p.22). As a consequence, over the past two decades the trend has been to experiment with ways to represent cultures that reflect the actual beliefs and meanings of the members of the culture.

Some of these experiments in ethnographic writing rely on the actual words of the participants, with the author dropping back to the position of collaborator. Clifford cites Dwyer (1977, 1979, 1982) and Crapanzano (1977,1980) for writing ethnographies largely based on a series of interviews with key informants. In this way, the ethnography becomes "a process of dialogue where interlocutors actively negotiate a shared vision of reality" and the meanings and beliefs of those being studied are not subsumed by the interpretations of the writer (Clifford, 1988, p.42-43). At the same time, Clifford acknowledges that the writer should emerge from the dialogues and use an indirect style of portraying the culture, in order to explore the different levels of abstraction of what has emerged from the dialogues (Clifford, 1988, p.47). However the use of dialogues without any specified speaker does little to minimize the dominance of the writer.

Clifford also suggests that "Informants are specific individuals with real proper names--names that can be cited, in altered form when tact requires" (Clifford, 1988, p.51). In response to Clifford's concern over the authorship of the subjects, the anonymity of the inmates required that all

inmate identification be suppressed and replaced by numbers. My intention is not to duplicate what happens to them in prison, but to acknowledge their contributions and protect their identities.

The final dimension that is given particular attention in contemporary cultural translations is the role of the reader. Clifford notes that different readers will arrive at different understandings of the culture regardless what the writer has intended. He states that "Recent literary theory suggests that the ability of a text to make sense in a coherent way depends less on the willed intentions of an originating author than on the creative activity of a reader" (Clifford, 1988, p.52). Thus the reader becomes an acknowledged part of the cultural interpretation. These ideas have been incorporated in the portrayal of the culture of the inmates and the investigation of their decision to commence educational programs.

The critical ethnographic approach, the translinguistic tradition and ethnography of communication inform how the culture of the inmates is described, as the inmates' own words, meanings and experience are the focus. In this process I emerge (to a minor extent) in the dialogues and at various points unify and summarize how the discussion fits in with the culture. I have made a deliberate attempt to provide the range of perceptions that I encountered, as the inmate population differed on the basis of social and economic background, ethnicity, gender and experience of being incarcerated. Lastly, it is my expectation that the reader will interpret the original texts in their own way, as the examination of the lives of inmates requires that the reader answer for themselves, what is it like to be an inmate?

Social Sciences Studies of Inmates

As the social science studies of inmates primarily deal with the male prison experience, I have made a conscious decision to cite a larger number of studies of women. Two reasons for this are that the women in this study were considered by many of the staff as much more volatile than the men and as such, the women were regarded as an anomaly in the prison population. Secondly, most of the women I spoke with were aware

that in general, women did not fit into the inmate community, but they did not understand why.

Goffman's (1961) Asylums has some very important insights into life in prison, and the culture of the inmates which are powerfully reflected in this study. Goffman describes aspects of the culture of the inmates within total institutions, which include the prison. He describes the mortification of the admission process, the adaptation to the other inmates and the hostility which underscores the relationships between inmate population and the prison staff. He notes how inmates learn their secret language and how this is used as a status marker and a boundary between themselves and staff. (Goffman, 1961, p.57). During incarceration there is a semblance of solidarity which develops among inmates, particularly within the housing units (Goffman, 1961, p.59). At the same time, inmates develop their own pecking order, rejecting inmates who are "rats" or who have become institutionalized. Inmates also develop a variety of ways of coping with incarceration. One of these is to maintain positive but distanced relationships with fellow inmates by "playing it cool" (Goffman, 1961, p.64). He describes how the prison authorities provide "removal activities" for inmates, which diffuse tensions and provide the illusion that the inmates are not being confined. Goffman also describes how the unsanctioned activities that inmates engage in serve the purpose of killing time (Goffman,1961, p.69).

In Goffman's analysis, total institutions typically follow intricate patterns of social and economic exchange (Goffman,1961, p.264-298). If the period of incarceration has been long, inmates experience disculturation, forgetting skills used on the outside. They develop dependencies on the prison for the organization of their lives and become anxious at the prospect of being released. Goffman also relates how inmates have specific geographic places within the institution to conduct unsanctioned activities, of which the institution tacitly approves (Goffman,1961, p.229-230). Because incarceration involves the institution stripping the individual of much of their selfhood, an inmate's personal territory assumes a heightened meaning (Goffman,1961, p.243). Goffman's analysis of life in total institutions is supported by many of the inmates in this study.

Goffman's investigation of total asylums also sheds light on two issues which are especially relevant to how inmates regard educational programs: the meaning of time and how they maintain or recover their sense of selfhood while in prison. According to Goffman, "there is a strong feeling that time spent in the establishment is time wasted or destroyed or taken from one's life; it is time that must be 'done' or 'marked' or 'put in' or 'pulled' " (Goffman, 1961, p.67). He notes that an inmate judges their adaptation to the prison by how "one is doing time, whether easily or hard"(Goffman, 1961, p.68). This sense of wasted time is viewed by incarcerates in terms of a loss of wages, a loss of relationships or a loss of educational opportunities (Goffman, 1961, p.68). Goffman cites this sense of loss as the reason why the removal activities, such as television, recreation, and crafts are important, as they make the inmate "oblivious for the time being to his actual situation." He says that " If the ordinary activities in total can be said to torture time, these activities mercifully kill it" (Goffman, 1961, p.69).

The second point which is relevant to the research question is how inmates maintain or recover their sense of self. Inmates pursue illicit activities "with a measure of spite, malice, glee, and triumph, and at a personal cost" that goes far beyond the actual deed (Goffman, 1961, p.312). Goffman refers to this as overdeterminism, which is signified more by the meaning behind committing infractions than the infractions themselves. These acts are ways of "taking a stand against authority" and also "a way of giving meaning to being in" (Goffman, 1961, p.312). By engaging in unsanctioned activities, inmates recover a sense of "selfhood and personal autonomy beyond the grasp of the organization" (Goffman, 1961, p.314). Although individuals are formed by groups and depend on groups for identity and emotional support, it is natural for incarcerates to develop an opposition to a group. This opposition provides an obstacle which allows the growth of self-realization, which is necessary for spiritual health. Goffman argues this is not only true for those incarcerated in total institutions, but in free society as well (Goffman, 1961, p.320). The issues of time and the development of selfhood and personal autonomy are critical in understanding the culture of the inmates and how they connect to their decision and strategies to commence educational programs.

Giallombardo (1966) in "Social Roles in a Prison for Women" draws some comparisons between the socialization of women and men in same sex prisons. Her analysis is based primarily on research at a women's prison in which she interviewed approximately 650 inmates over a one year period. This information is helpful because there was no information available on socialization in mixed population prison environments for this study. Some of the features of the female inmates' social roles include widespread lesbian activity and the formation of a social hierarchy, consisting of the "squares" at the bottom, (who do not engage in homosexual activities), the "jive bitch", (an untrustworthy female), "a rap buddy" or "homey", (friends who act as surrogate kin), as well as a host of other roles pertaining to abilities to beat the system (Giallombardo, 1961, p.277-283). Female inmates also have a code for not speaking with the guards, and those who violate this are referred to as "snitches". The sanctions against snitches involve either "panning", which is derogatory gossip, or "signifying", which is the open criticism of the inmate by a group of female peers (Giallombardo, 1961, p.276).

Giallombardo also makes some interesting contrasts between the social roles of female inmates and male inmates. Firstly, both sexes must develop coping skills in order to deal with the loss of their freedom, the lack of heterosexual relations, loss of proximity to family and friends, loss of autonomy, loss of material goods and a loss of privacy. She says that the loss of liberty and the loss of autonomy are the "most uniformly felt deprivations of imprisonment among female inmates" (Giallombardo, 1965, p.272-273). From her research, she hypothesizes that women suffer more from the lack of heterosexual intercourse than men, largely due to the role assigned to women in American society (Giallombardo, 1965, p.274). Whereas the greatest deprivation suffered by a male inmate is the loss of security, Giallombardo's study identifies that for women it is living with other women. She quotes two of her female inmate informants as saying, "You just can't trust another woman" and "Every woman is a sneaking lying bitch" (Giallombardo, 1965, p.274). The male inmate population is also characterized by inmates developing roles of violence, such as "the tough", "the gorilla" and "the ballbuster". The male inmate culture also upholds the values of fair play and courage. Giallombardo compares this to the female inmate culture, in which the roles of violence are "notably absent", and the values of fair play and courage "are not

meaningful to the female" (Giallombardo, 1966, p.285). Giallombardo's findings provide interesting contrasts with the culture of the inmates in the coed prison.

Baunach (1977) looks at problems of women in prison and identifies several points which are relevant to this study. By the time women are actually incarcerated, they have already been so protected by a paternalistic legal system, that they are already hardened criminals by the time they are incarcerated. Female inmates are often given training in occupations which have no demand on the street and they generally keep the prison running by performing manual labour and producing goods for other inmates. The author concludes that there is a need for studies of women inmates to examine particular issues so that their needs can be addressed.

Culbertson and Fortune (1986) examine self-concept and argot roles of female inmates in a study involving 182 women, representing 51% of the population of a women's prison. The authors state that biological deterministic theories which explain the social roles of women in prison are sexist. In their study, they found a broad range of responses to women's experience of being incarcerated, and cautiously generalize that incarcerated women have low self concepts. They state that:

> it is important that these data be examined in terms of the situational contexts in which they were collected. That is one cannot conclude that women offenders have low self-concepts without also relating self-concept to the institutional setting in which the women live. (Culbertson & Fortune, 1986, p.48)

These ideas about the broad range of inmates' responses to incarceration, the danger of premature generalizations and the influence of the situational context are included in this study.

Sacks, (1978) in "The Case for Coeducational Institutions" examines why female inmates in the U.S. corrections system receive far fewer opportunities for rehabilitation than male inmates. In her discussion, she compares women in the prison system as an invisible minority, and as

such do not receive the same attention for programs and training as male inmates. By examining studies concerning the traits of female inmates, Sacks says female inmates want to "aspire to better themselves, are work oriented, are literate, are basically trained...and feel pretty good about themselves (Sacks, 1978,258). She contrasts this general description with the mythical female which the criminal justice system uses to identify women's needs in prison. In her estimation, this mythical female does not exist and the correction system which is based on this myth is off target. Sacks recommends coeducational prisons as the cheapest way of providing female inmates with the resources which are currently available for their male counterparts.

Other social science studies of inmates are referenced on the topic of prison education. These include Erez (1987), Petersilia (1979), Young (1987) and Stephens (1990). Erez (1987) examines the perspectives of 348 inmates concerning rehabilitation. The findings reveal that inmates had a fear of being forced into programs. Erez concludes that in order to establish trust with the inmates over rehabilitation, a separation is required between the punitive aspect of prison from prison programs. Petersilia (1979) conducted a study involving 10 000 inmates in U.S. state prisons based on interviews for a U.S. survey. The findings were that 59% of inmates were not involved in programs, and 44% had work assignments. In addition, the length of sentence determined how many programs inmates were able to take. Thomason (1986) studied the reasons for low inmate participation in programs. Among the conclusions were that the inmates were not satisfied that the programs were meeting their expectations. Young (1987) conducted an ethnographic study of prison schools. In the ethnography, the everyday events are analyzed to show how they shape education in the prison. Young recommends greater emphasis on ethnographic analysis of correctional education "To move research toward the center of these programs and away from the external agendas of much existing research" (Young,1987, 3879-A). Lastly, Stephens (1990) examines the educational histories of male inmates, which includes their perceptions of prison programs. The findings were that 90% of the inmates believed that participating in programs helped them.

Prison Education

In Basic Education in Prisons: Interim Report (Sutton, UNESCO Publication, 1992), education is considered a basic human need. According to the United Nations report, individuals who are incarcerated should not be deprived from this need. The report acknowledges "that education itself cannot achieve successful resocialization and rehabilitation...A prisoner's problems are greater than any solution that education alone can offer, but without education the problems are unlikely to be dissipated by a prison regime" (Sutton, 1992, p. 2). The report also quotes the United Nations and Council of Europe on prison education, "Education should have no less a status than work within the prison regime and prisoners should not lose out financially or otherwise by taking part in education" (Sutton, 1992,p. 8). It is suggested that "The prison system has therefore to develop an ethos in which education is seen as a common concern and a priority if it is to have the effects which appear possible..."(Sutton, 1992, p. 53). The perceptions of the inmates address the above comments in the United Nations report. This will be discussed further in the conclusion.

Morrison (1993) in "Reading Writing & Recidivism" discusses whether prison education has any effect on recidivism and the effects of cutbacks to prison education. He sees the tug of war between educating and rehabilitating prisoners and budget cutbacks which force the re-examination of the efficacy of prison education. He notes that "The use of educational mandates has increased the number of inmates seeking education--and produced growing waiting lists of inmates for classes" (Morrison, 1993, p.8). These comments have particular relevance to the context of the prison environment studied, both in terms of the effects of budget cutbacks and the great demand inmates have for programs, resulting in long waiting lists.

Cosman (1980) in "Penitentiary Education in Canada" looks at past notions of prison education and suggests new approaches. Of particular relevance to this study is his criticism concerning the understanding of prison education as employment preparation. He is doubtful that the association of prison education with a reduction in recidivism is realistic because "inmates tend to be thought of as means, even sometimes a

means of running the prison" (Cosman, 1980, p. 44). He points out that there is no conclusive evidence which proves that employability reduces recidivism. Cosman states that within the context of reintegrating inmates into society, the nature of the society involved is not questioned (Cosman, 1980, p. 44). As a result, the inmate is regarded in terms of their economic function, serving as an economic end for institutional objectives. According to Cosman, this conception of inmates disregards the intrinsic value of their humanity, and fails to recognize that "education can have only one style, which is to treat the student as an end in himself"(Cosman, 1980, p. 44).

Shea (1980) in "Teaching Prisoners" discusses prison education from the teachers' perspectives but makes some important observations which this investigation can address. He acknowledges the contradiction of learning while in the environment of a prison. Education is supposed to be empowering and liberating but inside a prison takes place under tightly controlled security. This environment has a dampening effect on students and teaching staff alike (Shea, 1980,p.40). Shea also notes that "most prisoners have had bad experiences in school" and that schools represent the values that most prisoners have rejected (Shea, 1980, p.42). He refers to conversations with inmates who rejected school at the prison because school was too far removed from reality. Shea asserts that the main concern of inmates is "doing time", and that "they don't want to better themselves or 'become something'. They just want to do their time" (Shea, 1980, p.42). He laments that schooling in prison is a low priority for prison officials and that school is perceived by some to be a baby-sitting service. He notes the difficulties in teaching a transient prison population and that "many inmates do not finish school programs through no fault of their own" due to transfers, parole or release (Shea, 1980, p.43). He confirms that the importance of school is not just for filling time, but also notes that schools can provide an opportunity to connect with civilian staff in a positive manner and engage in positive communication which can be rare for some inmates.

Eggleston and Gehring (1986) in "Correctional Education Paradigms in the United States and Canada" discuss the need for a comprehensive, integrative theory of correctional education, with a strong base in moral education theory. The authors use Thomas Kuhn's concept of paradigm

formation and degeneration as the backdrop to examining the evolution of paradigms in correctional education in Canada and the United States. They note that "the challenge of providing educational services in coercive institutions...is frustrating at best and sometimes overwhelming" (Eggleston and Gehring, 1986, p.87).

They note that many prison employees interpret the provision of educational opportunities as "coddling offenders" and that "institutions can function as factories, but staffs tend to be uncertain about whether institutions can or should function as schools.... Many correctional facilities are permeated by an anti-education institutional bias" (Eggleston and Gehring, 1986, p.87). They conclude that:

> corrections populations consist of relatively nonsocial or antisocial people alienated from their normal social context, and thrust together in an extremely social situation. Life in confinement interrupts maturation, and can foster reflective thinking or introspection. Incarcerates are concerned about their relationships with each other, with friends and relatives and with society--much more concerned than they were before the interruption. As a result, institutions are places where the meanings that underlie behaviours are frequently seen as more important than the actual behaviours themselves (Eggleston and Gehring, 1986, p.91).

Eggleston and Gehring's ideas that the prison is a place for inmates to reconsider relationships and to increase their self understanding are aspects of the prison culture that did surface. In addition, the ambivalent attitudes of the prison staff regarding the programs was noted by the inmates as well as the instructors.

Prison Education Research

Duguid, (1987) in his discussion of university prison education in British Columbia makes some observations that apply to this study. He notes that inmate attrition is an issue for university programs. The reasons for the high rate of attrition are prison transfers, which account for 50% of inmates discontinuing courses, and the other 50% because of personal

choice (Duguid,1987, p.2). Duguid states that the intent of the program is "to create an identity called 'student' out of the person called 'prisoner' and to endow that new identity with attributes, skills, and attitudes that are similar to those found in the typical adult student at Simon Fraser University" (Duguid, 1987, p.3). Also significant to this research is the fact that the students in the Simon Fraser University Program "are oriented toward some kind of personal goal or career change" and that "this perception is supported by several studies of educational programs" (Duguid,1987, p.1). One of the outcomes of the programs being offered at the penitentiary is that it has fostered a " 'calmer' atmosphere in the prison and with 'diffusing' potentially violent eruptions"(Duguid, 1987, p.3). Although Duguid is referring to the university level program at Simon Fraser University, his description of the attrition in programs, the goals of the students and the positive influence the presence of academic programs have on the atmosphere of the prison are also identified in the findings of this research.

The National Study of Vocational Education in Corrections Technical Report Number 1(1977) discusses the Lehigh Study (Bell,1977) which examined issues in correctional education in the United States federal and state prisons. The issues mentioned in this study include taking programs in order to secure an early release; selection for programs being made on the basis of time left in sentence; delay of inmate education due to conflict with education admission processes and academic timetables.

The National Study of Vocational Education in Corrections Technical Report Number 3(1977) is a summary of a United States national survey. Of interest to this study are the enrollment statistics in vocational education programs. The report states that there was a total student enrollment of 25 334 students enroled in the 145 different subject areas in adult institutions and that 7 288 adult inmates were on waiting lists for 121 different courses (NVECT3, 1977, p.13-14). The issues of enrollment and waiting lists will be discussed in the concluding remarks.

Seashore and Haberfeld (1976) in Prisoner Education Project New Gate and Other College Programs discuss and evaluate eight college education programs within the United States federal and state prison systems. Although they make specific reference to inmates taking college

programs, many of their ideas can be applied to the inmates taking the type of educational programs offered in this prison. They state that most inmates "are maintained in enforced idleness" which results in "'unlearning' rather than learning productive behaviour." Inmates have few opportunities to build on existing skills and are relegated to menial tasks to operate and maintain the institution. Their labour keeps them busy, but the lack of opportunity to develop technical and social skills prevents them from making productive use of their time. The routines and dullness of the prison experience debilitates inmates and their individual decision-making. The authors also say that the inmates' personal responsibility is held to a minimum in order to foster the authority of the top prison administrators. Seashore and Haberfeld suggest that this results in "an atrophying effect on each prisoner's will and his ability to make personal decisions and to assume responsibility for his life." The lack of these skills can have disastrous effects on newly released inmates as they are no longer able to perform common-place tasks, such as "cooking, counting money or finding one's way". This has an impact on whether inmates can successfully adapt to the outside (Seashore and Haberfeld, 1976, p.11-12).

Continuing their discussion of prison education, they cite several functions that education serves in the correctional institution. These include moral uplifting, training in skills, developing intellectuality and human understanding, changing personality and behaviour modes and increasing opportunity structures. Attending programs requires exacting standards, hard work and effort, which is morally uplifting. Skill training in reading, writing and arithmetic are all transferable to all jobs, and personal living skills have a general applicability. Some of the other skills learned include establishing realistic goals, establishing routines and schedules and developing self-discipline and organization. With the exposure to different academic disciplines inmates gain insights into their own lives, in terms of their past and their potential development as well as greater social and cultural awareness. Through the educational environment, inmates are exposed to new people and new ideas, interact socially, develop greater self-awareness and improve their sense of self worth. Lastly, the authors refer to the merits of academic training which otherwise might not be accessible to inmates once on the street. This opens the potential for continuation of academic studies in post secondary

institutions, increasing the possibility of social and economic mobility (Seashore and Haberfeld, 1976, p. 24-25).

LaBar, et al (1983) in "Practical Reasoning in Corrections Education" examine the nature and quality of inmates' thinking and reasoning, which in their estimation has implications for an educational model for programming in prisons which features moral reasoning. Based on the OISE Report (1979), they generalize that "the thinking of those whose behaviour leads to crime has been characterized as immature, inefficient, uncritical and illogical" and that this can be remedied by teaching practical reasoning skills (LaBar et al, 1983, p.264-265). They cite the Yochelson and Samenow's (1976,1977) study of "automatic errors of thinking" which, they claim are exhibited by criminals and which impede rational and responsible judgment and actions. LaBar et al do acknowledge the methodological limitations in their research, which includes the lack of a representative sample. Their understanding of the deficiencies in reasoning skills in inmates can be addressed from the findings of this study.

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Review of Penitentiary Education and Training (1978-1979) examines academic and vocational programs in Canadian Federal institutions from the perspectives of the educators. The report stresses the importance of inmates learning self-discipline and the inmate valuing work duties for their rehabilitation. The Sub-Committee identifies the worst problem in penitentiaries as idleness and boredom and points out "that learning is as difficult as other forms of work and they accept the idea that education is work" (OISE, 1978-79, p.4). In the report are the results of a questionnaire answered by prison instructors regarding inmate motivations for seeking further education. The report states that the staff objected to generalizing the characteristics which most widely represented the inmates, stating "that it is impossible to categorize all inmates according to a stereotype." It is noted in the report that "superficial motivations, such as hope for an early parole, predominated, but later in the program a serious interest in the subject being studied developed" (OISE, 1978-79, p.101-102). Other issues that were surveyed include whether teachers believed inmates received adequate counselling; advice about education and training programs; the logical step for inmates after program completion and a ranking order of

benefits of education and training for inmates (OISE, 1978-79,p.116 & 123-125). The results of these surveys will be discussed in light of the perceptions of the inmates in this study and the tallied results of the decision tree analysis.

The National Evaluation Program Phase 1 Report (1979) assesses the correctional education programs for inmates in federal and state institutions in the United States based on interviews with institutional and educational administrators as well as instructors. The report identifies issues which surfaced regarding prison education. These include conflicting philosophies of custodial and treatment staff towards inmates; low priority of education within the institution; lack of incentives and use of coercion for inmates to enrol in educational programs and the hostility of security staff toward educational programs (NEP Phase 1, 1979, p.8-9). In addition, two items in this report are particularly significant to this research. Firstly, one of the items studied was the factors influencing inmate involvement in education, which includes some of the same considerations that surfaced in this investigation (NEP Phase 1, 1979, p.36). Secondly, the report provides a flow chart from the administrative perspective, the "critical decisions made by and for the inmates as he or she proceeds through the education programs available in the institution" (NEP Phase 1, 1979, p.97-112). An excerpt of the flow chart from the National Evaluation Program Phase 1 Report (1979) is included as Appendix 3. This will be compared with the aspects of the decision tree analysis in the concluding chapter.

Parsons and Langenbach (1993) in "The Reasons Inmates Indicate They Participate in Prison Education Programs: Another Look at Boshier's PEPS" acknowledge that there is a quantity of literature on the merits of providing educational opportunities to inmates, but that "relatively little is known about inmates' motivations for participation" (Parsons and Langenback, 1993, p.38). They discuss their recent quantitative investigation of inmates which in many ways parallels this qualitative research. Their study involved interviewing 350 inmates from 4 minimum and medium security prisons in the United States. They used the testing instrument, the Prison Education Participation Scale (PEPS) developed by Boshier (1983) regarding participation in adult education programs. In their data analysis, they grouped 40 reasons for inmates participating in

educational programs under four categories, noting which categories had the strongest influence in their population sample. A comparison of their results with those from this study will be discussed in the concluding remarks. It is important to note that Parsons and Langenback conclude that "inmates, with some exceptions, have the same orientations toward participating in educational activities as the general public" (Parsons and Langenback, 1993, p.40). They suggest that this area of correctional education requires further investigation, which supports what has been attempted here.

I think it is appropriate to conclude the literature review with the opinions of an inmate regarding the importance of including the ideas, the preferences and the evaluations of inmates on issues which affect them during incarceration.

Kelly (1993) in "Well-Being in Our Prison System An Inside Look" is a graduate student who is also serving a sentence at a Canadian maximum security prison. He offers some important views on inmate empowerment in the operation of correctional institutions. He says that wellness goes beyond providing a pleasant physical environment for incarcerated individuals. He suggests that:

> an inmate driven system with input from those who live or have lived within the system and recognize its problems, issues and are able to determine realistic solutions (Kelly, 1993,p.5).

It is his belief that inmates "should be encouraged to make recommendations, to have input into the system, to raise concerns in a constructive manner--to have a voice". He applauds federal legislation Bill C-36 which will allow for greater input from inmates for their personal health and well-being in prisons (Kelly, 1993,p.5).

Concluding Remarks

The literature cited provides background information for this study. The studies of prisons are informative for the social aspects of prison for male

and female inmates. The literature on prison education from international, Canadian, and U.S. perspectives provide a summary of the topics and issues which are addressed in this study. In addition, some of quantitative and qualitative studies of prison education from the 1960s to the present time are useful for comparing the results of this research.

Studies of inmates and literature on prison education is extensive, and as a result I selected only those works which I felt would benefit this investigation. The topic area of coed prisons may appear to be ignored as a reference. However a search of the Eric and Socio files confirmed that there are no sociological or ethnographic studies on coed prisons. Thus this research can be determined as original work in this area.

CHAPTER 3

Research and Analysis Methodology

The research question, how do inmates decide to commence educational programs, required that I would have to "do time" in jail. But getting into jail was the most difficult part of the research. I contacted the Justice Department in mid-May to learn about the educational programs offered at provincial correctional institutions. Of the sites mentioned, this particular medium security prison had the most advantages. At this facility, there were several different types of programs offered: literacy, vocational, academic and rehabilitation. Another benefit was that the learner population was larger than at other provincial institutions. Unlike most other provincial facilities, this one was comprised of both male and female inmates, which I thought would make the research much more interesting. Lastly, the proximity of the prison was reasonable for me to access daily.

Within a week I made arrangements to go to the medium security prison and meet with the school coordinator and instructors. I was asked to return in two weeks, when I was given a strong indication that the research would be approved and a written confirmation would be forthcoming. Three weeks later on a Friday afternoon I received a phone call from the prison administration that the approval for the research had been declined, with no reason given. With nothing to lose, I found myself spending that weekend developing a strategy on how to get into jail.

The following Monday morning I contacted the Justice Department and spoke to various representatives from the Minister's and Deputy Minister's offices. I was advised that someone would get back to me later that day. Later that afternoon I was called by someone in the prison administration and told that my research proposal would be circulated within the week and a decision would be made promptly. At the end of the week I was advised that my proposal had been approved, provided I meet with a psychologist from the research committee. At the meeting with the psychologist the following week I was advised not to discuss sensitive psychological issues with the inmates, not to use a tape-recorder during the research and to make some minor alterations to the Ethics and

Consent Form, which the inmates were to sign prior to the interviews.

In all, it took me seven weeks from my first call to the Justice Department until I had the official consent to get into jail. I learned from the inmates that the period of time before sentencing is called "dead time" and does not count toward the actual sentence. For me this period was more like "on edge time", not knowing if the research would be approved. The period of research, (or length of sentence) was set to commence after classes reconvened after summer holidays. My fieldwork would last for about two months, a "short bit" at the "Crowbar Hotel".

Probably the most disconcerting aspect of my research was that I had been advised by various staff members (in the Justice Department as well as the prison) that most of what the inmates would tell me would be fabrications or exaggerations. Rather than discount the perceptions of the inmates, I wanted to take what the inmates said at face value. If possible, I hoped to learn what confinement meant to the various inmates and find out what factors contributed to these perceptions and how educational programs fit into this framework.

I had already decided on a critical ethnographic approach for the research methodology, outlined by Lather (1986) and in retrospect, I think that this methodology fit the circumstances of the "questionable" perceptions of the inmates. This approach is based on the idea "that the decision makers themselves are the experts on how they make the decisions they make"(Lather,1986, p.9). In addition, I incorporated Lather's prescribed checks for the research methodology in order to address researcher bias (Lather, 1986, p.66-70). These checks include triangulation of various data sources, which involved interviewing the inmates as well as instructors and prison staff as well as going over the annual reports from the school. Another check involved getting confirmation of the information from various inmates. As far as possible, I accounted for both the commonalities and ranges of the inmates' view points in the research. Another way that the research was validated was by comparing the findings to *a priori* theory, which I accomplished by the comparing what the inmates said with other studies of inmates. By using Lather's ethnographic research approach, I addressed as best I could the authenticity of the inmates' viewpoints and the validity of the research.

Another problem which I needed to resolve was how to analyse the decision inmates make to commence programs. I tentatively considered ethnographic decision tree modeling as particularly suitable for this research. This type of analysis is based on an assumption that decisions are made by a particular set of judgements. However, I was not certain until I had started interviewing that decision tree modeling would be useful or appropriate to analyze the data.

The first few interviews with the inmates revealed that they do make a decision regarding the commencement of programs. It became clear to me that the inmates' decision process involved many different types and combinations of factors for different people. Another consideration was that inmate could choose to remain working or apply to begin an educational program. These early interviews revealed that merely deciding to commence programs was not enough, as the prison administration and the school had control of inmate attendance in programs. Thus the decision tree model would have to identify the factors which influence inmates to decide to attend programs, and at the same time acknowledge that the prison and school authorities also play an important role. Because of this, the decision tree is not a pure cognitive representation of the inmates' decision making process. The model demonstrates the inmates' understanding of the tension between working and attending educational programs, while incorporating the various reasons (primarily from the inmates' perspectives) for staying or leaving work crews as well as beginning or discontinuing educational programs.

In order to make the perspectives of the inmates as the basis for the decision tree model, I used their own terms of reference for the various decision criteria. In this way I tried to maintain the primacy of the students as experts of their own decision making. Testing the model with other students and workers demonstrated the context sensitivity of the methodology. I think it also minimized my bias with built-in validity checks of the data and the analysis.

In my discussion of the importance of the language used by the inmates, two important terms need to be explained. The words used by the inmates are referred to as emic descriptions, which were essential to the data

collection and the data analysis. "Emic" refers to "units of meaning drawn from the culture bearers themselves" (Gladwin,1989, p.9). In order to discover the meanings of "the insider's relationships, native terms, rules and way of life", emic descriptions and categories were documented (Gladwin,1989, p.9 quoting Spradley, 1979,p.3).

In contrast, "etic" descriptions and categories are units of meaning which originate from outside the culture being studied and inadvertently include the cultural bias and values of the researcher describing the culture. The concepts of "emic" and "etic" descriptions and categories are discussed in more detail by Harris (1979). I relied on "emic" descriptions rather than "etic" interpretations as a strategy to obtain descriptions of the culture and the decision process that would be recognizable and validated by other members of the inmate culture.

The security regulations of the prison dictated how my research would be carried out. I was advised during the security orientation at the commencement of the fieldwork that my status at the prison would be that of a peace officer. I was therefore bound to all rules and conduct expectations as other personnel. In addition, my access to inmates outside of the school was limited because I had to get permission to spend time in the housing units as well as in the work areas.

Due to the security restrictions and the customs of the instructors, it would have been inappropriate for me to fraternize with the inmates during coffee or lunch. Though they both sometimes picked up their lunches from the same cafeteria, inmates and instructors never sat down together. Consequently, participant observation during the breaks from the classes was out of the question. Even my observations had to be very discreet, as the inmates were already under constant supervision, and without the attire of blue jeans and a T shirt, (which according to security I could not wear anyway), my presence was highly visible. I also realized immediately that I could sabotage my research if I was perceived by the inmates as another watchful guard.

As a result of these considerations, I concentrated most of my research on ethnographic interviews with the inmates and observing the inmates going about their daily routines at school, and to a lesser extent at work

and in their housing units. My interviews with the prison staff and instructors were considerably less controlled by the prison's formal and informal rules.

Related to this was the conflict between the inmates and the authority of the prison and how I fit into this dynamic. According to the social science literature on correctional institutions, relationships between the inmates and authorities are punctuated with antagonisms and power. I was a witness to this on the first day of my fieldwork when I was observing the female inmates eating lunch. One female inmate was stopped by an officer and charged for attempting to sneak fruit out of the cafeteria. Both the inmate and the guard exchanged hostilities. During the research, I often felt as though I had to walk the line between the two groups, and that the inmates in particular were observing and scrutinizing my every move in the institution. This hunch turned out to be quite correct, as the inmates advised me in subtle ways that they were always watching to see who talked to the guards. Those seen talking to a guard are suspected as "ratting" on fellow inmates, and not talking to guards is a cardinal rule that many "early birds" learn either through threats or a physical reprimand. I soon realized that if I wanted inmates to speak with me, I would have to follow their rules, and I kept my transactions with the guards to a minimum.

There was another issue of trust with the inmates that I had to address, this time concerning my interview notes which I took while they were speaking. Early in the fieldwork I learned from inmates that they did not speak freely to prison officials, in fear that this information would be written down, misrepresented and be used against them. During the first interviews I noticed that some of the inmates would discreetly read what I was writing, upside down. I did not try to prevent this, as I read back to them what I had written anyway. Once I learned of the reasons for their concerns I encouraged them to read my notes I had taken during their interviews and they often perused their files while I poured coffee for us. This sharing also allowed me to collect a dictionary of jail jargon, as they would see my penciled notations of inmate vocabulary in the margins, to which they would respond orally or write out the meanings in my field notes.

At other times when we had finished with the research questions, the interviews became casual conversations. I often stopped taking notes altogether and only resumed after they gave me permission. I think that this had a profound impact on the quality as well as quantity of information I was given. In some small way, it may have also contributed to building on the feelings of self-worth of a few inmates. One particular illustration of this occurred at one of my last interviews with an inmate I had spoken with on several occasions. I began the interview by mentioning that I was not going to take notes, that I just wanted to find out how they were doing. They insisted that I should take out my pencil and paper, because they "might say something important!" I think that being aware and sensitive to trust issues had an important effect on the research. However because I spent most of my time (and hence developed the greatest rapport) with the inmates, I found it impossible to remain neutral.

From the beginning of the research I was not certain how the inmates would respond to my request for volunteers for the research. Each of the program instructors allowed me to give a short presentation during class time and I advised the inmates of the ethical considerations and answered their concerns. During my fieldwork, there were a few students from every class that I visited who agreed to participate in my study. I think one of the explanations for this was that most of the instructors had already established positive relationships with their students. This nurturing environment may have contributed to the inmates asking questions about the research and deciding to participate.

One of their main concerns was whether they could trust me. Though they never dealt with this issue directly, it was the indirect questions they had that revealed this concern. Some of the inmates wanted to know who was funding the research. I told them I was--on a shoestring budget! Others wanted to know if I was going to get a job in corrections when I finished my research. To this I replied no, that was not how I want to spend my time! A native inmate drew laughter from his classmates when he asked me if my husband was "treaty", meaning that I could get funding for my university tuition. I said no, but it would have helped! I found the inmates shy and sometimes aloof, but once they were engaged in conversation they were more friendly and direct. After my brief

presentation, I left a sign up sheet that I picked up at the end of the day. This allowed me to interview class by class those who were interested in assisting in my investigation.

I had originally hoped for 25 interviews for the decision tree model construction phase, but after the first three weeks, I had 28. What was difficult for me was the exhausting pace of the interviews, as each night I went over every interview and constructed an individual decision tree, and categorized the resporses to the questions. Another difficulty was not having a tape-recorder, which meant that I had to listen intently in order to manually (and legibly) transcribe what the participants were saying.

When I had reached 40 inmate interviews, and the composite decision tree model was complete, I decided to test the model with a combination of workers and a few more students. By the end of the two months, I had interviewed 50 students and 20 workers as well as the instructors, work supervisors, as well as prison administrators, for a total of 94 formal interviews. This number does not include the number of additional interviews in which about 15 inmates took part and the several informal interviews with guards, the canteen supervisor and the hobby officer.

The Research Population

The research population consisted of 50 students and 20 workers, representing approximately 20% of the inmate population of about 345 inmates. During the year, the prison population fluctuates between 325 and 400 inmates. This is a coed institution, with 45 to 60 women inmates sharing one of the housing units. The ratio of women to men is about one female for every five males and at the time of the research there was about 58 females and 287 males. The statistics I collected focus on the first 40 students that I interviewed and these can be compared with the statistics produced for the inmate population at the conclusion of the fieldwork. At the time of the interviews, I did not ask the participants the types of offences they had committed. However, the prison administration informed me that the crimes ranged from impaired driving, breaking and entering, assault, prostitution, trafficking narcotics, sexual

assault, armed robbery, and manslaughter. It was stated by both prison staff, instructors and inmates that more than 80% of the crimes represented in this jail are drug or alcohol related. I was advised by the school staff that the average stay in the prison is approximately 66 days, though this could not be supported by the sentences of the 40 inmates interviewed or from the statistics for the inmate population.

Of the initial 40 students interviewed, 10 were females and 30 were males. The female students consisted of 6 who were provincial inmates serving an average of 14.2 months and 4 who were federal inmates serving an average of 39 months. The range of sentences was 7 months to 42 months. In comparison, among the 58 females, 50 were serving provincial sentences, averaging 7.5 months and 7 had sentences of 66 days or less. There were 8 females serving federal sentences, averaging 48 months. The range of sentences for the entire female population was 30 days to 96 months. It should be noted that under both provincial and federal jurisdictions, the time actually served seldom exceeds two-thirds of the original sentence. Although I did not ask the students how many times they had been in jail, this information was provided by the administration for the inmate population at the conclusion of the research. The recidivism rates provided by the prison administration underestimate the extent of recidivism because the rates only include sentences served as adults in province of Alberta prisons. Of the 58 female inmates in the prison, 8 were first offenders in this province and the other 50 females were repeat offenders. One female inmate had the distinction of being in this province's correctional institutions 28 times. The statistics for age, marital status, ethnic background and education for the 10 female students compared to the 58 females in the entire prison are found in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

1. Females

Number of female students =10		*Number of female inmates = 58*
Range in Age	19 to 42 years	*18 to 53 years*
Median Age	22 years	28 years
Ethnic Background	Native (2) Metis (5) Caucasian (3) Immigrant 0	*Native (24)* *Metis (10)* *Inuit (1)* *Caucasian (21)* *Oriental (1)* *Black (1)* *(information did not identify immigrants)*
Marital Status	Single (6) Common-law (4) Married 0 Divorced 0	*Single (28)* *Common-law (16)* *Married (9)* *Divorced (5)*
Education (Excludes education during previous or current sentences)	Range Grade 8 to completion of community college	*Range 2 years of elementary school to some university (not specified)*
	Most frequent level completed Grade 10 and beyond 8/10	*Most frequent level completed Grade 9 and beyond 42/58*
	Number of drop outs (< Grade 12) (of students interviewed) 7/10	*Number of drop outs (< Grade 12) in prison 49/58*

The 30 male students consisted of 27 who were serving provincial sentences, averaging 17.9 months and 3 who were serving federal sentences averaging 36 months. The range of the sentences was 4 months to 57.5 months. In comparison, of the 287 males in the prison, 261 were serving provincial sentences, averaging 12 months, 17 of those serving 66 days or less. There were 26 inmates serving federal sentences averaging 42 months. The range of sentences for the male prison population was 15 days to 120 months. Again, it should be noted that under both provincial and federal jurisdictions, the time actually served seldom exceeds two-thirds of the original sentence. Of the 287 male inmates, 35 were first offenders in this province and 252 were repeat offenders. The greatest number of occasions that a male spent in this province's correctional institutions was 45 times. The statistics for age, marital status, ethnic background and education for the 30 male students compared to the 287 males in the entire prison are provided in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2.

2. Males

Number of male students = 30		*Number of male inmates = 287*
Range in Age	18 to 42 years	*18 to 74 years*
Median Age	26 years	29 years
Ethnic Background	Native (6) Metis (3) Inuit (2) Caucasian (12) Immigrant (7)	*Native (61)* *Metis (41)* *Inuit (2)* *Caucasian (171)* *Oriental (3)* *Black (3)* *Arabian (1)* *Hispanic (1)* *Other (4)* *(information did not identify immigrants)*
Marital Status	Single (18) Common-law (7) Married (4) Divorced (1) Separated 0 Widowed 0	*Single (149)* *Common-law (87)* *Married (27)* *Divorced (11)* *Separated (11)* *Widowed (2)*
Education (Excludes education during previous or current sentences)	Range Grade 2 to completion of university	*Range Grade 2 to some university (not specified)*
	Most frequent level completed Grade 9 and beyond 22/30	*Most frequent level completed Grade 10 and beyond 196/287*
	Number of drop outs (< Grade 12) (of students interviewed) 19/30	*Number of drop outs (< Grade 12) in prison 223/287*

The above information provides several points for comparison between the research sample and the inmate population. Overall, I submit that the research population is representative of both the female and male populations in the prison.

Interview Protocols

In order to find out how inmates decide to commence educational programs, I conducted ethnographic interviews. This interview method involves open-ended questioning which allows the participant to freely describe their way of life and what is important to them in their own words. Ethnographic interviews form an essential part of the data gathering used for ethnographic decision tree modeling. During the interviews, I documented the inmates' terms of reference and made note of the commonalities and the differences in their view points. The inmates explained to me what it was like for them to be incarcerated, and how living in the prison affected them. They often elaborated on some of their most memorable experiences in prison. In this way, I gained some understanding of what being an inmate in this prison was like.

The ethnographic interviews for the first 40 inmates generally involved meeting with each inmate on two occasions, usually a day apart. This was the interview protocol for the majority of cases, except when the participant was attending a short-term program and a second interview could not be arranged either during or after class time. In this situation, both parts were conducted during the same interview.

The purpose of the first interview was to gather the background information concerning the informant as well as the reasons for commencing educational programs during the current sentence. I began with an explanation of the nature of my research and getting the written consent of the inmates to carry on with the interview. I then asked them some basic demographic questions, including sex, age, marital status, ethnic background, length of their sentence, the programs taken during the current sentence, and previous educational experience.

After I wrote down this background information, I asked them an open

descriptive question, "how did you come to be in this program?". I followed this with a structural question, what kinds of considerations were there, and concluded with another descriptive question, "how did these influence you?". After the first three or four interviews I realized I needed more specific information, so I included more structural questions regarding the sequencing of their decision to attend programs when they were working, and the various reasons for discontinuing a program or taking additional programs. In addition to this, I documented how the informants learned about the programs and the steps taken for them to commence. Once I adapted the questions to obtain a wider range of reasons and more specific details, the quality of the data was greatly enhanced, and I had a better understanding of the individual's decision making process. The information I gathered from the first interview was used to construct an individual decision tree model which was reviewed during the second interview.

I conducted the second interview as a confirmation of the decision process, through the verification of an individual decision tree and asking the participants to answer a questionnaire based on accumulated reasons for commencing programs. The timing of the second meeting was important, because I wanted to maximize the potential for the informant to have a similar frame of reference for taking programs as in the initial interview. At this time, I also reviewed the decision tree model with the participant in order to check the validity of the sequences, their reasons for commencing programs and any unique circumstances which may have influenced their decisions. Several of the inmates said that they had never thought of their decisions in this way before, and they assisted me in making changes. During the second interview I also asked the informants to respond to a questionnaire consisting of their fellow students' previously documented reasons for commencing. While responding to the questionnaire, many inmates acknowledged other reasons for commencing programs that they had not previously stated. However, their decision tree model was not altered to include this information, as the questionnaire was only a form of cross-checking. For combined interviews, I sketched a decision model after the research questions which was immediately clarified by the participant. Then I went through the questionnaire with them.

As the first seven interviews took place within two days, I was able to develop a questionnaire consisting of 24 reasons to commence programs to test the validity and the frequency of the responses. For the questionnaire, I changed the wording slightly from the inmates' descriptions into the form of "yes/no" questions. Of the first 24 questions, 22 were directly in the words of the informants. I inserted question numbers 23 and 24 as my own questions, as I was concerned that the influence of the length of the sentence and the possibilities for early release did not surface during the first few interviews. I realized later that this was because the class I was interviewing was a continuous entry program and these factors are not associated with this particular program. As it turned out, my own two questions were mentioned by inmates during subsequent interviews, but I left question numbers 23 and 24 in the questionnaire in order to maintain consistency. The questionnaire was originally developed on September 27, 1993 with 24 questions, updated on October 3 to include 50 questions, October 7 to include 75 questions and October 20, to include 85 questions.

All of the questions on the questionnaire were reasons inmates gave for commencing educational programs, except for two, which were previously mentioned. I kept the order of the questions standard, so that the responses could be checked and coded at a later time. The questionnaire compared each participants' reasons for taking programs with the perspectives of the other learners. Secondly, the questionnaire was a double check on each individual's reasons, as their answers were recycled back in a different format. In one case out of the 40, the student did not agree with their original response, but he acknowledged other reasons for taking programs. I adjusted his decision tree at that time. The results of the questionnaire revealed that none of the participants answered affirmatively to all of the criteria, though each one did select at least a few. The final version of the questionnaire consisted of 85 questions and was used for the last three of the original 40 participants and all of the 10 students in the testing stage.

One of the hidden dimensions of the interviews was that some of the informants appeared to be obviously disoriented, and this may have influenced how they responded to the questionnaire. Drug use is common in the prison, as some inmates obtain legitimate medications from the

pharmacy, while others acquire drugs through illegal channels. Because the questionnaire was to provide a validity check, there is no way of knowing the extent that taking drugs or withdrawal from drugs may have altered the participants' responses. One inmate admitted to being on medication from the nurse, and was so drowsy that I stopped the questionnaire just past the mid-point, because he admitted to me that he was not able to concentrate. Another individual who said he had been addicted to alcohol and drugs for more than 20 years had difficulty making up his mind during the questionnaire segment as to which factors were relevant to his situation. With 85 reasons being reviewed, my patience was taxed to the limit! When I consulted the instructor about this, she sympathetically acknowledged that this was just the way that this student behaves. Other inmates appeared to be distracted, fidgety or drowsy, and drug use or drug withdrawal may have been the cause (I confirmed this possibility with one of the prison nurses). Out of the 70 inmate interviews, I am quite certain that at least one-third were either on prescribed medications, on drugs or going through withdrawal or suffering from long-term affects from alcohol and drug abuse. I can also substantiate this with the comments from inmates, such as one female inmate saying, "I only know three people on my unit who do not abuse drugs in this prison" and a male inmate saying, "almost everyone in this place takes some kind of drug while they are here". Although there was only one identified case of a contradiction between perceptions in the first interview and the questionnaire, I realized near the end of the fieldwork that the influence of drugs (either from previous or current use) may have thrown off some of the responses, at least to a minor extent.

I came to realise that my study was not only attempting to identify the meanings behind the decision making, but also the meanings behind the recollection of the decision making. These meanings are subject to an infinite number of factors, many of which are tacit, and not readily apparent to the individual. The recollection of the decision making is also influenced by hindsight knowledge. Thus influence of substances which may alter cognitive responses is just one of many components which would contribute to differences between the original basis for decision making and the recollection of the factors. Because of this, I used the questionnaire for a general verification rather than for further detailed analysis.

The Data Analysis

The data that I analysed consisted of the factors which contributed to the inmates attending programs. In order to arrive at some conclusions. I used the data from the first 40 students to design a composite decision tree model. I began constructing the composite model at the half-way point of the initial 40 interviews. First, I checked all of the individual decision tree models for accuracy according to the interview notes, and then the design of each of the models was checked to ensure that they were neither simplistic, ambiguous or constructed as a vine instead of a tree (Gladwin, 1989,p.57-69). I then gathered all of the reasons for choosing programs to determine which criteria belonged to the main question {Commence an Educational Program; Don't}. As the interviews progressed, the model incorporated any additional considerations and constraints.

Early in the research, it became evident to me that the composite decision tree model would be a multi-stage model. I recognized this because of the apparent connection between commencing educational programs and work assignments. A multi-stage model was also necessary to account for the many students who had completed more than one program during their current sentence or partly completed courses and participated in work assignments at various times during their current sentence. Reasons for commencing, continuing and taking further programs were made more complex with the possibilities of releases, transfers and disciplinary decisions made by the prison administration. Therefore the model had to recognize separate sub-routines for completing a program and taking additional programs.

I also became aware that there were actually two main decisions: {Commence an educational program; Don't} as well as {Commence Work; Don't}. This can be substantiated because the official policy of the institution is that inmates must choose between working or attending a program. Unless they have a medical excuse, inmates cannot remain idle. Furthermore, 31 out of the 40 students mentioned that they had been told that they must work before they ever commenced a program. Six of the

students (plus 3 from the test group) also mentioned how they switched back and forth between working and educational programs by choice. These factors pointed to a binary model: one side for commencing an educational program and the other for commencing work, with built-in possibilities to switch from one to the other.

In order to assemble the decision tree model, I sorted and condensed similar types of reasons for both commencing a program and discontinuing work. I accomplished this by going back to the 85 reasons for commencing programs used in the questionnaire, the interview notes and individual decision trees to develop possible paths for decision making. I collapsed the 85 reasons into 14 general categories in the main routine of the {Commence an Educational Program; Don't} portion of the model and four general categories in the main routine of the {Commence Work; Don't} portion of the model. In order to condense the 85 categories, I looked for their commonalities. For example, several inmates said that the reason they had commenced a program was because they had thought it might help toward securing an early release. This notion came from their own conclusions or because their caseworker, their parole officer, or others had mentioned the idea. These were synthesized into the category, "Are there programs I need to take for an early release?", with the provisions for various sources for this information. Another frequent set of reasons dealt with future educational plans, career plans or an existing business. These reasons were incorporated into the category, "Are there any educational programs that would help me with future education plans, a career change or an existing business?". I also distinguished between the inmates' reasons regarding how a program might be helpful for them to learn something about relationships, and how a program might help them to feel good about themselves. Although both factors require a high degree of reflection, the first reason pertains to programs which teach specific skills for building relationships, whereas the second reason could refer to any program that would help them feel positively about themselves.

I also encountered a problem with grouping the descriptions, because not all of the 85 reasons fit neatly into categories for commencing programs. For example, a few reasons fit into the building relationships category as well as another category. In this situation, I decided to list these reasons

under both categories, but when I was assigning the inmate's identity number to the composite tree, I only identified those reasons which was specifically stated on the transcript. This meant going over the original transcripts to ensure that I was accurately describing the intent of the inmates.

As I went through the 85 reasons, I noted that all of the 40 inmates considered the length of sentence to be a factor in commencing a program. Thus all factors relating to this were identified as part of the initial question "If my sentence is long enough (>30 days) can I complete and educational program" and "If I am here > 30 days, can I commence a continuous intake program?". Another example of a reason that could not be neatly classified as part of program commencement, was the reason "I wanted to take something else because my teacher from the other course went on holidays". I categorized this as part of a sub-routine for "Complete Program Unless". I determined the sub-routines for not completing educational programs from the interview transcripts of students who had not completed programs earlier in their current sentence. These fit into the latter part of the tree model for both the {Commence an Educational Program; Don't} as well as the {Commence Work; Don't} decisions. The reasons "because I was accepted" and "there was an opening for the course" were also incorporated into a sub-routine for "Commence Program Unless", because these conditions show how the administration of the school fits in with the inmate's decision making process to commence programs. Some reasons, such as "can't do physically challenging work" and "didn't want to work in the fields picking potatoes or slicing broccoli" were categorized as "Don't work" options. I decided not to generalize these options, because I wanted the specific descriptions of why the inmate did not want to work. Altogether, I created an additional 6 categories in the sub-routine for {Work; Don't} which followed "unless" patterns, or exceptions. A more detailed breakdown of the 85 reasons for choosing an educational program along with the corresponding categories and decision tree referents are found in Appendix 2.

Once I had established the categories and distinguished between the various nodes, "unless" situations and sub-routines for the {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} and {Work;Don't}, the binary composite

decision tree took shape. The "unless" situations refer to those restrictions which would prevent an inmate from commencing or completing a program. For example, for the decision {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} if an inmate wanted to attend programs in order to complete grade 12, he could commence, "unless" the institution needed his labour. Sub-routines refer to stages beyond the initial routine to commence a program, which would include the sub-routine for completing a program and the sub-routine for taking another program. The same principles for "unless" situations and sub-routines apply to the {Work;Don't} part of the decision tree. Keeping all of the "unless" situations and sub-routines separate from the main routines involved countless verifications with the individual trees, reading over the transcripts and then making sure that the design demonstrated the sequencing and logic of the inmates' decision making process. During the model design stage, I also examined the data to discover possible errors, which are inherent in any decision model. The errors which surfaced will be discussed in the analysis of the ethnographic decision tree model in Chapter 5.

The final step in the decision tree building was to document the cases which applied to the various reasons and circumstances in commencing an educational program and commencing work. In order to maintain confidentiality, I had assigned each inmate's transcript with an identity number. I listed the identity numbers for each of the applicable considerations and constraints for making the decision. Because most of the students interviewed had more than one reason for either opting out of work or choosing to commence a program and some inmates took more than one program, I included all of the reasons the inmates gave for all of the programs that they had taken during their current sentence. However, the binary composite tree demonstrates that 40 inmates were considered for work, and at some point in their sentence they decided to commence an educational program.

After I completed the composite model, I tested the model by interviewing 10 additional students, representing Math/Science Upgrading, Lower Adult Basic Education, Business Education, and the Bachelor Survival programs as well as 20 workers, representing all of the work crews. The 10 students answered the questionnaire, and the

composite decision tree model was checked for errors and omissions. The interviews with the 20 workers required a modification of the basic research question. This time I asked, "how did you come to be on this work crew?". The revised question allowed me to establish how workers came to work on a particular crew and if they had considered attending an educational program. I did not incorporate the questionnaire into the interviews with the workers, nor did I construct any individual decision tree models. The workers who were not already registered for programs provided several reasons for their decisions. I checked these responses against the composite decision tree model and I made certain that these reasons were included. The sample of students and workers in the testing stage confirmed that the considerations and the constraints in the decision model were correct (Gladwin, 1989, p.47-48).

One final test of the model, which was not mentioned by Gladwin, was a consultation I requested with the placement officer and the school coordinator over the structure and components of the decision tree. I thought that this would be important because these administrators would have the best knowledge about the official operation of the prison, and they would be able to evaluate the decision model from an opposing frame of reference to the inmates. During the consultations, some of the processes of the institution and education division were clarified and we discussed errors and any misunderstandings the inmates or I had about the institution. Whenever I found discrepancies in the procedures or the policies, I made a note of them. These differences in epistemologies are important in the understanding of cultures, (Werner and Schoepfle, 1987) and these will be discussed in the analysis of the ethnographic decision tree model, in Chapter 5.

Concluding Remarks

The above explanation describes the methodology I used in order to answer the research question. I attempted to follow the research protocols outlined by Gladwin (1989), Spradley (1979), and Werner and Schoepfle (1987). However, the fieldwork in the prison, the nature of the participants and the security limitations dictated that I make some

adjustments to the methodology, which I have noted. I found that the nature of the prison also required me to do a great deal of adapting. This included learning how to follow the tight security rules of the prison environment, adjusting to being surrounded by people I was told I could not trust, walking the line between the prison staff and the inmates and probably the most critical, adapting my own discourse so that inmates might feel compelled to talk to me.

As a final note, just as I found getting into prison the most difficult part of the research, my final departure from the prison offered an appropriate conclusion. The automated door leaving the prison compound jammed shut as I attempted to open it. The officers in the security control booth had to call a locksmith, who arrived ten minutes later.

CHAPTER 4

The Culture of the Inmates

The following is a description of what it is like for various individuals to be admitted into the correctional institution. During their time in jail, inmates become settled and learn to fit into the routine of the prison. They develop personal routines, such as going to work, and going to school. As the inmates in the study described their experiences, common themes and issues emerged about what it is like to be an inmate.

The correctional institution is located just outside the perimeter of a small prairie city. The facility resembles an industrial complex, surrounded by a concrete wall, creating the impression of a fortress.[1] The institution contains seven inmate living units, an administration building, a special services building and a central activities complex which houses the cafeteria, educational programming, industries and service crew offices. The buildings in the compound are linked by intersecting sidewalks. A hockey rink, baseball diamond, a native sweat lodge and tepee are located on the grounds. In autumn, when the research was conducted, the manicured lawns, with flowering bushes and the sunken garden areas offered a stark contrast to the fact that this is a prison.

The inmates are readily identified because they dress alike, wearing blue jeans, T shirts, jean jackets, socks and running shoes as a uniform. In the winter, most of them wear tan coloured parkas. A distinctive feature of the inmate population is a larger number of natives relative to the native population in the mainstream society. In this prison, "native" refers to registered and non-registered Indian, Metis and Inuit.[2]

Recidivism is common, with many of the inmates circulating between this prison and other provincial prisons. The inmates call this the "Tour of Alberta". One of the consequences of the high rate of recidivism is that people who know each other on the street or who met during previous sentences are often reunited here. This also includes husbands and wives, or combinations of immediate family members or extended family. The transmission of the inmate culture also benefits from the population that moves through the revolving doors of the institution. Thus the prison

population maintains some continuity to pass down inmate values, meanings and traditions.

Arrival At the Institution

-[I] arrived in a van with so many guys sitting beside me, everybody's sweating, trying not to think of nothin. You're happy you're out of the Remand Centre. That place is built to make you plead guilty- that place is hell...[male inmate, #23]

-When I got here- I came here with about 11 other guys. When I did get here, I didn't know what it would actually be like- I was kinda scared...I didn't know what jail was going to be like... [male 1st time offender, #36]

On first arrival at the prison, inmates arrive from other correctional institutions or are transferred from the Remand Centre once sentencing has taken place. The inmates are taken to the admitting section of the facility where they are processed. They are shown separate dressing rooms and asked to remove all of their jewellery and clothes. They may be skin searched or undergo a visual search from an officer. Any health abnormalities are reported. They are given a towel and told to shower and use de-licing shampoo. The nurse from the medical department examines them, noting any health conditions that will require treatment. They are provided with the institution's standard clothing issue and some bedding. Each inmate is interviewed and asked ethnic origin, next of kin, address and other information for their file. A picture is taken with a "comis" identity number displayed across their chest. This is an identification number which is used on all of their files. Copies of the picture are used for their files, health care needs and their living unit.

Each inmate is then interviewed by the placement officer, who appraises their file and determines their security status by considering the type of charge, previous record, age, outstanding charges and record of behaviour. The officer then asks about their work background which is taken into consideration when the officer advises them of their work placement. The new inmate is also advised which living unit they will be assigned. When the institution becomes crowded, inmates are informed if

they will have to be double bunked. Inmates who are charged with sex offences are encouraged to live in the general population and the inmates are advised to "stick to your story, don't talk about it much and don't elaborate" in order to keep the nature of their crime a secret from the others. Inmates are told that a caseworker on the unit will be assigned to them for the purpose of developing a caseplan-- a plan of action which may facilitate an early release. Unless there is a medical excuse, all inmates are generally advised that they must work before they can commence any of the educational programs offered at the institution. After the inmates have been processed in the admitting department, they are escorted to the living units and settle into their cells.

Settling In The Routine

"You don't really decide to do anything till you get settled..."
[male repeat offender,#21]

First contact with other inmates and corrections officers occurs at a Remand Centre (if they had been waiting for sentencing prior to arriving at the institution) or at another correctional institution (if they were transferred out). During this time, first time offenders also become initiated into "Jail Jargon", an argot which allows inmates the semblance of secrecy from the guards. Jail Jargon also denotes membership into the inmate culture and serves as an indicator of status among those who use the jargon with the greatest fluency.[3] A list of the terms collected during the study is listed as Appendix 1.

The previous stays at other facilities do not soften the initial adjustment period for arriving at this institution. This is because of the constant turnover of the population, causing the social dynamics to change over a short period of time. For example, even repeat offenders tread lightly when they first arrive:

-look around, look at the people...
when you've been here before, you will always see people you knew before the other time in jail...
then you just start hanging around with whoever you feel comfortable

with
[male repeat offender,#10]

During the settling in period, one inmate noted the changes in the relationships between people who are familiar with each other on the street who later meet in the institution:

S: How do you settle in when you first come, how do you make yourself at home?
-You're never at home here. If you do, you're institutionalized.
You just adapt.
S: How do you find your group?
-If you're smart, you stick to yourself in the beginning. You feel people out, find out what they are about. Then relationships just occur.
A lot of these girls I know from the street. I don't hang out with them on the street. That's a mutual understanding. But here, we're friends. I can trust them in here, I can't trust them on the street.
S: Why?
-Because on the street--basically anything goes. But in here, we have codes of ethics--that's where we become solid. They wouldn't--OK for instance--they wouldn't rob me in here--but they would on the street - or they would try.
[female inmate, #13]

The settling in period was noted as a critical period for inmates, as first impressions are critical for future transactions and relationships. For a few of those interviewed, the security of the institution provided an atmosphere where people could trust each other.

Immediately upon being taken to the living units, inmate are shown their cells, which they call their "house". The living unit interiors are multi-level tiers, with cells on the lower and upper levels and the entrance and reception areas on the intermediary level. The units have spacious lounge areas and are fully carpeted and decorated with soft colours. Each unit has a pool table, ping pong table, two TV rooms, laundry facilities, washrooms and a telephones on the upper and lower halls directly in front of the officer's counter. There are 48 small cells on each of the units.

Each cell accommodates a single bed, a desk and chair and an open closet. A smoked glass window provides natural light for the cell as well as a ledge for personal items. The doors leading into the cells are control locked from the officer's console. There are twelve cells which are visibly accessible to the officer. When necessary, these are used for double bunking, with a mattress placed on the floor. Near the main entrance, the officer sits behind a counter, referred to as "the bubble" with various control panels for securing doors. There is always an officer and a caseworker on duty for each of the units. Security rounds are made periodically, and if necessary, searches for contraband are conducted. Inmates can purchase coffee on the units and a fridge is provided so that inmates may store labelled food items purchased at the canteen.

Activities such as meals, recreation, work attendance are announced by a public address system which can be heard throughout the facility. "Send the centre cleaners", "send the students", "Coffee break" and "inmates return to units" are some of commands and announcements heard throughout the facility at various times during the day. All inmate movement outside of the units is controlled, and inmates from various units may only congregate at recreation, meal time or other approved activities, such as the chapel, library and native cultural activities. Activity schedules are posted on the cork-board near the unit entrances.

The canteen is available to all inmates, provided they have the financial resources. There is an eighty dollar limit on the amount of purchases made weekly. Each unit has a specific deadline ordering day and day of the week to pick up orders. The staff member who operates the canteen mentioned several of the inmates' buying habits. "I'm sure some of them live off 'Mr. Noodle', they don't like the food here..they don't like spaghetti, sloppy joes...". Tobacco, in the form of pouches called "bales", are the most frequently purchased item. Snack foods are very popular, and inmates are able to purchase toiletries, magazines and certain clothing items.

Incoming inmates are quickly incorporated into the daily routine of the institution. Inmates are called when it is time to get up, and are given time to shower and dress. On weekends, most of the inmates are allowed to sleep in, other than the kitchen workers and some of the cleaners.

Inmates are told when they may go to the cafeteria (in another building) for breakfast. Depending on the security circumstances, each unit may eat separately. The female inmates and the psychiatric inmates have their meals together, although they eat at different sections in the cafeteria. Coffee breaks take place in the cafeteria and are announced for students and inmates working inside the walls. Just prior to lunch, inmates and students report back to their unit and wait until they are advised to go to the cafeteria to eat. Guards are always positioned at strategic places to observe inmates during coffee and meal time to enforce institution rules and ensure that all inmates are finished within the allotted time. After lunch is over, the inmates return to their units and wait to be called to return to their crews or return to school. At the end of the day, the inmates are advised that they must leave the work and the school areas. They must get back to their unit and into their cell by a specific time for a security count. After the count, the inmates remain on the unit and can watch television or visit until they are advised to go to the cafeteria for supper. After supper, they return to their units and can participate in recreation, religious or hobby activities. At 11:00 inmates must be in their cells for the night. Security counts are conducted during the night while the inmates are sleeping. The institution runs on a schedule to maintain order and control of the inmate population. As one incarcerate complained, "*that's why it's really boring--same thing day after day after day*...[male repeat offender,# 9]

Becoming part of the routine serves an institutional function: to de-emphasise individualism as well as to constrain and monitor activities and movements of the inmates. At the same time, the routines train inmates to operate as a cohesive group and this fosters group identification; first of all within each living unit and then as the general inmate population.

It's Only a Name

S: The first time you were called "inmate" --how did you feel?
-I thought I had lost my own identity. I am categorized. I'm not a special individual, not unique- I'm like the rest...Some people come in here with no identity and [being called inmate] and categorized like everyone else--

they feel that they <u>are</u> someone.
[female inmate, #16]]

Incarcerated adults refer to each other in various ways as well as by staff. Similarly, they also use different labels for institutional staff.

The following is how staff refer to incarcerated individuals:
inmates - (on the units, generally anywhere outside the education area) [-by officers, administration staff, used by some instructors to describe people not attending classes)
comis number - on all institution documentation
shit disturbers - incarcerated adults who commit violations [-by correctional officers]
inmate surname, followed by first name- [by some of the officers]
first name - [by instructors, school staff, some of the officers]
students - (in school)[-by teachers, school staff]
client - (in hair salon) [-by hairstyling instructor]

Incarcerated adults use the following labels to refer to staff and outside personnel indirectly, because direct use may result in a violations charge:
blue shirt - corrections officer
screw - corrections officer
bull - corrections officer
guard - corrections officer
white shirt - corrections administrators
outside shirt - contract personnel [kitchen staff, instructors, researchers]
suit - refers to prison administrators, caseworkers and unit managers
boss - refers to corrections officer on the unit [used by male inmates, sometimes directly]
six- refers to corrections officers

The following is how inmates refer to each other directly (D) or indirectly (I):
budd - somebody who has not broken a trust (I & D)
chum- people known for a while (I & D)
bro or sis - people really well known (I & D)
client - (in hair salon) [hairstyling students] (D)
early bird - new inmate- by incarcerated adults (I)

long-timer - person with a long term- by incarcerated adults and staff (I)
heavy - complementary by incarcerated adults (I), derogatory by officers
kid - inexperienced inmate who has been adopted-by incarcerated adults(I&D)
rabbit - an inmate who escapes- by incarcerated adults (I)
idiot - derogatory term- by incarcerated adults (I)
idiot box - derogatory term- by incarcerated adults (I)
skinner - derogatory term for rapist- by incarcerated adults (I)
rat - derogatory term for informer- by incarcerated adults (I)
goof- the most derogatory term for another inmate-by incarcerated adults I & D)
tier heavy,- complementary term for inmate leader in the living unit by incarcerated adults (I)
cheese eater - derogatory term for informer- by incarcerated adults (I)
grinder - derogatory term for someone who is constantly borrowing (I)
mark - derogatory term for someone who can be used by others to supply things (I)
water head - another derogatory term for grinders and marks (I &D)
brother or sister smiley- a name to imply homosexuality in a joking manner (I & D)

During the fieldwork, I heard some of the staff using a few of the above names in reference to the inmates. This illustrates how the terminology is carried over from the inmates to the staff members. The terms used indirectly would be to avoid confrontation, while negative terms, such as "goof" are used as signals to engage in a physical confrontation. The following are two descriptions of the impact the word "goof" has in the prison:

-Goof is strong...that they're no good, "NG"--can't be trusted. To call somebody a goof means they have no character...the word did originate in jail...
[female inmate #13]

-Goof- it's the last word...When someone calls you that- and you don't do nothin, you'll lose all respect--you'll become an outcast...You should hear all the things people call each other in here- they just laugh! Then they call you a goof- and there's a fight!

[male repeat offender,#23]

The correctional staff are also aware of the inflammatory nature of the word, and use it for their purposes:

-We're always hearing them say, "Don't call me a goof!"
Callin them by their own words--makes them get off their ass and do something...
[officer]

I found an incredible irony in how an innocuous (to me at least) name like "goof" could have such a powerful effect on inmates. When the first few inmates mentioned the inflammatory connotation of this word, I thought that the inmates were lying to me, believing they were having a laugh at my expense. When I indirectly asked other inmates and staff how inmates would insult one another the name "goof" was their consistent answer. The inmates pepper their everyday speech with four letter expletives. In the school, profanity is not allowed, and this is one of the few places where the inmates subdue their swearing. Inmates curse each other in a variety of ways but to call someone a goof is asking for a fight.

Jail House Jargon

Peculiar to the culture of the inmates is their adaptation of certain words in the English language to create a jail jargon. Jail jargon serves many purposes: it provides a means of group identification· it is evidence of solidarity for group members; and it provides a language boundary (albeit semi-permeable) between the inmates and institutional staff. In the following discussion, an inmate traces the origin of jail jargon:

-The idea was--when this type of jargon of language started, it was so the screws couldn't tell what the inmates were talking about.
S: How do you pick up the language?
-Through time.
S: Do you actively memorize, ask questions?
-No.

You can tell how much time someone has done by their language. I talked to older men who've done a lot of pen time. You can tell how much time someone has done by how long they can hold a conversation in "Jail House Jargon".
[female inmate, #13]

One incarcerate was concerned about the negative association with the use of jail jargon even though it brought distinct advantages while being institutionalized:
-I never talked like this until I came here.
S: Why did you learn jail jargon?
-so that you fit in
so that people feel comfortable with you
so that people trust you
S: How does the ability to speak jail jargon feel?
-good. You don't need it on the street. I don't wanta come across as an ex-convict. If you say stuff to the wrong person, they're gonna know you did time. I don't care if people know I did time...
S: How did you learn jail jargon?
-It's around you all the time. Everybody [uses it]. I didn't know what the hell people were talking about...
S: Do you put jail jargon in your letters to home?
-Ya, I do.
S: Consciously?
-I think it's subconscious--some of it.
I don't want to sound like a convict when I get out of here--so I want to drop some of it. When I get around some of my buddies who've done time--I'll probably talk that way--they'll know where I'm comin from....
There's a lot more. I hear them in conversations. There's some I don't know- especially from guys who've done different bits--through the 60s, 70s 80s. Lots of them did time from the old [place]...
[male inmate, #36]

Jail jargon identifies inmates who are serving time, or who have served time in the past. The language serves the function of secrecy, and is a status marker. Through learning this language, a speaker gains acceptance into the group, becomes fluent enough that it becomes tacit in

their behaviour, thus the boundary of the language extends outside of the prison context. Lastly, like other languages, jail jargon is changing, and differences in the lexicon can be noted from previous decades. A list of the vocabulary collected from the subjects during the research can be found in Appendix 1.

Getting Out In One Piece

"Getting out in one piece" is how one inmate referred to learning the rules of the inmate culture. This is probably the most important lifeskill that people who are newly incarcerated ever learn. This is because there is a lack of toleration for those who are ignorant to the rules. The severity of the sanctions against inmates who break the inmate code maintains much of the conformity with the group. Learning the rules, like learning the language, is part of the initiation process. Rule learning begins immediately in the holding cells in the Remand Centre while an inmate is waiting for sentencing. This knowledge is extended with their subsequent transfer to the institution after the inmates are sentenced. An inmate described how critical it is to learn the rules and the expectation for the first offender to learn them in a short time:

S: How did you learn about the inmate rules?
-I watched
I experienced
too chancey to experiment--I wouldn't
I've been really lucky--I've only been punched out once. They knew I just didn't know any better...something said at the wrong time...
when you get here, you're allowed about a week...and when the week is over, you learn the hard way...
[female inmate, # 30]

Many of the rules are not communicated explicitly, but learned through new inmates making mistakes. The following inmate unwittingly broke a cardinal rule--he engaged in a conversation with an officer:

-a few days later I was threatened in the washroom....

grabbed--right out of the blue!
[inmate defended himself, asked his attacker what the problem was, and was explicitly told]
the rule--"don't talk to the guards"
[male inmate, #1W]

Another behaviour which is considered highly inappropriate in the prison context is whistling. The following inmate described how he learned about the negative association of whistling in prison:

-what I did--I was walking around, I was whistling and one of the older guys told me I couldn't whistle in jail because it means that you are taking the last steps of your life--basically that you are going to die. So I ceased to do so quickly- very fast.
S: Did he threaten you?
-it was a friendly reminder
S: Do you know why whistling is a taboo?
-no
S: Did they explain it further?
-no
[male inmate, #26]

Many of the rules are not communicated explicitly, but through the example from experienced inmates who are so immersed in the culture that following the rules becomes automatic. Exercising caution, trying to avoid making mistakes learning vicariously and listening to any advice all help first-time inmates to get out in one piece.

How to Hang With the Good Guys

Residents of a correctional institution form a hierarchical community, with inmates who demonstrate the values and attributes which exemplify the ideals of the community being given a higher status than the others. The criteria for gaining status is somewhat different for females than for males and it was noted that there were also variances between individuals. The following is how two females explained the values and behaviours required to gain the esteem of other female inmates:

S: How does a female inmate gain status with other females?
-By not being a bum (people borrowing, not paying back)
The girls who get along with everybody...
But at the same time is willing to stick-up for themselves or else no one will respect you. If someone calls me on (wants to fight me) in the bathroom, if I'm not going to lose respect, I have to fight them.
[female inmate, #12]

This female inmate not only provided details on how female inmates determine their ranking order, the inmate communication network was also referenced:

S: How does a female gain status with other female inmates?
-how much time you've put in and how many times you've been here.
popularity--but its not a popularity contest...
You know when someone has been in and out several times--even the screws know--that's how we find out someone is coming back- sometimes hours before they are on the unit--we hear the screws talking to each other-- "Did you know ___ is back?" and word travels.
You have to stand up for yourself too, but you can't be pushing people around.
Respect in jail is something you earn and then have to live up to. I'm considered a heavy because of the number of charges and the crowd that I hang around with. I don't physically throw my weight around. But the other girls know that I am solid.
S: What do you mean by solid?
-I'm a stand-up person. I'm good to my word, back my friend's plays, no matter what.
[female inmate, #13]

For several of the women interviewed, standing up for oneself, getting along with others and the number of times that one has been in prison are all valued. Yet the following female provided a different type of hierarchy of the female inmate population:

[speaking about how the female population is divided up]

-you have your bad ass corner (all the girls get caught with dope),
goody two shoes corner,
the whiners, the rats and the wannabees,
then you got your laid back [where she placed herself]
[female repeat offender, #9b]

One of the distinguishing features of the male and female values was that the males regarded physical strength and size as important, but this was never mentioned by any of the females. The following descriptions are how two male inmates described gaining status with other male inmates:

-by scaring them...other... mm...off I guess...
by doing a lot of time (priors and current sentence)
knowing the system
knowing a lot of other people
[male inmate, #15]

The following individual mentioned that status could be gained by using drugs while in the company of higher status males, which was different from the other responses:

S: How does a male gain status?
-How do you get to hang with the good guys?
you smoke your dope with them,
you don't bad mouth nobody,
mind your own business, do your own time,
don't crack (talk) to screws, unless they call you.
[male inmate, #36]

This inmate described the attributes of those who are considered outcasts and how they are detected.
S: How do you get the lowest status?
-I've actually seen it happen more than once here.
There will be a guy here doin time, one guy gets caught--he rats the other guy off--because he ratted off- the other guy comes here. The rat doesn't get a sentence, cause he helped the police. The rat--is still a criminal--does another crime, now he's comin to jail-- even if he lands in a different

unit in here...
...Cell thieving.
...Skinner- some guy will come in, we'll ask him what are you in for?
S: You talk about that?
-Sometimes, ya.
They bullshit. You can just tell when someone's bullshitten, too.
...The more fishier the story sounds,-- you check it out-- is he a rat, is he "NG" -- no good-- Do we want him in the unit? Some of these screws they pull the file-- "skin beef"-- [tell the inmates] put the word out to the inmate.
[male inmate, #3]

Those who are confined in an institution form a complex society and they relate to each other in a variety of ways. The inmates interviewed came with a range of educational experience, from those who were poorly educated to those with a university degree. They also represented a wide range of the socio-economic scale, from the transient with no fixed address to the businessman who lived in a penthouse suite. The following statements described how the inmates related to each other. (The identity numbers on the quotation have not been included to ensure strict confidentiality.)

For some of those interviewed, prison was a lonely place because they could not find commonalities to form associations:
-I have a hard time, because of the fact that jail is not a second home for me
[male inmate]

-I don't like inmates...I haven't made a single friend here
[male inmate]

This individual talked about choosing associates:

-I didn't know anyone in the whole jail. It's just that fear of getting in the jail, a fear of first coming here, not knowing what to expect. For me I had to feel the place out. There's people here I'd rather not know...finding my own group- everyone has a group.

[male inmate]

Another inmate spoke about the source of some of the friction and those who are at a disadvantage during altercations:
-if guys are fighting, it's usually because one thinks he's a little better, someone back talks--they fight to see who is better...I feel sorry for inmates--female--or anyone that's in here on something and they're not an alley person.
[male inmate]

Another spoke about the importance of a support group in order to avoid hostilities:

S: Do you have buddy systems here?
-not myself, but there is a lot. I have a lot of friends all over the institution. Other inmates see this and they leave me alone--for negative things.
[male inmate]

The following inmate was quite open about not wanting anything in common with the other inmates:

-I don't fit in. Period. For me it's like "who cares?" I'd sooner watch TV. For them [other inmates] freedom is the street. For me it's spending time with my baby and my mom... People say they miss drinking and drugs and stuff like that--I don't miss it at all...
[male inmate]

This inmate did not attempt to hide their negative assessment of most of the prison mates:

-There's idiots in here--90% of them are idiots...
[male inmate]

Other inmates did what they had to in order to get along, as exemplified by this inmate:

-I got money in my account--I got money on the outside. Lots of people don't have money in here. I give a lot of tobacco away. When someone wants a cigarette, I give it to them, unless they get to be too hard a grinder... Then I tell them to hit it (get lost)....
S: What do people without money or cigarettes do?
-They either go without or bum.
It's getting worse all the time. It won't get better, it'll only get worse. We got cell thievery goin on too.
[male inmate]

In order to fit in with the others this inmate felt compelled to blend into the crowd:
S: How do you manage to get along in here, you have a family that supports you, you are serious minded, you have a different lifestyle than many of the other people in here...
-With fronts. You just fall into the groove. Pretend. I don't talk to many people.
[male inmate]

The dynamic of a mixed population also had an impact on how the inmates regarded each other. The following male inmate had positive remarks about the presence of female inmates in the institution:

[was listing all of the positive aspects of the institution]
- there are women here--which is very relaxing...when you see women here, you don't feel as isolated as a usual jail...
[male inmate about female inmates]

Yet some of the male inmates had a negative opinion of sharing the institution with women. These men hypothesized why women did not respond to prison life the same way, and as a result increased the instability of the institution:

-"heat bags"--trouble makers--screws are always after them...more fights on Unit 2 than any other unit in the joint... I'm not sure why- because nobody thinks they're gonna be aggressive, they put the extra effort into it...

S: What do they fight about?
-haircurlers, drugs, boyfriends (what they call a boyfriend)
S: Do the women fight with the men?
-no, not with the men...
S: What do you think of women being in the same prison?
-I think it makes [doing time] go a little worse...They have this little game-- "I'm goin with this guy this week", another the next week- come back to reality- what are they gonna do, go out on Friday night? I'm not gay, that's just not how I want to spend my time...
[male inmate about female inmates]

-most of the girls here are pretty spun out. I have nothing against them... There's some that are nice, but most of them don't have a mind- by the way they act...They're always fighting with other girls...Most of the girls are into gangs. They are mostly into prostitution- they're like alley cats...
S: What are the reasons for the fights between girls?
-stupid things...anything...talking to a guy that some other girl likes...because you're not a street person...jealousy over inmate relationships- [girl-boy-girl triangles, heterosexual as well as bisexual and homosexual], over looks...
[male inmate about female inmates]

Many of the female inmates were aware of their impact on the prison stability. This is evident in the following explanation:

-but for the girls who don't have any family or a mark, they bum a lot, that causes a lot of fights when they can't pay back... People that are constantly on the bum aren't very well liked. Most of us girls help out those who don't have--as long as they're decent people...But there's a few idiots over there who nobody wants to help because they're just not nice people. They don't try to get along or try to help anyone else when they don't care.
[female inmate]

-there's a lot of young girls that are either addicts or hookers or both. I find that they're--because they are young, they are not educated that much at all. A lot of them don't spell very well at all and writing-

handwriting skills and stuff are at a really low grade level and they read aloud--in order to be able to read, they read aloud. Most of them have small children already and not many of them sound like they have any life other than the street to go back to...There's even been actual physical fights over the telephones, over the curling irons, blow dryers, washers and dryers. So many of the girls want to be the centre of attention, and then all you hear is how they can't wait to have the first drink or the first fix. That seems to be what they are looking forward to getting out to. For a lot of the girls I think this is one of the safe places.
S: What do you mean by this?
- the institution itself, and I think its somewhere where they get a clean place to sleep an 3 meals a day and, of course, a lot of the drugs they normally use anyway.
[female inmate]

-life on Unit 2 is harsh.
-there's a lot of games, a lot of undesirable people.
S: What do undesirable people do?
-they muscle, they instigate, make life on the unit in general a pain for everybody. They cause lock down, things like not being able to have our jewellery...
like us not being able to have other people visit us in our cells- its mostly due to body contact --(I think homosexuality)
S: I've heard there are fights. Where do they take place?
-most fights take place in the bathrooms, because people can keep 6 easier and it's harder for the guards to hear. And we don't want them to hear, because exclusive to Unit 2, we get lock down if there's a fight.
[female inmate]

The following female inmate saw disadvantages as well as advantages in a mixed population:

-the women cause more havoc and discontent than all men [here] put together. It's a well known fact.
S: If it's such a well known fact, why isn't something being done?
-what are they gonna do?
the rules are different for the women from the men, and we're constantly

screaming discrimination. But the truth of the matter is- we've brought it on ourselves.
S: By doing what?
-by causing havoc and discontent!
S: What does a coed population mean for women inmates?
-for me, it gave me a chance to do time with my common-law husband...it takes your mind off the fact you're doing time...it gives these girls a reason to curl their hair, put make-up on, ...jail house romances...
[female inmate]

The inmates had varying opinions of each other. Many adapted their personal styles in order to fit in, others only accommodated their peers to some minor extent and a few expressed a deliberate alienation from their fellow inmates. The co-ed population was an important topic for some of the women, but primarily for the male inmates. Some of the men blamed the women for creating unstable relationships in the prison, which they thought influenced the treatment of all of the inmates.

Doin' Time

For many people in the mainstream population, shortage of time is a dilemma. However, for those who are incarcerated, an abundance of time is a serious issue. "Doin' time" is a way that inmates refer to structuring the period of incarceration so that it does not weigh so heavy on them. Aside from working and attending school, there are a variety of activities which assist inmates coping with time. Some of these activities are sanctioned by the institution, others are not. Sanctioned activities in the living unit include watching television, playing cards, playing a guitar, working on a hobby, visiting, playing pool or playing ping pong. According to some of the male and female inmates, the most important activity is talking on the telephone and receiving and writing letters. Extra-curricular activities which take place elsewhere in the institution include recreation, the library, native cultural activities, inter-denominational religious activities, and bingo.

Visiting days are Saturday and Sunday for restricted hours. From those inmates who talked about visiting privileges, there were a range of

responses to receiving visitors. Many of the inmates did not get visitors and wished that they did. A few of the inmates with children did not want their children to see them at the jail. One of the inmates used to have visitors, but found that she became too depressed after the visit, so she asked her visitors to stop coming. Yet having visitors is a powerful connection to the outside:

-S: Do you get any visitors?
-once in a blue moon
S: Do you want visitors?
-yes, so that I know that somebody cares for me out there--talk to me in person--better than on the phone...
[male repeat offender, # 9]

A few of the inmates regarded visitors as reminders that others are affected by their incarceration:

-in some ways I wish [my family] weren't around--it would make it easier...When I'm in here, she's out there--doing a harder time...
[male repeat offender,#23]

Having visitors is a privilege in the institution and this can be revoked as a disciplinary measure. The following inmate related his despondency over losing his visitation rights:

-I get stressed because my family is suffering more than me. When they give you an institutional charge for drugs-- you lose you visits. The first time, is seven days of segregation and ninety days of loss of visits. The second time-- fourteen days in segregation and indefinite loss of visits. I don't think that's right for them to take my visits from me. That don't stop me from getting dope...They know I smoke joints here, it's my own stress release...
[male repeat offender,# 37]

Despite the consequences dealt out by the institution for engaging in unsanctioned activities, the infractions continue. Once an inmate is charged, their case is brought up before the warden's court to determine

whether the charge is serious enough to warrant being sent to segregation, (or "seg" or "the hole" or "the digger"). In extreme cases, they are transferred to another facility. The two most common reasons for inmates to be sent to segregation is for substance abuse or body contact. Body contact can refer either to physical assault or sexual activity. A few of the inmates discussed their experiences while locked up in segregation:

-The hole. That is hell. [You're] taken down to seg by A and D [Admitting and Discharge], you get the wonderful babydolls... (like a potato sack. It's like a dress with the arms and neck cut off it. It's like a thick insulated material. It's what your blanket is made of) a blanket...
S: Do you get a pillow?
-No...You get put in a cell with a bed, sink toilet. Sometimes there's a camera in the corner...
S: Did you have a camera?
-No, fortunately or it would have driven me nuts...23 hour lock up, no TV, no radio, all you get is Christian books...
S: Was there a choice?
-No. Usually [the books] are about people in jail who have changed and gone on to do wonderful things in their lives...
S: Did you read it?
-Ya. After seven to 10 days in the hole you dread those books...You get one hour out for exercise, shower, clean your cell and exchange your books. [we laughed] You can't smoke- that makes it really hard- but that doesn't stop everybody...
S: Do you interact with other inmates who are in seg?
-[nods] Do a lot of shouting at other people to hear them, and on your hour out, you can stand in front of other cells and talk to people. After you've done a lot of seg time, it starts to affect your mind. You start hallucinating, hearing things...you get back to your unit...you're a completely different person...
[female inmate, #30]

S: What was it like?
-I punched a lot of walls.
S: Physically?
-Ya. 'Cause everybody's laughing at me, because I was the only one on

the unit in baby dolls. Do you know what baby dolls are?
S: Tell me.
-A big thick cloth that looks like a dress. It's heavy.
S: Why did you wear it?
-Because they don't want you to rip up these clothes and do something to yourself--like hang yourself.
S: What did you think about while you were in seg?
-I wanted some of those guys in my cell at the moment 'cause they were laughing at me.
S: Who were these guys?
-Inmates. When they were laughing, I wanted to punch them out!
[male repeat offender, # 8]

Providing activities for the inmate population is one of the primary functions of the institution. The institution offers a variety of activities which help to break up the monotony of serving a prison sentence. The inmates supplement this with their own way of dealing with the time, whether it is through substance abuse, physical assaults or sexual gratification. Unsanctioned activities can result not only in the isolation from the other members from the prison population, segregation also signifies a loss of activity--which makes the time drag.

Bales, Bartering and Bumming

As with most other cultures, the inmate culture has evolved its own means to access goods and services. The form of currency is pouch tobacco, called "bales". According to the inmates, they have an open market where items from the canteen, personal items, personal services and contraband can be purchased for the right price in bales. Having tobacco as a form of currency has its own disadvantages, as the majority of inmates smoke, and few inmates order enough tobacco to last them for the whole week before the next canteen day. So in effect what inmates do is spend their tobacco to purchase goods, or they smoke it. However, like many other people in cash economies, almost everyone is broke before pay day. Some inmates stock enough tobacco for their needs as well as for lending to other inmates. A few days before canteen day, several inmates engage in a complicated system of borrowing. For example,

someone borrows three bales--one to lend to someone, one to pay someone back and one for themselves. Somehow they are able to keep it straight...

S: What can you buy with bales?
-coffee tea, jewellery, shoes, stamps...anything you can buy in canteen, you can trade in tobacco...I have tobacco...I am like a person with a bank account...
[male repeat offender,# 26]

-I've spent $4 000 on canteen...
[male federal inmate, #32]

People who do not have any money to purchase tobacco use their artistic talents as a means of bartering. Some of the inmates write poetry, design birthday cards or draw portraits and sketches. When the pay incentive was discontinued, the inmate economy fell through and the bartering of art work and hobbies increased. The following inmate described exchanging his artwork for bales and how he raised the price of his goods because of market information from another institution:

-[Before the incentive pay was cut] I was tradin my drawings for tobacco...I started out with one bale, people didn't have much money...then I realized I was puttin in a lot of work into it, so I heard people from another joint said these [drawings] were worth about five or six bales, so I jacked it up to a couple of bales...
[male repeat offender, #38]

The following individual related how he coped with no source of income:
-I bum things-- I go to people-- "I can never pay you back, cause I'm broke-- but I never forget favours, either...
"You do me a solid now, I'll do you a solid later. I'm hurtin', help me out..".
A debt that goes unpaid is still a debt...
[male repeat offender, # 34]

Through their own ingenuity, the inmates used all available resources in

order to maintain a separate system of obtaining and trading goods. According to many of those interviewed, the loss of the incentive pay did result in more bumming and more cell thefts which the inmates dealt with independently of the institution regulations.

Keeping the Law

The culture of the inmates has its own system of justice, which according to the inmates, is recognized by the corrections officers as the inmates way of keeping themselves in line. Some of the inmates spoke about their leaders, called tier heavies, from within their ranks who would be the final authority to maintain order on the living units. Central to the code of justice is the inmate concept of being "solid". Being solid in the mainstream equates with an individual having a high level of moral development which is prized by other members of society. The antithesis of being solid is connected with breaking the inmates' rules or being convicted of crimes which the inmate code deems reprehensible. The following inmate spoke about the purpose of the tier heavies:
S: Is there always a tier heavy?
-ya, there has to be. The guards rely on the tier heavies a lot.
S: For what?
-tier heavies can't afford to draw any heat on the unit--they try to keep everyone in line...
[female inmate, # 30]

The types of offences which are taboo within their "criminal code" include sex crimes, violence against children, ratting and cell theft. This individual outlined what can happen to a cell thief:

S: Isn't inmate theft the ultimate taboo?
-It's one of them--a rat and a skinner are worse. I think a rat is worse...
S: What happens to people who get caught stealing?
[at first he didn't want to say he personally saw this...]
-I have seen--take their hand and slam it in the cell door and bust it. They get a good lickin too.
[male inmate, #36]

A few male inmates mentioned violence (other than sexual) against women as against their code. If a fellow inmate is suspected of being incarcerated because of a sex crime, they are often confronted, and may be given a "blanket party", as this inmate described:

S: What is a blanket party?
-if you're a sex offender or a child molester...four or five people would come into your room, throw a blanket over your head...they would start swingin...they wouldn't care where...
[male inmate, # 1W]

While male cell thieves get their hand smashed in a cell door hinge, female thieves get muscled in one of the blind spots in the unit or else the shower. The following woman discussed how the code for moral conduct was enforced, which may have been the result of the particular mix of females at the time:

S: Who are the girls most likely to get muscled?
-idiots
people with bad attitudes
mouth pieces--mouthy
people who borrow and won't pay back
It has a lot to do with the guys, too. Some of the girls slut around - necking with some guy on the sports field, being with someone else in church--flitting back and forth with a bunch of different guys. Girls get choked--girls get mad.
Because it reflects badly on the rest of us--especially in the eyes of the screws, and especially if she's doin it to somebody who's with a girl in here. It's the same as on the street. Not a good thing to do, if you want to get along...A few of us keep things running smoothly on the unit. [Someone in a leadership role], mostly someone who gets along with everybody, will speak for everyone- "Quit doing that..." The girls get warned if they're goin to get a lickin...
[female inmate,#12]

My research did not extend long enough to determine whether this moral standard was unique to the mix of the female population, or a standard

value.

Commitment to law enforcement took on a new meaning for this inmate:

-to our law, there is no law to punish rape. You never want to have baby killers, child abuse, killing a woman...You know the PC thing [protective custody] I'll check myself in [in order to see justice carried out]
[male repeat offender, # 40]

According to the following inmate, the code of justice is passed down orally, from repeat offenders to first offenders :

-there are no official judges. It's always changing- judges, executioners are always changing, but the codex is always there..
S: How does it continue?
-by word...from one person to another...
[male repeat offender,# 26]
Yet, the concept of "being solid" was not universally perceived by the inmates:
-not stable people [here]...
[they] don't like responsibility- they want to be woke up, 'here's your ticket" and listen to others. Sleep, eat and shower-- that's it.
[male inmate, #15]

-you can't get solid in this place...even in the pens nowadays, nothin's solid...
[male inmate, #1b]

Contrary to the other inmates who regarded "rats" as repugnant, the following inmate had a different impression of the role of the informant in the prison:
-rats serve a function--do we need violence forced upon the defenceless?
-if you defend yourself--you're punished by goin to the hole. If I get in a fight, my security goes up to medium, [I'll] lose my TA, I lose 15 months if [I get charged]. The guy who attacks me- he has 2/3 and has nothin to lose...
if you don't have these guys [rats] to defend you...they serve a function-

but you can't tell a hardened prisoner this...
[male inmate, no ID]

It seemed to me that the concept of "being solid" was valued, but there was no agreement on the extent it actually existed. Furthermore, one of the inmates indicated a perception that "being solid" may not be in the best interests of inmates in the long run.

Getting Out

Some of the incarcerated adults spoke about what it is like to be confined, and how they think about freedom, either while working, in anticipation of being released or recollecting an inmate who escaped. Freedom was not talked about unless the inmate was already anticipating a release. For many inmates, life in prison had become so controlled and organized that they feared being released and having to look after themselves, to make decisions for themselves and to deal with the outside world. The following inmate expressed this apprehension over his upcoming release:

S: When are you getting out?
-Thursday. I'm scared...
I gotta leave jail behind...
I look at other people as if we're all inmates...
[male repeat offender,#8]

One fellow commented on his awareness of the changes in the way he thinks and responds since his sentence began:

-I have a different mind, thoughts [since first arriving to the institution]
-it's gonna be hard to settle back into the community...starting everything again...
[male repeat offender, #9]

When freedom is taken away, it takes on a new meaning, as this individual explained:
-When I am in the kitchen in the back where the garbage is, the door opens (big door) except there's a jail bar door- you can see through it. I

see freedom. My heart gets happy- it's weird. Like a feeling when I walk out these doors. Course when I leave here, I'll be in a truck, with shackles and chains, (if I get day parole). That's how I'll go to the half-way house.
[male repeat offender,#23]

This individual found working outside the wall too much of a temptation for freedom:
S: Do you notice a change when you go outside the wall? [was on an outside crew]
-I find it a little harder to cope--serve my sentence- when I see all the cars go by--going down the highway. I try to block it all out--so it doesn't bother me. So I don't lose it--so I don't get the urge to run. They put a lot of people on minimum so that they can harvest their fields. If you are an escape risk--they don't put you on minimum...
[male repeat offender, 37]
The following inmate related the meaning of freedom when it is in the form of an escape:

S: What does it mean to you when you hear code 77 [inmate escaped]
-It means whoever is doing it- better run. It's really annoying for the inmates--cause every day we have to look at the wall...then being locked up..it's like, "we're [the guards] the people who are in control- and you people have nothing...That wall--when you first get in here from Remand, it's great seeing it...Because you know there's something out there...the fresh air, and you get to be outside...But day after day, you look at it [the wall] and you realize it's there to stop you...
S: How do inmates feel when they find out someone is running?
-It's a boost to the morale, it really is. It's like "see, we can do something here, we're not as stupid as you think we are. Everybody was really hyped, we talked, "Somebody did it! Somebody made it!" It's hard to put into words how you feel when somebody can beat the system...
[female inmate, # 30]

This inmate, who was getting out soon, described what freedom meant to him and what incarceration prevented him from doing:

-I'm going to be free right away. I'll be elated, happy I can make my own moves, do what I want, eat what I want, say what I want. Get a job, have some real money. Talk to people what the real problem is. In here, you never scratch the surface of your stuff...When you talk [about the real problems] people can take your words and use that against you at a later date. [Time spent in prison]-- a waste, dead, blank period in a person's life. Doing nothing to better society to get toward your goal in life. And if anything, you're creating more habits and animosity with your peers before you came to jail...
[male repeat offender,#34]

The following inmates who had been recently turned down for an early release spoke about loneliness and feeling let down. The negativity can also be identified in the derogatory comments about their peers and the institution.
-they're all a bunch of kids...
this facility, the grounds, this whole system is like an oversized boy scout's camp
[male inmate, #1W]

S: Have you noticed any changes since you began your sentence?
-you don't get any money...
not drastic-- you didn't get any money, that was it
I'm thinking--jail is jail--it shouldn't be a place where you have a big colour TV, food is good--it should be a place of discomfort....
[male repeat offender,# 22]

The Meaning of Time

Of all the topics which came out of conversations with the 70 inmates the topic which they brought up the most was how they dealt with the time they spent in jail. This topic was reflected in the number of ways inmates referred to time in their vocabulary and talked about time as a constant concern during their stay in jail.

For example, the time was used to reflect on one's life:

-So I never really had time [before coming to school] to think what I wanted to do or had much time to think how shitty my life was.
[male inmate, #2]

This individual regarded time as something to conquer:
-They told me to work in the kitchen...At first I didn't want to, but now I don't mind it--it helps time to go by faster...
[male inmate,#8W)

The following two inmates perceived a longer sentence as an advantage in prison:
-Every time I've come to jail...I've never had a long enough sentence [to take programs]. I want to leave with something to make my time worth while. It'll help me out if I can leave with a couple of years of education. You can't do it on the street, eh...I am one of those guys who has no family...
[male inmate,#5b]

-When I leave here, I want to leave with something. I don't want to leave with nothing, which is what I have each and every time I have been here. I've been here probably six times in the last six years.
[female inmate, # 5]

A specific goal was connected with this inmate's time:
-I would like to convert my time into money.
[male repeat offender, # 11]

A similar sentiment was expressed by the following individual:
-I've noticed since I'm busy--the time goes by a lot faster. I don't feel like I'm wasting time any longer. It's not doing time any more. It's productive time. Everyone does their time differently. Sometimes it's wasted. The way I look at it, if you have to be confined and 'do time' that everyone should spend it productively --learn something.
[female inmate, # 18]

For this repeat offender, time became critical in order to meet certain goals. She perceived time as a scarce commodity to be used

thoughtfully:
-I wanted to go into the kitchen, it's something I wanted to do for a while but I was never doing enough time...When I first came in, inmates were still being paid--that's why--it was the highest paying job in the institution--at that time I had no one on the street...not sure why [I didn't get on with the kitchen]--he said it was cause I wasn't doin enough time, and I thought- my God! what does it take--do I have to get a 2 year sentence?...In order to get into a program--an educational or rehabilitation program, it takes time...If someone is doing a 60 day bit - their caseworker may not explain [the programs], because there's no point...I knew I wanted [an educational program] in Remand--I knew I had a 9 month sentence--I knew I'd be doing enough time...Now that I've taken the course, I'm not going to do my 1400 hours on the street- I'm not going to do it. It's not a full-time profession that I want to get into...
[female repeat offender, #13]

The following individual developed a different attitude toward his future plans by reflecting on how much time had been spent being incarcerated:
-I've been in jail since I was 12--since I've been old enough to be in jail. So, I thought I'd try something new--try to see if I can stay out of this [place]--something beside the crime.[He commenced an educational program]
S: ...Did that come to you before you first came or after?
-It came to me after--when I got arrested this time.
[male repeat offender, # 25]

The importance of school as an activity was expressed by this inmate:
[People he writes to on the street] they don't write back. They got no time, they got their freedom. That's why it's really boring. Same thing day after day after day...In school, time goes fast cause you're studying. It keeps things off your mind...
[male repeat offender, #9]

Lastly, this individual chose to neglect time by dealing with it creatively, allowing him to be surprised in the amount of time which had gone by:
S: How does time go by for you?
-I don't follow it. For me, I don't look at the lists for meals. It breaks up

your time. When I was unit cleaner I would read books, watch TV plus you know... they got...I got into enlarging pictures. I bought the scratch paper and pencils...That took up a lot of my time. It's a good way to kill time. At home I could just go to my house and draw. I try not to keep dates, I try not to look at the calendar-- slows things down--that's what it does. People they come in, they know what meal it is-then they know what day it is! Sometimes you lose a day--when you don't think of the time and you don't focus on it, you just let it slide. Especially in the winter when I first came in...everything was the same, except for the meals. I gained a couple of days--that's 2 days I've already spent that have gone by--that's great! It works for me. Like here--what's the matter of time? They always buzz you, always announce it if you gotta be someplace. So why bother k-eping track of time for days? It slows you down. You're not goin no ace! [we both laugh]
[male repeat offender, # 38]

One commodity that prison does provide inmates with is "time". Many of them used this time to think and reflect over their past lives and their future. Whatever activity that inmates engaged in was most often judged in terms of whether it was time well spent or wasted time. How inmates chose to spend their time was the essential question for those who decided to commence an educational program.

[1]Due to security considerations, an exact detail of the institution or a map could not be provided.

[2]I do not discuss natives in this research, specifically because the inmates did not dwell on their experience of being native in prison during our conversations. Because I am aware of the negative stereotyping of both inmates and natives, I did not want to fuel any further stereotyping by labeling some inmates as native and others by some other ethnic affiliation.

[3]The list of the inmate argot, "Jail Jargon" in Appendix 1 does not reveal any information which would compromise the subjects of the research, as the expressions are well known in the institution. The vocabulary list was perused by representatives of the male and female inmate population who confirmed that the list could appear in this study without any harm to their fellow inmates.

CHAPTER 5

Breaking Into School

When you're out on the street, you know--there's not much work. You have to work long hours, not much time for schooling. For a person who wants to get ahead in life you sit here, you think about the mistakes you done. You wanta try to better yourself, right? And this here is the best chance--you have all day for schooling. You try to put your problems aside--you concentrate on doin your time the best you can. .
[male inmate, #37]

The Educational Backgrounds of the Inmates

The educational backgrounds of the inmates were diverse, although most of the male and females had not completed high school. The inmates' previous educational experience did, of course, determine where they were placed in programs, especially if they had not completed grade 10. One instructor commented that the average grade level for inmates is stated as grade eight in the literature, but in her experience, the learning and the retention drops the level to grade five. None of the inmates spoke of any negative school experiences which might influence their decision to undertake educational programs in prison. However, some of those who said they did not like school when they were growing up commented on how much they enjoyed school as adults.

Definition of an Educational Program

For the purpose of the study, I have defined an educational program as any program offered by the education division of the facility: [illegible]ling, Auto/Body (AB), Carpentry, Building Services, Upper and [illegible]dult Basic Education (ABE), English as a Second Language (ESL), [illegible]skills, Anger and Interpersonal Relationships (AIR), Family Life, and Bachelor Survival. These programs are contracted from local community colleges and one technical institution. In addition, I decided to include the Drug Awareness program, which is provided by the Solicitor General's Department as is one of the primary programs recommended to inmates

in order for them to secure an early release.

Why Inmates Go to School

The following is a summary of the common categories derived from the reasons the inmates gave for commencing educational programs, using Jail Jargon:
(The underlined phrases are the 14 categories found in Appendix 2.

When a bro or a sis first arrive at the Crowbar Hotel to do their bit, they sit in their house and think about doin their time, and whether to stay working or go to school. For some, goin to school is times goin good: maybe they hate labour work maybe they want to spend their time learning something--something that will help them for a future-- like a job. A program might help them get a TA, they might just learn about relationships or learn something that will help them and their chums feel good about themselves. It's great if they can enrol in something they want or something they've done before or just something they've always wanted to try, as long as the school timetable is right for the program they want. When they can get into the same program that a buddy is already attending or if the instructor is decent, it doesn't seem like they're still on the inside. Just maybe goin to school will help them stay out of jail! But first of all, they gotta be doin enough time...

Yet commencing an educational program is not an activity which comes automatically, because the vast majority of inmates are advised to start working immediately when they first arrive. The only exceptions are those who have a medical reason. Everyone else must work first and go through the necessary channels in order to commence a program. Of the 40 students interviewed, 31 said that they had wanted to attend educational programs and preferred not to work. As long as they knew that they would be commencing a program shortly, inmates did not seem to mind working while they waited. But many of the inmates believed that difficulties in gaining access to school was just another example of being controlled. For those who were not that committed to attending programs this was not a concern. However, for those who thought that

their requests were either being ignored or blocked, commencing a program became a struggle in which they pitted their street smarts against the bureaucratic operation of the institution.

The inmates' notion that the institution limited their access to programs was based the idea that the priority of the prison was to provide a constant labour supply. Their work is essential to maintain the facility and provide community services. These functions are important to the prison institution as part of its mandate to teach inmates a work ethic. However, none of the inmates considered their work in the prison rehabilitative. Instead, most felt locked into work assignments which took precedence over program attendance. Many of those interviewed suggested that the prison's agenda to keep them working was obvious from the lack of support from several caseworkers to assist in program registration. Some of the inmates understood that the few spaces available in programs meant that their chances of commencing were slim. Several inmates had concluded on their own that the kitchen and the outside crews had greater difficulty getting into programs. As a result, inmates who wanted to commence programs either played a waiting game until their labour was no longer required, while others attempted other ways to access programs. This included inmates taking the initiative to learn about program offerings, registering and attending orientation, "grinding" at the counter of the school office to get into programs and speaking directly with the instructors. A few of the inmates were able to access programs through luck--becoming unable to work because of a health consideration, or being sent to the hole for a disciplinary infraction at a time when there was a vacancy for school. If these occasions did not present themselves, a small number of inmates went to further extremes, by deliberately getting fired, refusing to work or, if they were on an outside crew, threatening to walk.

Even though inmates may have already decided to commence an educational program, there were no guarantees that they would be allowed to attend. The first administrative consideration was that they must be serving a sentence of at least two months in order for the processing to be worthwhile to the administration. If this condition was met, the next prerequisite was whether the institution would allow them to attend programs right away. For most of the inmates interviewed, this

seldom happened. Yet it was understood by many of them that the first program acted as a gate for subsequent programs.

Inmates are made aware of educational programs through several means. Some of them learned about programs while they were in the Remand Centre, others heard from friends who had been in jail before. Others learned about programs through the media. One of the primary complaints was that program information and program registration were not advertised to the satisfaction of the inmates. The aspect of poor advertising was confirmed by a few of the instructors. Some of the inmates perceived that the lack of attention was due to the caseworkers not wanting the inmate to secure an early release. A few inmates thought the caseworker did not want to cooperate because they were federal inmates and serving a sentence for a more serious crime. A few of the women said that women were not given the same opportunities for programs as men. Some of the inmates suggested that the caseworker thought repeat offenders were hopeless because they had been in jail so often. Of the first forty inmates interviewed, nine or 27.5% said that they made their own arrangements, choosing not to wait for the caseworker. The remaining 31 inmates initiated the school referral with their caseworker. In all fairness to the caseworkers, many of the inmates were attempting to register during the summer months, when few of the caseworkers who took vacations were relieved of their caseloads. One caseworker suggested that some of the inmates had unrealistic expectations that they would qualify for a release at the one-sixth date but failure to get into a program would not have had much of an impact on this decision. Some of the caseworkers acknowledged that the waiting list was very long for some programs and that they were feeling frustrated also. However, this is not to discount the perception of several of the inmates that they were being passed over for programs.

The inmates own words provide the best understanding of how they came to commence educational programs. Identification has been omitted in case the information inadvertently reveals their true identities.

Finding Out the Options

-I knew there was an option [to go to school] because of my previous experience here. Your caseworker explains to you your options when you first come here--they always do...In order to get into a program-- an educational or rehabilitation program- it takes time. There's a long waiting list. People need these courses for TA and parole... If someone is doing a 60 day bit--their caseworker may not explain the programs, because there's no point.

-Caseworker only advised me about courses to take for a TA, I inquired on my own about ABE [Adult Basic Education] and B. ED.[Business Education]

-Heard from inmates during previous sentence which courses to take in order to get out faster.

-[Discussed options with caseworker], who told me about the programs available--it was up to me, I knew [the instructor] from before, (previous sentence) so he knew programs would be available.

-[Discussed options with caseworker], who told me about the programs available, but the caseworker was not allowed to influence [them] to take a course. I knew about courses available, from friends on the street, and I had seen a documentary once (60 Minutes).

-[Discussed options with caseworker], who told me about the programs available, but he [was] too slow, so I just booked myself in (by [coming] straight to [the school] to talk to them.

-Saw caseworker at first... I decided-- forget it-- I'll do my own thing. I came to [the school] myself, then I phoned my caseworker. Even for my release I made the phone calls...[to a half-way house].

-[Discussed options with caseworker], who told about the programs available, I asked him to book me for every program available, and he booked me for every program available.

-I decided to go to school. Well, it wasn't my caseworker. It wasn't his suggestion.

-Just put in a request. This is not my first time in jail. You kinda know after the first coupla times [what to do].

S: Did the caseworker tell you about the programs at [the school]?
-No. My friends did. I asked [the caseworker] to go to school. Then they asked why. I told them my education was more important [than working].

-My caseworker told me she'd start some programs if I wanted an early release. I didn't say nuthin. I worked in the kitchen- I wasn't looking into programs.

-I spoke with some director, and he asked me a few questions about my work experience, and then he informed me that we all have to work here--or--we can get into [school]. I didn't think I had any option-- like choice. I seen girls come in who were placed in [school directly]-- that I questioned my caseworker. "Well how do I get off this cleaning crew? !![worked for 4 to 5 months before commencing a program] I got myself registered earlier this year [for various lifeskill and anger management courses] and I feel I was sloughed off. 'Cause--if I had my programs in--I would have been out of here. The people here [school] told me my release date was so far away--that I had lots of time--that they're so busy with getting people in who have lesser sentences...I don't think it's fair because federal inmates in here may have a release date down the road--they do have parole hearings--and its important that they have those programs in--before they get institutionalized.

-I have seen a caseworker once--a few days ago. I've been here for 2 months. I wanted to talk to my caseworker to see what programs are offered. I kept asking, never got any response and just walked down here. [the school]. I filled out a request form and talked to [the instructor].

-A caseworker on the unit called me [same day as arrived at the prison] and asked me what my plans were--and I told her which programs I wanted to take--she filled me in on which courses were available. I didn't have to take anything--but I did.

-I heard from other inmates which courses are good to take in order to get out fast(a couple of years ago when I was here--was here for a month--but I didn't take anything--it was a short sentence.)

-It's only by my own doing that I'm in [school]. I'm like a political prisoner.
S: How do you mean?
-Well, being native, being educated, the system is not set up to let a person advance themself, even though they say it's a rehabilitation-or rehabilitation is a process of being incarcerated.
S: Who is 'they say'?
-The system, the judicial system, society as a whole--who have set the guide-lines for correctional institutions. Because after it took just about a month to get into school, and being told within that month by placement and [the school coordinator] that there was a process or red-tape I had to go through to get me into school... that I had to start to get everything in writing to find out why I wasn't in school--was in school in 4 days.

-I never got into any of the programs I'm in today by goin to my caseworker. I talked to her, she was not willing to do nothing for me because I was a federal inmate, I messed up my parole, and didn't deserve anything until my two thirds.
S: She said this?
-Not out and out, but in a round about way. I came directly to [school] myself. That's how I got into life skills, drug awareness, stepping out, hairstyling. I got autobody by goin to [the instructor] myself--and then to the school office. The caseworker don't give jack about you, OK?

-They just made me a unit cleaner and then I expressed my concern that I would like to go to school ...But what was funny was that I got to school

earlier than my caseworker [was able to make arrangements]... He just found out I am in school--that was funny.
S: How did you know about programs and what channels to take to register?
-Other inmates--that's it... The decision to go to school I made before I came to the unit--on the way here on the van. [learned some information from inmates at Remand Centre]

Although a few of the inmates were able to learn about programs, register with their caseworker and be placed in few weeks, this was not the experience for many. During the interviews several federal inmates commented that they thought they did not get into programs as fast as provincial inmates. Those inmates who decided not to wait for the caseworker used their own initiative and arranged for the programs themselves. As it turned out, this action may have helped the school in making selections for candidates, because the school wanted inmates who seemed to be the most determined. On the other hand, for those who were not as assertive, who worked on crews that had little contact with the school, who did not associate with students, or who did not learn from others that "grinding" had some effect in accessing programs, opportunities for programs were probably lost.

Orientation and the Waiting List

When the inmates attend the school orientation, they write a series of tests to determine skill levels for reading and mathematics and they write a short composition. The inmates are asked by the examiner what level of testing they would like to take. From this information, the examiner determines whether an inmate should go to upper or lower Adult Basic Education, (if they wanted academic upgrading), or if any difficulties are anticipated if they take a trade program, such as carpentry, where they would require basic mathematic skills, or hairdressing, where reading ability was important. Because most of the male inmates have grade 9 or higher, the upper Adult Basic Education has the largest enrolment of the academic programs. The lower Adult Basic Education program is meant for those inmates who are English as a Second Language speakers, low literate, or who had less than grade 9 education. The testing during

orientation ensures that the inmate is placed in a class that is appropriate for their abilities.

After orientation, the inmates were advised that their names would be put on a waiting list, that they may be called for an interview and that a list of people for various programs would be posted prior to program commencement.

-I was told that I wouldn't get into the program I wanted because there were too many men that needed it, and my release date [was too far off]...Because we only have 1 unit, we lose a lot to what the guys want to do...
[female federal inmate]

-They told me that they'd put me on the list, and then when I went to orientation, they asked me to pick which program I would like to take. First choice, second choice--on down to 5 choices, eh? They ended up givin me my 5th choice--Building Service Worker. I don't wanta be a janitor! The waiting list is too long. It seems like you're forever waiting in here... I booked myself for the other programs. I was going for a TA.

-I wanted to get the school all along, but you know...there weren't always openings--like they put me in carpentry, then I took a lifeskills course [before getting into academic upgrading]

-I tried to get into the education part here, but I wasn't certain of the date I'd be leaving and then I had this job, and I just didn't push for my caseworker to get me in.

During the research, the inmates who said they had to wait the longest for programs were federal inmates and women, some of whom were federal inmates. Even if inmates got tired of waiting there was nothing they could do--there was a limited number of places available for programs, and if their names appeared on a list before they were released, they could get in.

Stuck in the Job

-Everything else in here helps you to get out--but there's only a couple of things to help you when you're out, know what I mean? Service crew A & B--all they make you do is labour work--it's not a trade, not experience--how hard is it to shovel dirt? [male inmate, #35]

Some of the inmates said that it was more difficult to be placed in a program especially if they worked in the kitchen or outside the wall in the fields. When inmates were being paid, the school had difficulty filling classes because inmates did not want to quit work in order to come to school. However, with the loss of the pay incentive, this situation reversed, and a few workers decided to attend programs, especially if they were not getting paid. The kitchen was considered by many to be the most difficult crew, because it required the hardest work and longest hours. After the pay incentive was discontinued, it was difficult to keep workers in the kitchen, and two shifts of workers had to be incorporated into the kitchen operation. Several of the inmates thought that working in kitchen was the most difficult to leave in order to commence programs:

-The jobs that they are in seem to want to keep [them]. Between the kitchen and the root house...I guess they need a lot of good workers too.

-If I was working in Service Crew A, it would be a little difficulty there to get me off of the job site. They might be short handed out there. They [program coordinator] I guess would have to contact my boss to [find out] if he was willing to let me go to school, or keep me on the job site

-A lot of inmates, they want to come to [school], but because of the caseworkers and placement--they [the inmates] barely ever--you know--get what they want. The odd person with alcohol related problems-- they get alcoholic courses--same with violent offenders--they can usually get into a course (anger management) easy enough. Everything is hard except for direct relation to the course. But for the rest--it's at least 80% impossible to get a course because they (placement) want you to work in the kitchen or forced jobs.

The difficulty in getting off kitchen crew can be substantiated by what I learned from the placement division. First of all, the kitchen crew is the most important crew in the institution, because all of the inmates must be fed. Therefore the kitchen needs to have workers who have the longest sentence and who are reliable in order to provide stable labour. The labour needs of the kitchen were recognized by the administrations of the prison and the school as being the most important in the facility.

A few of the students interviewed who used to work in the kitchen had their names put on the waiting list and were finally called. Two of the 40 students took the fast exit, and inadvertently got a drug charge and were sent to "the hole". According to the common inmate perception, any kitchen worker who gets a drug charge is banned from working in the kitchen for ninety days.

S: When did you decide to go to school?
-I didn't have a choice. I got a drug charge. I went to the hole for 7 days. They don't let you work in the kitchen after a drug charge for 90 days. Then you can re-apply. When I got out--a buddy of mine was in auto/body--he said it was a good place to be...I applied with [school coordinator], talked to her, she got me in ...
S: Caseworker?
-They never brought it [autobody] up. They were just happy--they wanted as many people to stay working in the kitchen as they can...

-I was in the kitchen first, then they threw me in the hole...from the hole, they kicked me out of the kitchen, then they put me in a different unit... then school...

Getting a drug charge did allow a few of the inmates to be free to commence a program, or transfer another crew that was easier to leave if there was a school opening.

Fire Me

Getting fired in mainstream society carries with it a stigma that could

prevent people from further advancement. In prison, this was the most expeditious way to get off a crew, get assigned to a different crew or have a chance to commence an educational program. Inmates realized that refusing to work may result in a disciplinary charge, an appearance in the warden's court and possibly a sentence of a few days in segregation. In comparison, a dismissal was not a serious mark on their prison record. Getting fired though was not always deliberate. I spoke with one worker who was fired from the kitchen because he was caught giving his sandwich to a fellow inmate. The officer thought he was passing drugs, the inmate told me that he did not like ham sandwiches. However, it was the perception among the inmates that if they wanted to be removed from a crew, it was better to get fired by their work supervisor, because then they would not face disciplinary charges. In this way, inmates might be given a new work assignment--or with luck, maybe there would be an opening to commence an educational program...

-First week when I started, my boss liked me--we're OK together. I asked if I could work the weekend. I worked Saturday, I asked the night staff for a wake-up call for 8:00 a.m.... they musta woke me up at 9:00 [went to work]...sent me back to the unit . [On] Monday, they gave me a violation [for not going to work]. "I know. I tried to tell her that, but she said to just sign the violation...I called [the school coordinator], asked her if I could go to school, I didn't know I wasn't goin to work-- I got called to go to school the same day I got fired...

-One inmate was tryin to get into school. They [placement] put him into cleaning crew--centre cleaner. He even told his caseworker that he wanted to go into school. But they are not doin nothin about it. And he said he didn't want to be a centre cleaner (he's only been on it a couple of weeks). So I told him how to get fired. Since you can't quit your job, or you go to the hole. They only way to quit is to get fired. So I told him to be lazy, don't clean really well, leave it messy and bug her [cleaning supervisor] <u>all</u> the time...AND IT WORKED! He got fired that day. Now he's on the unit, he's sittin on the unit, and he'll go to school-- they try to keep everybody doing something...

-It took me 3 days to get fired. I guess you can't quit- that's only because

they left me in the dark eh, about school [thought the caseworker was evading him, said he was on the list]...
S: What did you do to get fired?
-She'd tell me to do something, I'd always question her, say "which cleaner?" "what kind of mop?"...Make a 5 minute job last 1 hour. Anything to make her not want me around. Then the last day she asked me to damp mop a floor. I went to the supply room and saw my golden opportunity--a jug of stripper!--so I mopped the floor with the stripper... the wax came off in little chunks...You should have seen her--she hit the roof! She fired me right away when that happened...a guy was tellin me the other day-- she only fires you if she likes you...

Work or Go to the Hole

Several of the inmates had the impression through the vicarious experience of others, that if they refused to work they would be sent to the hole. When they were released after a few days, they would be advised to go to work and if they refused, they would go to the hole again. According to the administration however, very few inmates went to the hole for work refusal. More often they were charged, attended a hearing and were transferred to another facility. Still, this does not account for the number of inmates who claimed to know people who had been sent to the hole several times for refusing to work.

-I told them I'd rather go to the hole than work in the kitchen. The guy who runs the kitchen said if autobody accepts me, I don't have to work in the kitchen. There's lots of people who do go to the hole rather than working.
S: Why?
-It's just the principle--you have a right to do some things. If you don't want to work there you don't have to--even when you come out of the hole -- they make you work. It don't really make a difference.
S: What is the longest time in the hole for this?
-7 to 14 days. If you don't want to work and go to the hole, then you still don't want to work -- they ship you out...

S: Tell me about the old guy in here...[He was in his 60s]
-He was in our unit working in service crew B. I told him I wanted to work in autobody. He said it would be a good idea for him to get in there so he could learn to weld. They called both of us down to the kitchen one day. They told us we had to work in the kitchen. What they said to him was--"you're going to work in the kitchen--or go to the hole." He refused to work in the kitchen. They made him go to warden's court. They gave him an opportunity to either work in the kitchen or go to the hole. He was in the kitchen for one day, then they put him on service crew B.
S: Did he ever get into autobody?
-He got in after a month--that's when he got all stretched out and went on Unit 10 [the psychiatric unit]. They didn't have to give him the run around. They could have let him into autobody at the same time as me. They gave [him] a lot more stress--he was already stressed out--telling him he would go to Warden's Court, or go to the hole. Maybe they figure he's older--can't learn anything, he's got a long sentence....[#35Male inmate]

Despite these and several other comments from inmates regarding the dictum "work or go to the hole", the administration firmly denied that inmates were repeatedly sent to the hole for refusing to work.

Threatening to Walk

The inmates know that there are special perquisites for those working on the outside crews. These include extra portions of milk, dessert at lunch, and barbecues in the summer. One of the most important is the taste of freedom--and the knowledge that liberty is just steps away, even if it means breaking the law. Although the inmates on these crews are screened for security, the potential for escape is one that is on the minds of the administration as well as for the inmates. Considering the size of the crews, there are relatively few escapes, most of which are discovered promptly. However, inmates who don't want to work on these crews can still threaten to walk, and this must be taken seriously. One case related

by an instructor happened a few years earlier, when several of the minimum security inmates attending programs were advised that they would be pulled from class to work in the fields outside the wall until their labour was no longer required. Some of the students let it be known that if they went outside the walls to work in the fields that they would walk. The administration had no choice but to upgrade the security status of these students and they returned to class promptly. The following student relates their experience with this means of controlling their work placement:

-Placement wanted me on Service Crew A, then Service Crew B. They wanted me to go to the fields [when the instructor was away] I told them, you put me out there--I'll run.

Although this was the only participant who discussed threatening to walk as a means to control their work placement, there were other incidents while I was at the prison, plus other cases mentioned by inmates, prison staff and instructors.

Concluding Remarks on Breaking Into School

Choosing to commence an educational program was not a difficult decision for the inmates interviewed. The opportunity for an early release and the chance to invest in their future provided most of the inmates with the impetus they needed to take action. To some extent they were influenced by the loss of the pay incentive However, for several students, getting into that first program was the most challenging part of the process. Once this was accomplished, other programs were relatively easy to access, as additional programs could be legitimately justified by the student and the education division. Only two students voluntarily returned to work after they completed their first program. Of the 40 students, 26 took more than one program, 3 of these chose to return to work after their programs were completed. As one of these individuals stated, *"I wanted to do both...it makes my time go faster..."*

Once a student had started a program, there were only a few reasons why they would not be able to complete it. These reasons included the student

getting an early release or being transferred to another facility as part of the release process or as a disciplinary measure. Most of the occasions when a student had to be withdrawn were beyond their control. If an instructor went away on holidays, often the student was able to switch to a different course, otherwise they returned to a work crew until the instructor returned. The instructors did have the right to eject students from their programs, but according to the instructors this rarely happens.

This study would seem incomplete if the students' opinions about attending educational programs were not included. These are just a few:

-Once you're in [school] it's not hard to get any programs that you feel comfortable with.'Cause the instructors have their coffee breaks together--depends on the programs--they sort of discuss whether you're in there or not. It's not hard to pull you out of one class and put you in another program.

S: Can you tell me about the difference between being on the unit and being at the school?
-School is actually a break from the unit--the employees smile at you and treat you like a human.

-I kept really busy. The teachers were very good--all of them--very dedicated... I enjoy the people who work here [at school]...

-[Female instructor] is a great lady, easy to learn from, really good, very patient.

-I think they're great. That's what I really like about [the school]. They treat you as human beings. They show you respect, you know. They got a smile for ya, they don't snap at ya. That's what I like about it here--it makes me feel better.

-[Male instructor] is a good guy. It's not like he's a screw here--a bull. When I'm in there--I actually forget I'm in jail....That's why I want to stay in this course--its almost like not being here.

There was a clear division in inmate attitudes regarding the administration who wanted them to work and the school, who was there to assist them in acquiring or upgrading a skill, learning a trade or just feeling better about themselves. No matter how they were able to accomplish commencing educational programs, the students who were interviewed were appreciative of how they were treated by the school staff and satisfied that this was a positive way to do their time.

The following is the binary composite decision tree depicting how inmates decide to commence an educational program[1]:

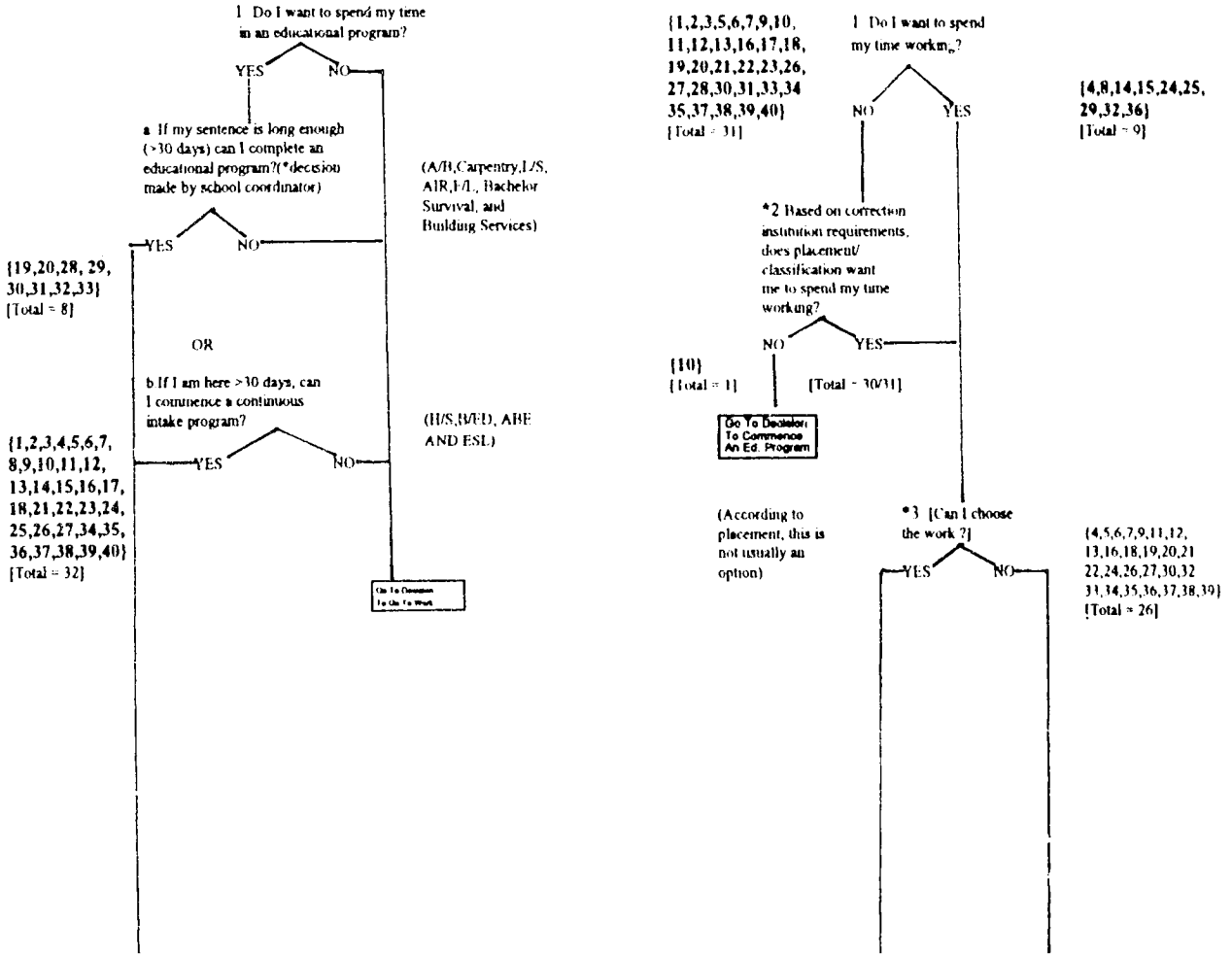
[1]In order to understand the decision tree model, begin at the top of the page and follow either path for {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} or {Work;Don't}. The paths for each decision are connected by vertical lines and the considerations are numbered so that the sequencing of the process is more clear. Along each of the paths are message boxes which indicate points where an inmate might switch from either the decision to work, commence programs or enter a sub-routine. Depending on the circumstances, one or several considerations may signal a final decision for the inmate to do these. Once a switch is indicated, follow the line on that path to the nearest message box. The message provides the next step that the inmate takes. The inmate changes paths and sub-routines by beginning at the top of the path or sub-routine noted in the message box . The binary composite decision tree model allows for various feedback loops between the two decisions, {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} and {Work;Don't} as well as between the sub-routines.

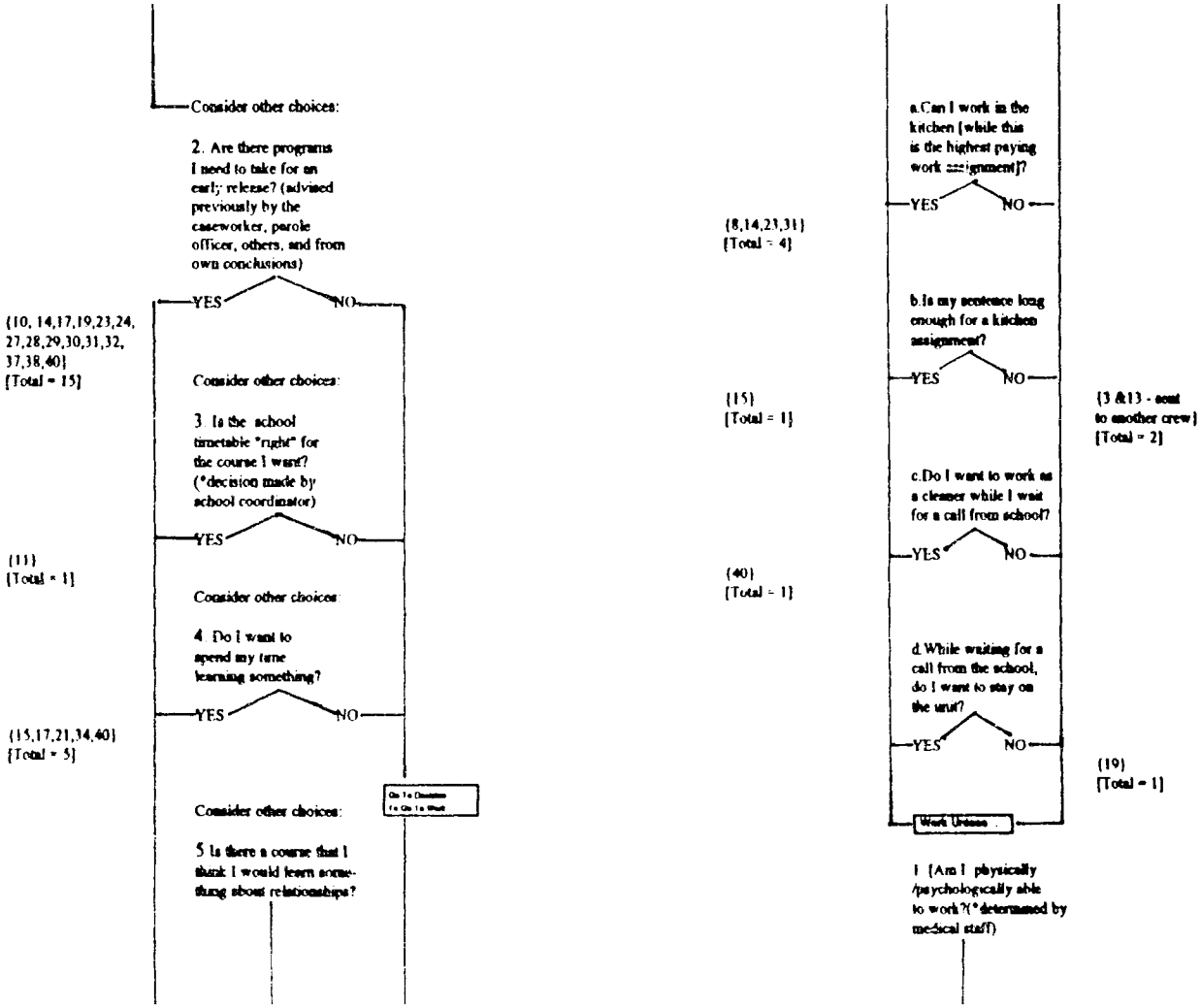
Number of respondents- 40
Number of errors - 3
Rate of predictability - 92.5%

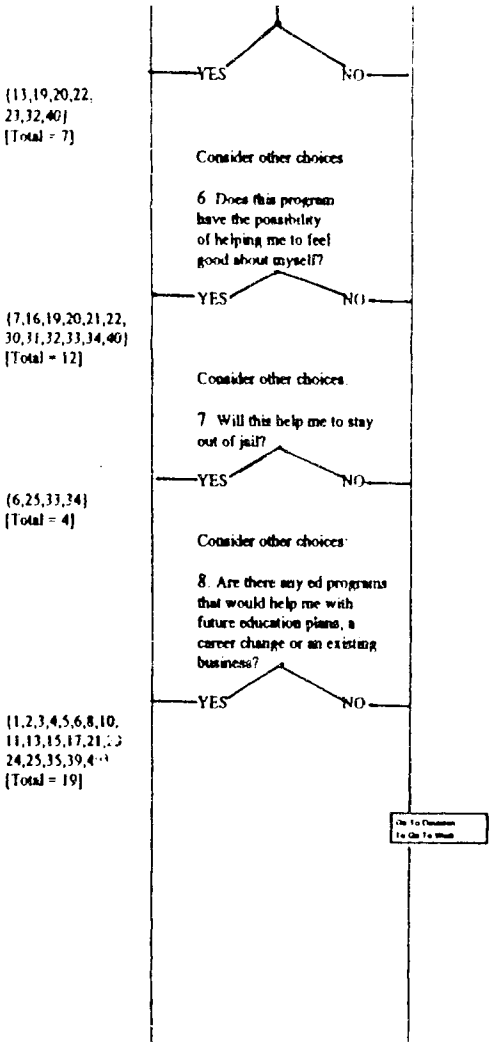
HOW DO I WANT TO SPEND MY TIME ?

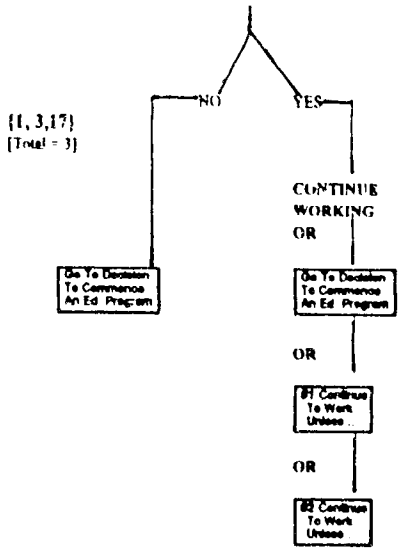
{Commence an Educational Program; Don't}

{Work,Don't} *Indicates decisions not made by inmate



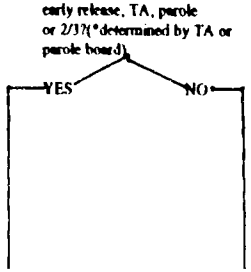

Consider other choices:
2. Are there programs I need to take for an early release? (advised previously by the caseworker, parole officer, others, and from own conclusions)
YES
NO
{10, 14,17,19,23,24, 27,28,29,30,31,32, 37,38,40}
[Total = 15]
Consider other choices:
3. Is the school timetable "right" for the course I want? (*decision made by school coordinator)
YES
NO
{11}
[Total = 1]
Consider other choices:
4. Do I want to spend my time learning something?
YES
NO
{15,17,21,34,40}
[Total = 5]
Consider other choices:
5. Is there a course that I think I would learn something about relationships?
{8,14,23,31}
[Total = 4]
a.Can I work in the kitchen [while this is the highest paying work assignment]?
YES
NO
b.Is my sentence long enough for a kitchen assignment?
YES
NO
{15}
[Total = 1]
{3 &13 - sent to another crew}
[Total = 2]
c.Do I want to work as a cleaner while I wait for a call from school?
YES
NO
{40}
[Total = 1]
d.While waiting for a call from the school, do I want to stay on the unit?
YES
NO
{19}
[Total = 1]
1. [Am I physically /psychologically able to work?(*determined by medical staff)

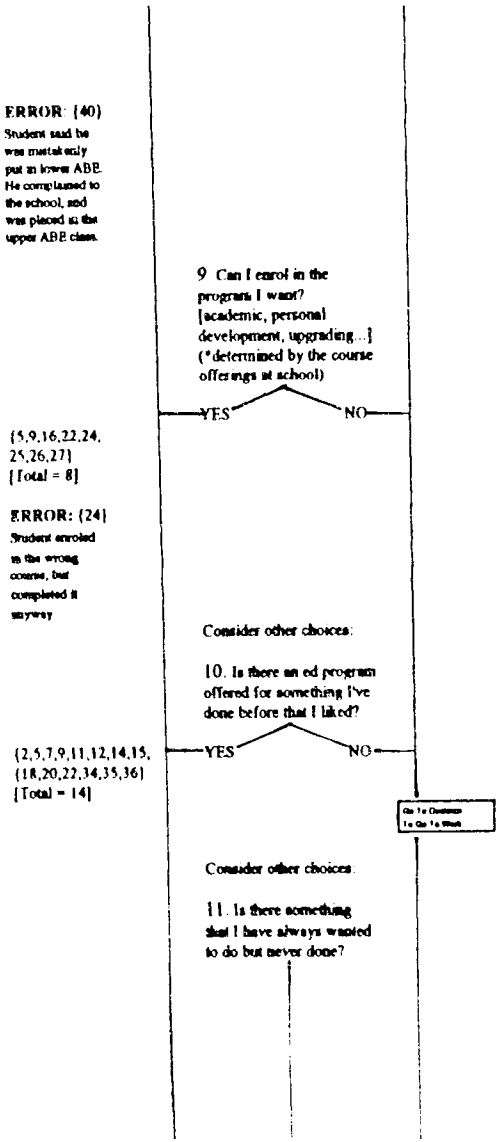


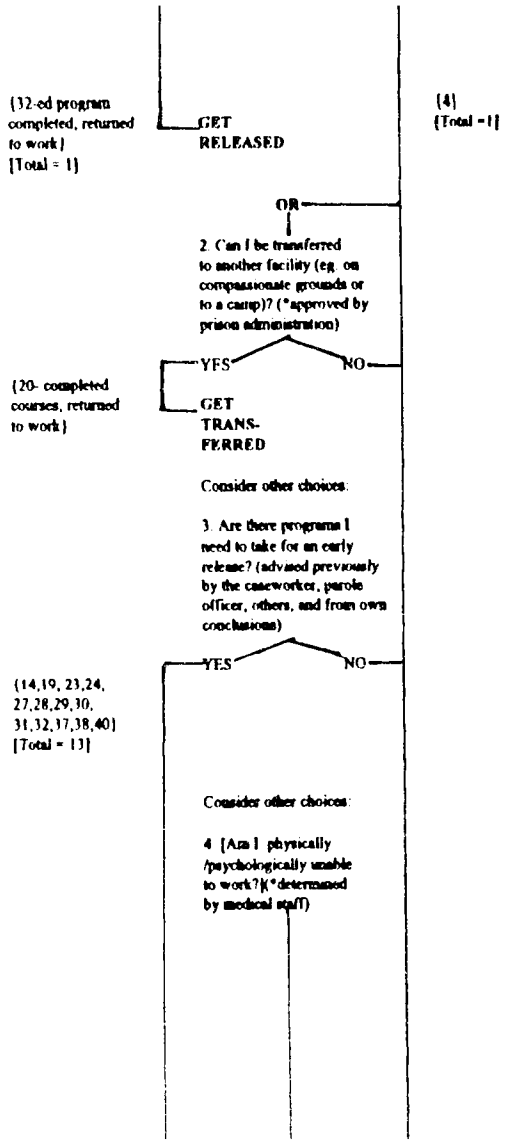


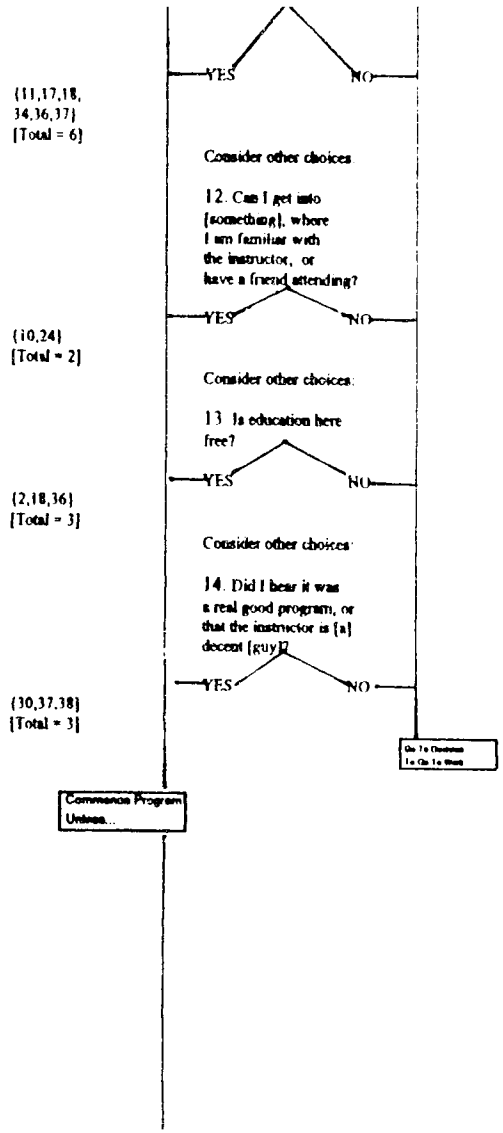
SUB-ROUTINE:

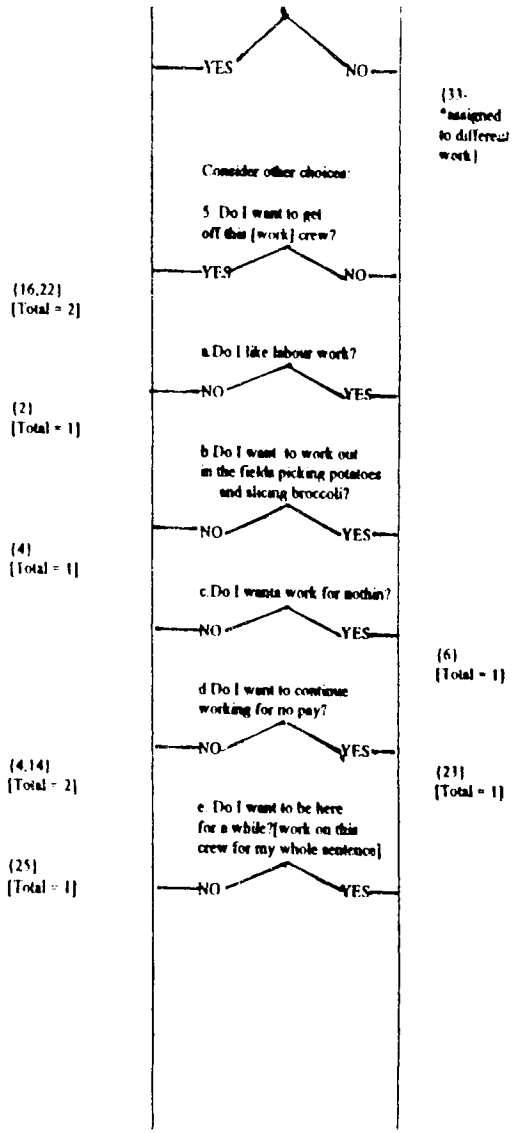
Given that the individual has commenced working, Go To #1 Decision to Continue to Work Unless

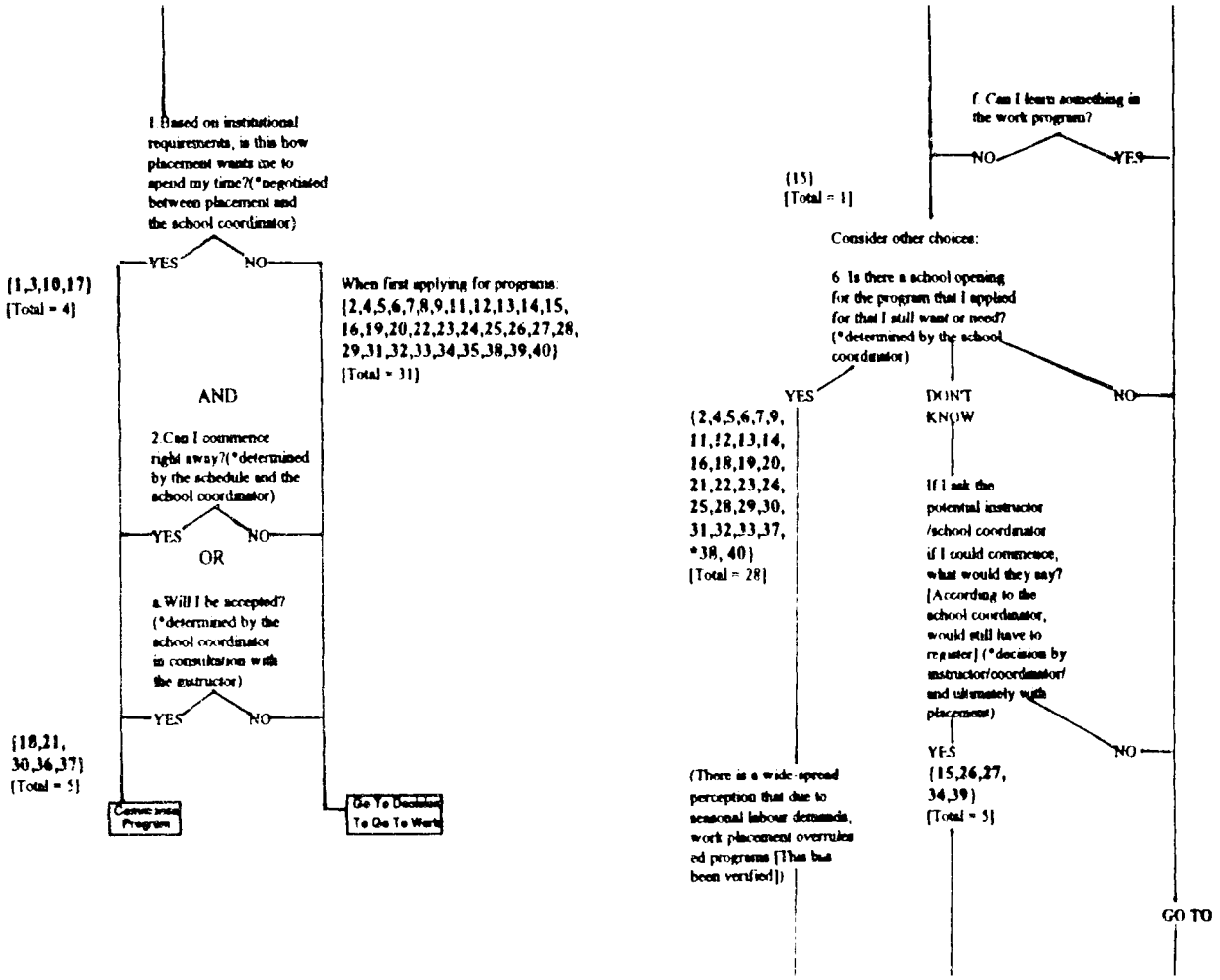



ERROR: {40}
Student said he was mistakenly put in lower ABE. He complained to the school, and was placed in the upper ABE class.
9. Can I enrol in the program I want? [academic, personal development, upgrading...] (*determined by the course offerings at school)
YES
NO
{5,9,16,22,24, 25,26,27} [Total = 8]
ERROR: {24}
Student enrolled in the wrong course, but completed it anyway
Consider other choices:
10. Is there an ed program offered for something I've done before that I liked?
{2,5,7,9,11,12,14,15, {18,20,22,34,35,36} [Total = 14]
YES
NO
Consider other choices:
11. Is there something that I have always wanted to do but never done?


{32-ed program completed, returned to work} [Total = 1]
GET RELEASED
{4} [Total = 1]
OR
2. Can I be transferred to another facility (eg. on compassionate grounds or to a camp)? (*approved by prison administration)
YES
NO
{20- completed courses, returned to work}
GET TRANS-FERRED
Consider other choices:
3. Are there programs I need to take for an early release? (advised previously by the caseworker, parole officer, others, and from own conclusions)
YES
NO
{14,19, 23,24, 27,28,29,30, 31,32,37,38,40} [Total = 13]
Consider other choices:
4. [Am I physically /psychologically unable to work?](*determined by medical staff)

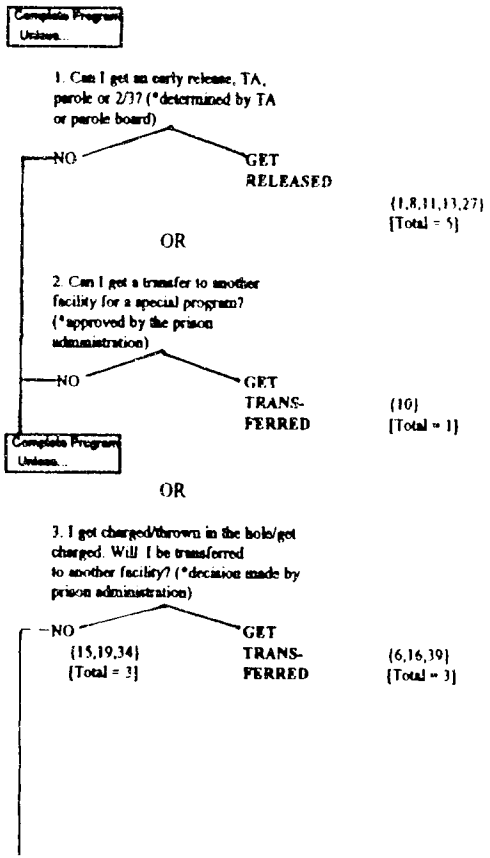

YES
NO
{11,17,18,
34,36,37}
[Total = 6]
Consider other choices:
12. Can I get into
{something}, where
I am familiar with
the instructor, or
have a friend attending?
YES
NO
{10,24}
[Total = 2]
Consider other choices:
13. Is education here
free?
YES
NO
{2,18,36}
[Total = 3]
Consider other choices:
14. Did I hear it was
a real good program, or
that the instructor is {a}
decent {guy}?
YES
NO
{30,37,38}
[Total = 3]
Commence Program
Unless...

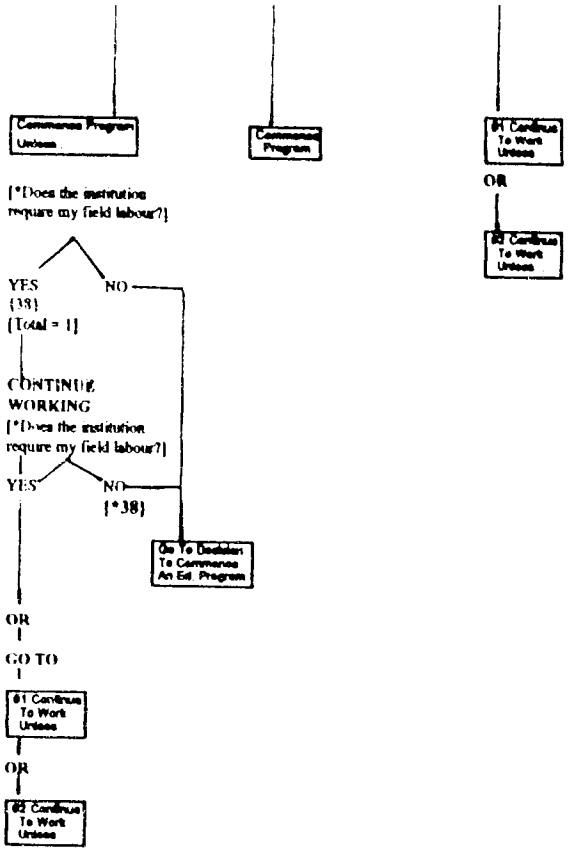

YES
NO
{33.
*assigned
to differe
work}
Consider other choices:
5. Do I want to get
off this {work} crew?
YES
NO
{16,22}
[Total = 2]
a.Do I like labour work?
NO
YES
{2}
[Total = 1]
b.Do I want to work out
in the fields picking potatoes
and slicing broccoli?
NO
YES
{4}
[Total = 1]
c.Do I wanta work for nothin?
NO
YES
{6}
[Total = 1]
d.Do I want to continue
working for no pay?
NO
YES
{4,14}
[Total = 2]
{23}
[Total = 1]
e. Do I want to be here
for a while?{work on this
crew for my whole sentence}
{25}
[Total = 1]
NO
YES

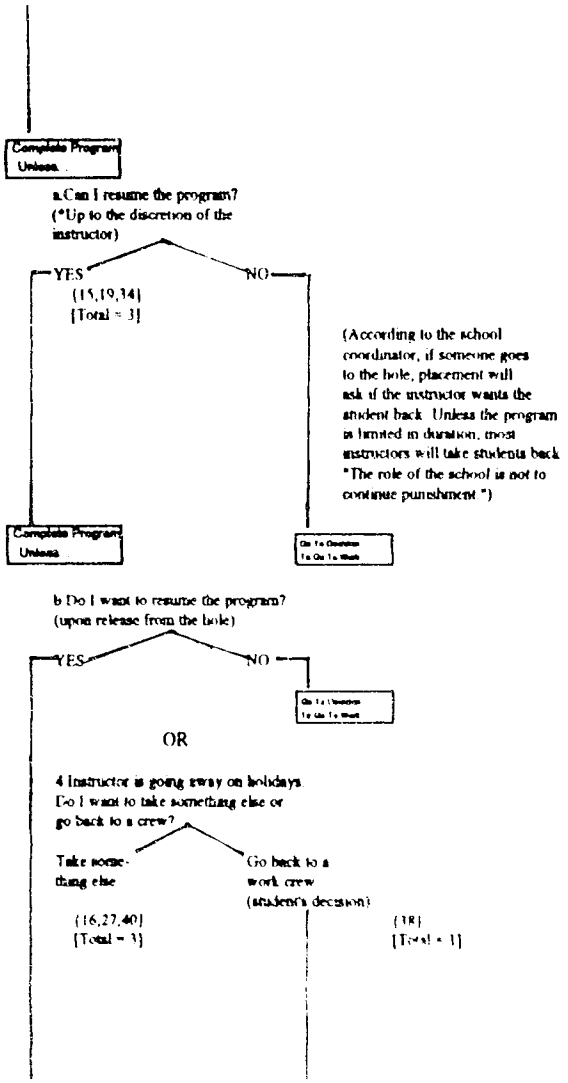

1 Based on institutional requirements, is this how placement wants me to spend my time?(*negotiated between placement and the school coordinator)
YES
NO
{1,3,10,17}
[Total = 4]
When first applying for programs:
{2,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,12,13,14,15, 16,19,20,22,23,24,25,26,27,28, 29,31,32,33,34,35,38,39,40}
[Total = 31]
AND
2 Can I commence right away?(*determined by the schedule and the school coordinator)
YES
NO
OR
a Will I be accepted? (*determined by the school coordinator in consultation with the instructor)
YES
NO
{18,21, 30,36,37}
[Total = 5]
Go To Decision To Go To Work
f Can I learn something in the work program?
NO
YES
{15}
[Total = 1]
Consider other choices:
6 Is there a school opening for the program that I applied for that I still want or need? (*determined by the school coordinator)
YES
DON'T KNOW
NO
{2,4,5,6,7,9, 11,12,13,14, 16,18,19,20, 21,22,23,24, 25,28,29,30, 31,32,33,37, *38, 40}
[Total = 28]
If I ask the potential instructor /school coordinator if I could commence, what would they say? [According to the school coordinator, would still have to register] (*decision by instructor/coordinator/ and ultimately with placement)
NO
YES
{15,26,27, 34,39}
[Total = 5]
(There is a wide-spread perception that due to seasonal labour demands, work placement overrules ed programs [This has been verified])
GO TO

SUB-ROUTINE:

Given that the individual has commenced a program,
Go To Decision to Complete a Program Unless

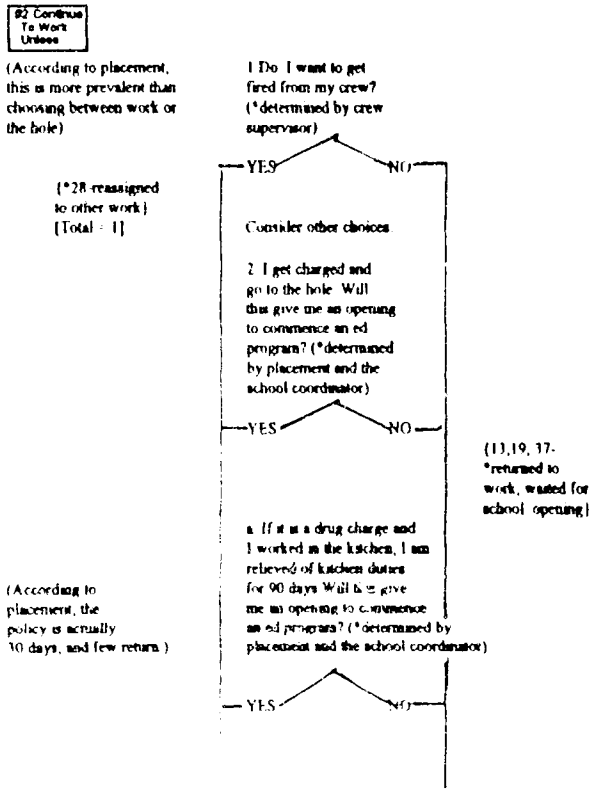


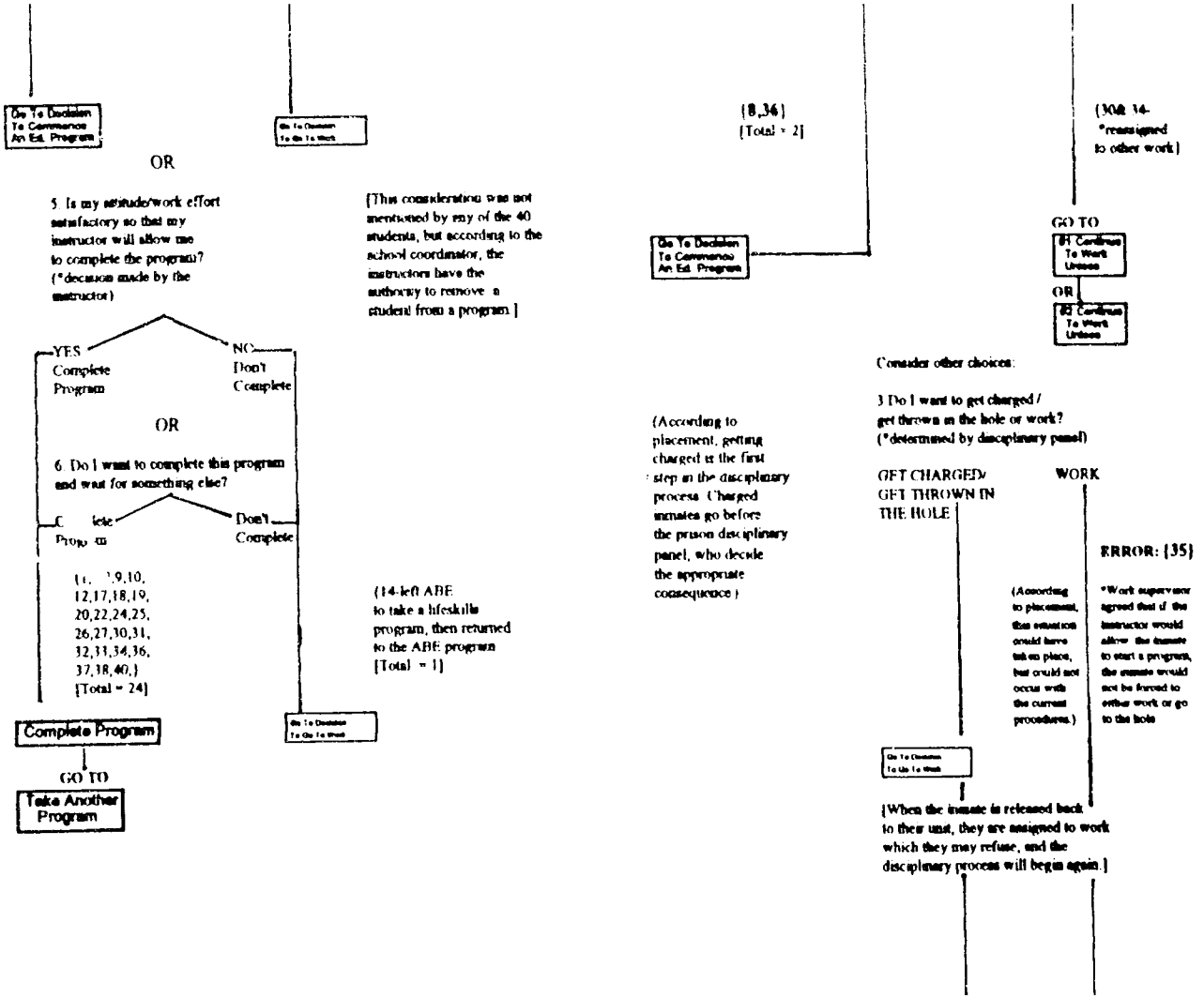




SUB-ROUTINE:

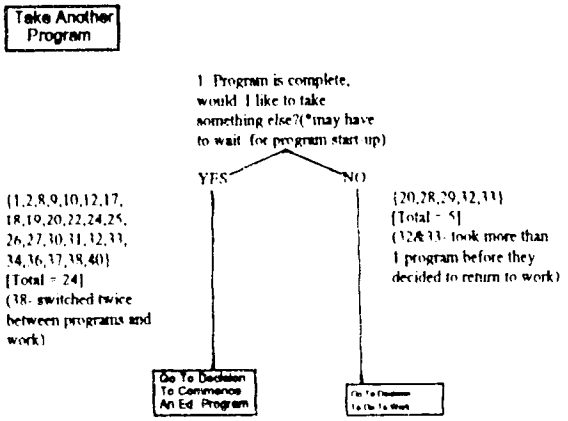
Given that the individual has commenced working but none of the other efforts/conditions have resulted in not working,
Go To #2 Decision to Work Unless




Go To Decision To Commence An Ed. Program
OR
5. Is my attitude/work effort satisfactory so that my instructor will allow me to complete the program? (*decision made by the instructor)
[This consideration was not mentioned by any of the 40 students, but according to the school coordinator, the instructors have the authority to remove a student from a program.]
YES
Complete Program
NO
Don't Complete
OR
6. Do I want to complete this program and wait for something else?
Don't Complete
(1, 9,10, 12,17,18,19, 20,22,24,25, 26,27,30,31, 32,33,34,36, 37,38,40,) [Total = 24]
(14-left ABE to take a lifeskills program, then returned to the ABE program [Total = 1]
Complete Program
GO TO
Take Another Program
(8,36) [Total = 2]
(30& 34- *reassigned to other work)
GO TO
Go To Decision To Commence An Ed. Program
Consider other choices:
3. Do I want to get charged / get thrown in the hole or work? (*determined by disciplinary panel)
(According to placement, getting charged is the first step in the disciplinary process. Charged inmates go before the prison disciplinary panel, who decide the appropriate consequence.)
GET CHARGED/ GET THROWN IN THE HOLE
WORK
(According to placement, this situation could have taken place, but could not occur with the current procedures.)
ERROR: (35)
*Work supervisor agreed that if the instructor would allow the inmate to start a program, the inmate would not be forced to either work or go to the hole
[When the inmate is released back to their unit, they are assigned to work which they may refuse, and the disciplinary process will begin again.]

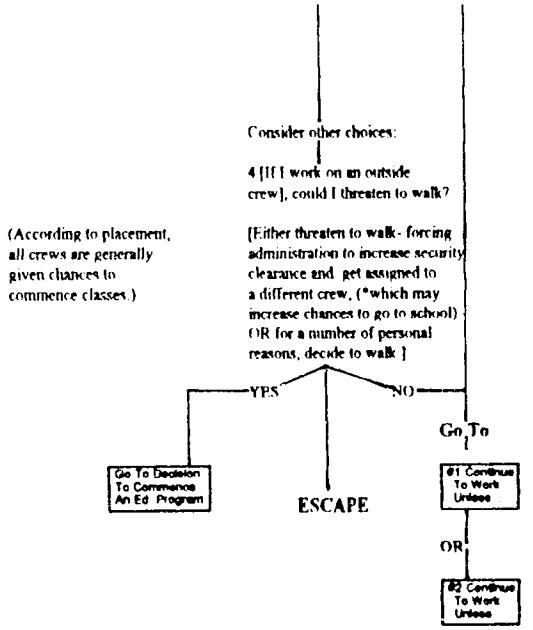
SUB-ROUTINE:

Given that the individual has completed the Program,
Go to Decision to Take Another Program



[Total of sample who chose "Commence an Educational Program" from {Commence and Educational Program,Don't} = 40]

Once one program was completed, the likelihood of being accepted into other programs increased



[Total of sample who chose "Don't Work" from {Work,don't} = 40]

This process was necessary for the 40 students to commence an educational program, although the ultimate decision of commencing a program (with the exception of those with medical excuses) actually rested with the placement officer, acting on the guide-lines of the institution and consulting with the school coordinator

Discussion of the Binary Composite Decision Tree Model

The decision tree model illustrates the process summarized involved for 40 inmates who had decided during their current sentence to commence educational programs. The model includes the various alternatives regarding work and programs which were largely provided by the inmates. At the same time, the reasons inmates gave for changing from work to school provide a close detail of the inmates' decision making. Because the source of information is not solely from the inmates' perceptions, the decision tree is not a pure cognitive representation, as outlined by Gladwin (1989) but a demonstration of the inmates' struggle between work and programs. The advantage of combining the overall process with the actual reasons for commencing or not commencing programs is that two different foci are possible: as a totality as well as in detail.

The model consists of two parts: one decision is whether or not to commence an educational program and the other decision is whether or not to work. In terms of the inmates, these two choices can be synthesized into, "How do I want to spend my time?" By following either one of the paths, an inmate would most likely begin their sentence by working, with some chance of taking a program later. Because getting off a crew was the most critical part of the process, I will explain the {Work;Don't} decision in more detail. The numbers which are enlarged and in bold print indicate the exit points for students to commence an educational program.

Beginning at the top path for {Work;Don't}, the model indicates that of the 40 students, 31 did not want to spend their time working, but 9 did. However, because of the prison determined that inmates must work, only **1** inmate was allowed to proceed directly into programs because she was not needed for work. At this point in the process, the students were assigned to work crews. Of the remaining 39 students, **3** were allowed to commence educational programs because of health reasons, and the others began working, proceeding down the path to "Sub-Routine, #1 Decision to Continue Work Unless". During this stage, 13 of the students learned that a program might help them toward an early release. This,

plus various other negative aspects of work assisted some of the students to decide to take an educational program. The 36 inmates entered this sub-routine, and 28 were selected to commence programs. However, 1 inmate was temporarily recalled to work, allowing **27** to immediately leave their crews, followed by the other **1** later. This left 8 who were still waiting for a program, and **5** of these decided to ask the instructor or the coordinator on their own if they could commence a program, and they were successful. The remaining 3 students proceeded down the path to "Sub-Routine, #2 Decision to Continue Work Unless", where more drastic circumstances took place. Of the 3 students who entered this part of the path and terminated work at this point, **2** got drug charges and commenced programs after being disciplined. And the last **1** of the 40 inmates made an arrangement with an instructor to commence a program, so he would not have to go to the hole. By the end of the path for {Work;Don't}, all of the 40 inmates had switched over to the part of the tree for {Commence an Educational Program;Don't}.

The path for {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} shows that 40 inmates considered that an option. However, it should be noted that the questions 1a "If my sentence is long enough (>30 days) can I complete an educational program?" and 1b "If I am here > 30 days can I commence a continuous intake program" distinguishes between short term programs, such as Lifeskills (L/S), Anger and Interpersonal Relationships (AIR), Family Life (F/L), Bachelor Survival, Autobody (AB), Carpentry, and Building Services; and open-ended programs, such as Hairstyling (H/S), Adult Basic Education (ABE) and English as a Second Language (ESL). Even though several of the students took more than one type of program, they were listed at this point of entry by the first program they took.

The model was designed to show that the inmates expressed a variety of reasons which influenced their choice, and any combination of these could finalize their decision. Of all of the reasons stated by the inmates for attending programs, the most frequent were: for future career plans, 19 out of 40; because of an early release 15 out of 40; because it was something they had done before and liked it, with 14 out of 40 and in order to feel good about themselves 12 out of 40.

The model demonstrates that even after the inmates decided they wanted to commence a program, the final decision was actually made between the placement division of the jail and the school coordinator. Those students who were allowed to begin a program then proceeded to the sub-routine for "Decision to Completing a Program Unless", which identifies several scenarios which would prevent them from finishing the program. In the majority of these cases, the inmate had no control over the outcome, and had to follow the decision of the placement division and the school coordinator. Those inmates who completed their programs, proceeded on to the sub-routine "Decision to Take Another Program". Once a student completed one program, the odds favoured the students to be approved to take more programs, and many inmates exercised this option.

The binary decision tree model reveals several other points about going to work and going to school. First of all, 5 students did move back and forth between work and school and this was a choice the inmates made. The model also demonstrates the limitations the inmates have in deciding to commence a program or deciding to go to work. Regardless what the inmates decide, the outcome is still dictated by the labour needs of the prison and the availability of spaces in the school.

Errors

During the model design stage, I examined the data to discover possible errors, which are inherent in any expert decision tree model (Gladwin, 1989,p.61). During the early part of the tree design stage, I assumed that any time an informant had used some devious means to begin a program or to avoid working which lead to commencing a program constituted an error. When I discussed this aspect with some of the instructors, they helped me to understand that the crafty tactics are indeed part of the decision process for the inmate, and not errors at all. I then considered errors to be occurrences or exceptions which could either lead to unexpectedly commencing or not commencing a program. Errors could be made by the inmates, the education division or the administration.

According to Gladwin (1989) a model without errors is suspect, as it could not represent any system realistically. Gladwin suggests an accuracy of 85% to 95% as a target for a model which is predictive, rather than descriptive. I discovered the following errors which were exceptional cases in the model and could not have been predicted. The errors in the model only considered the 40 informants from which the model was designed. One error occurred when one of the informants thought he was registering for a particular program because he knew the instructor from before, but it turned out he registered for the wrong program. Even though he completed that program, it still constitutes an error. A second error surfaced when an inmate was inadvertently assessed as barely literate, and placed in the lowest ABE program. After the inmate complained and demonstrated that the curriculum was too easy, he was moved into a higher level program. The last error from the 40 students was identified when one of them had indicated that he had been advised to work, or else "get thrown in the hole". What he really wanted was to take an educational program. The participant indicated he was prepared to go to the hole. This is not an error. However, the supervisor of the work area agreed if the instructor of the trade program would allow the inmate to commence immediately, the inmate would not be forced to go to work or else get thrown in the hole. Work supervisors do not normally have this authority, and when the particular situation was reviewed with the administration, it was established that the situation could have occurred, but it would not have been sanctioned by the institution. Thus the case of the inmate being granted a dispensation from work in order to attend an educational program was an error, as this was not one of the original alternatives given to them. Based on the three errors out of the sample of 40 inmates, the rate of accuracy is 92.5%, which is within Gladwin's interpretation of an acceptable range of a predictive decision tree model.

The Results of the Model Testing

The test results of the decision tree confirm the design and predictability for both the {Commence a Program;Don't} and the {Work;Don't} decisions of the binary composite decision tree model. In order to test the model, I interviewed 10 additional students to learn how they came to

attend programs and I gave them the same questionnaire I used for the students in the model design stage. The data were matched with the composite decision tree model. The decision tree was also tested by interviewing 20 workers who were interviewed to determine how they came to work on their crews and if they had considered participating in programs. This information was also matched with the composite decision tree model.

The 10 students were from the Math/Science Upgrading, Lower Adult Basic Education, Business Education, and the Bachelor Survival program. Nine students worked before they commenced programs and one had a health condition which allowed him to attend programs when he was considered medically able. Two of the nine who worked got fired from their jobs and commenced programs immediately. Each of the students gave a few reasons for attending programs. The following is a summary breakdown of the reasons most frequently stated: 7 out of 10 replied that attending programs would help them with other future plans; 4 out of 10 stated that attending programs was a good way to spend their time; and 3 out of the 10 said that they took the program in order to feel good about themselves. The interviews with the students in the test group did not provide any new categories for commencing educational programs or whether or not to work.

The 20 workers were from the cleaning crew, the kitchen staff, and the two crews who worked outside of the wall. Ten workers said that they were not registering for programs: 4 stated it was because their sentences were not long enough and 6 said that there was nothing offered that they wanted. Out of the remaining 10 inmates, 8 mentioned that they were on a waiting list to commence programs and 2 inmates stated that they had already completed programs and voluntarily returned to work. During the interviews, I probed further into the responses of the inmates who were waiting for programs. I learned that 3 of them thought that they were not getting into programs faster because they were on an outside or a kitchen crew. Another of the 8 inmates who was waiting said that he had to return to work because their instructor had resigned (this was confirmed). I would have considered this incident an error in the model, because the resignation of the instructor could not have been predicted. One inmate who was on a waiting list admitted to being illiterate, but was advised to

take a lifeskills program. When I asked this inmate whether he would have preferred a literacy program, he replied that he wanted both programs. The 10 inmates who had already taken programs or who were still waiting for programs provided a variety of reasons for taking a program: 5 inmates said that it was to feel good about themselves; 4 inmates stated it was a way to get an early release and 3 inmates said that a program would help them with their future plans. The interviews with the workers did not reveal any new decision categories for either the decision to work or the decision to commence educational programs.

The findings of the decision tree test confirm that a binary model accurately describes the alternatives between inmates working and commencing educational programs. The actions of the students and the workers also substantiate both the working and program paths in the composite model. The test also verifies the institutional as well as the personal factors which encourage inmates to remain working or to attend a program. Lastly, the inmates in the test group resonated some concerns expressed by the 40 students initially interviewed.

Discussion of the Differing Epistemologies in the Prison

During the consultations with the placement division and the school coordinator regarding the decision tree model, some of the practices and policies of the institution and education division were clarified in response to the references made by the inmates. This revealed the differing epistemologies between the inmates, the placement division and the school administration, which have been identified on the decision tree model.

Werner and Schoepfle state that "a knowledge boundary usually signals a social boundary" (Werner and Schoepfle, 1987. p.65). In this prison, the knowledge boundary regarding what inmates and staff were supposed to know about each other was assumed to be very explicit. Both sides worked at keeping particular information concealed from the other side. Despite this, inmates on occasion were able to correctly deduce some important facts about the prison and school operation, which they used for various purposes, including commencing programs. Werner and

Schoepfle suggest that anomalies are important contradictions which cannot be overlooked. Based on this concept, rather than distrusting the perspectives of the inmates, or the other extreme, accepting everything they say as unquestioned truth, "the more interesting and insightful question is that which asks why the views are opposing, contradictory or anomalous" (p. 61). I would further suggest that in this prison it is also interesting to explore the knowledge about the prison and the school which the inmates have been able to correctly decode. The inmates' abilities to interpret how the prison and school operate informed their behaviours, particularly when they decided to commence educational programs. Therefore an examination of the knowledge some of the inmates had which helped them decide to take educational programs is in order. This may reveal more about the inmates' meanings behind their decisions to commence programs and also provide further insights into the relations between themselves and the prison and school staff.

There were several instances of conflicting knowledge about working between the inmates and the placement division. In terms of going to work, some of the inmates believed that they had a choice in the type of work assignment. Yet the officer involved admitted that he simply presents certain assignments as options. No one really has a choice. Some of the inmates mentioned that several of their peers chose to go to the hole rather than go to work. According to the administration, this is an exaggeration, as dismissals were more prevalent than disciplinary actions for work refusal. Several of the inmates believed that if they worked in the kitchen and received a drug charge, they would not be allowed to work in the kitchen again for 90 days. I was advised by an officer that the policy is actually 30 days, but in practice few inmates are allowed back into the kitchen. In these situations, the differences in knowledge concerning choice and severity of the discipline were encouraged by the prison administration in order to maintain the upper hand.

The following inmates' ideas about switching from work to school can be compared with the actual policies and practices in the prison and the school. Most of the inmates thought that the labour demands of the prison overruled educational programs, especially for outside crews. This was substantiated by both the placement division and the school staff. Inmates on outside crews with this knowledge may feel compelled to threaten to

walk in order to attend programs or change crews. Yet the placement division, school coordinator and even a few inmates commented that escape threats rarely occur. Some of the inmates were under the impression that they could get into a program by simply talking to the instructor. The personnel at the school stated that the inmates would still have to apply and go through the regular channels for selection. However, the effectiveness of inmates speaking with the instructors was never denied. Many of the students believed that once they were accepted into one program, it would be easier to continue taking other programs. This was confirmed by the coordinator of the school and several of the instructors.

At the same time, there were also contradictions in what the inmates understood about deciding between work and school, as some inmates thought they had a choice between work and immediately attending programs when they first arrived at the prison. These inmates put in applications to commence with their caseworkers and were eventually called. Other inmates had the impression that they had no choice but to work and said that they were angry when they found out about the existence of the school. Many of these inmates did not think that the prison encouraged inmates to take programs, and this was demonstrated to the inmates by the lack of assistance from caseworkers and the general lack of information about programs. As a result, they were more pro-active in seeking out their own information, sometimes by-passing the caseworkers altogether. The conclusion regarding a lack of information can be justified, as a few of the instructors did mention that program information is not widely disseminated in the prison. Inmates who went directly to the school were rewarded, as these inmates were regarded as more committed to a program than other inmates. When the inmates were able to figure out why they were unable to gain admittance into programs, they developed strategies to gain some measure of control.

Another way of looking at the various knowledge frameworks is with the issue of punishment. The inmates knew the alternatives for discipline from the officers and the work crew supervisors. They knew that getting charged for body contact or a drug charge could alter the consequences of different infractions, depending on the type of crew. With the exception of the restriction for kitchen crew members who received drug charges,

inmates accurately predicted what the possible outcomes were for violations and who would level the charges. Yet the inmates never mentioned that the instructors in the school also had the authority to evict them from class, charge them for misdemeanours and report them to the prison authorities for any number of reasons. According to a few of the instructors and the school coordinator, disciplinary action in classrooms is seldom required. It is interesting to note that even though the inmates did not outwardly express the knowledge about the discipline policy of the school, they were not compelled to test the limitations of the instructors' patience. These inmates had prior knowledge about school rules from other times in their lives, and this was supplemented in prison with more rules about behaviour in the prison school. I would also suggest that this knowledge, combined with the environment of the school within the prison and the relationships they had developed with the instructors, informed their behaviours. This example illustrates that the differences in epistemologies in this prison situation did not always reflect the use of knowledge to maintain power.

The above examples demonstrate the knowledge frameworks of the inmates, the prison staff and the staff at the school, which I became aware of as a consequence of asking the research question. In many cases the inmates' demonstrated remarkable abilities in understanding the operation of the prison and the school. Other than a few comments from the placement officer and the school coordinator to clarify misconceptions, the decision tree model was accurate in describing the process of an inmate coming to the prison, going to work and possibly commencing a program. At the same time, the contradictions in the knowledge about the operation of the prison and the school not only reveal the social boundaries between the groups, they also allow for broader understanding of the issues and the positions regarding educational programs in the prison. Lastly, the anomalies in understandings reflect the differences in the power between the inmates, the institution and the school.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In response to the research question, how do inmates decide to commence educational programs, this study can answer that the decision process from the inmates' perspective involves what they believe are the personal advantages for them to take programs in conjunction with the way they choose to serve their time in prison. The results of the study indicate that personal development, a chance for an early release and self esteem enhancement are very important. The prison environment also influences why inmates go to school. Inmates who want to go to school must bend to the demands of the prison and do what they are told to do. For most inmates this means work. As a result, the inmates' only recourse is to wait until their labour is no longer required, or resort to other strategies to gain access into programs.

The odds of inmates getting into programs are not very good, with their lack of autonomy, the meagre assistance from prison staff and the scant information in the housing units to take programs. In addition, the shortage of school placements is also instrumental in keeping inmates out of school. Some individuals are lucky enough to be given information about school and they are eventually allowed to commence. Other inmates take their own initiative, going directly to the school and making their own arrangements. A few resort to subversive measures to increase their chances of taking a program. While it is advantageous for inmates to be allowed to take one program after another, the shortage of student spaces means that these inmates are effectively locking out other inmates who are working and waiting for vacancies. Taking into account of all of these considerations, commencing programs in prison is more like breaking into school.

School fulfils several needs for people in prison. Many of these needs were not directly expressed as responses to the research question. I found that the conversations provided different kinds of answers about taking programs than the formal interview questions. Some of the reasons for taking programs that the inmates did not identify as decision criteria include: a way to cope with the boredom and monotony of prison life; an

escape from meaningless work; a refuge for people who did not fit in with other inmates; a place to feel recognized as an individual and an activity which helped them forget they were in jail. In comparison, the decision criteria for commencing programs were geared for fulfilling needs on the outside, for future plans and making a new life. For this reason, providing the dialogues with the inmates in addition to the decision tree analysis allows for greater depth of understanding than a hierarchical model of decision making could have accomplished on its own.

This research attempts to address several concerns over the stereotyping inmates and their prison experience in corrections literature. Correctional education theorists and researchers often regard inmates as a homogeneous type. They rarely identify the specific culture of the inmates as an influence on the inmates or on the outcomes of the research. In addition, most of the literature ignores how the specific prison responds to outside influences. Lastly, few studies until recently have asked inmates to collaborate by sharing their experiences and opinions in the investigations of aspects of prison life and correctional education.

With regard to the stereotyping of inmates, the findings of this research suggest that inmates respond to life in prison in a variety of ways, just as they take educational programs for a variety of reasons. The range of socio-economic backgrounds, experiences and personalities are just as variable as any heterogeneous group in mainstream society. To suggest that one remedy could rehabilitate such a varied population is an overgeneralization. I would suggest that part of the problem is our identification of inmates as a type, rather than collection of individuals. In response to this, documenting the individual experience of incarceration within a particular prison is more informative than a collection of statistics.

The culture of the inmates demonstrates a particular importance in the understanding of how inmates decide to commence educational programs. Based on the discussions with the inmates, education is not an important value within their culture. For both males and females, being solid, being a leader and serving long prison sentences all give prestige to

inmates, not their educational backgrounds. The findings of this study suggest that the connection between educational programs and inmates comes from how they individually choose to do their time. School is an alternative which can help inmates deal with their time in jail with some possibility of applications to their lives once they have been released.

As language and identity are an integral part of the inmate culture, these also play a role in encouraging inmates to take programs. In the prison, sameness is enforced, with everyone wearing the same type of clothing, eating the same bland food and performing the same dull routines everyday. Inmates are officially referred to by their last name, their security classification and their comis number. Participating in programs offers an alternative identity role in the prison. During school times, the public address announcements identifies them as students, rather than inmates. In class, the instructors refer to them by their first names and the communication style in the school fosters respect between the speakers, compared with interaction with the officers, which is often confrontational. The rule against the use of profanity also helps keep the boundary between the prison and the school distinct. On the units, being tough is an appropriate survival skill. But toughness is not necessary in the school environment. It is no wonder that for many inmates, going to school helps them to forget that they are in jail.

A vital consideration in understanding how inmates decide to commence educational programs are the influences of the situational context of the prison. Several aspects of this prison need to be considered: the coed nature of the prison, the housing of federal inmates in the provincial institution, this prison's priority for work placements, the recent cutbacks, and the issue of time.

In this prison, the female and male inmates complained about sharing the same facility: the men were concerned about the women's behaviour, and several women voiced concerns over the men having easier rules and unfair access to programs. Of these complaints, the claim of unfair access to educational programs can be examined from what I learned about this prison.

According to some male and female inmates as well as institutional and

educational staff, most of the women do not serve long enough sentences to attend the programs offered at the school. The women inmates are often typecast as being prostitutes serving 30 day sentences by the staff and some male inmates. Because the minimum sentence for program attendance is two months, all of the women serving short sentences are not eligible for consideration. Yet according to the demographic information at the time of the research, the average sentence of female provincial inmates was 7.5 months and only 7 out of 58 females were serving sentences of 66 days or less. Even calculating the two-thirds release date, the remaining sentence period would still have allowed time for a program. Even without this evidence, the fluctuating prison population also involves changes in lengths of sentences. It is fair to suggest that the standard 66 days is more variable than assumed and it could be argued that at the time of the research, more female inmates should have been attending programs than actually were.

Another approach to this issue is that factors such as inconsistent program recommendations and a lack of peer support for taking programs are compounded because all of the women live in one unit. If they would have been living in units throughout the facility, accessibility to programs would have been enhanced simply by the wider range of associations with other caseworkers and a greater number of inmates. This would have provided women with increased opportunities for networking, which the men already have. Availability of programs is further compounded when women work on outside crews and kitchen crews which restrict all inmates from taking programs. Lastly, the few women in the prison population cannot compete with the sheer number of male inmates and their demands to take programs. These considerations are strong indicators of why women would not receive the same opportunities to attend programs.

Because I was able to speak with only 14 out of approximately 60 female inmates, I can only speculate as to why more females did not participate in the programs offered at the school. However, the assumptions made about women inmates which prevails among the staff, instructors and many inmates substantiates the notion that most women are not eligible to take programs. The stereotype of women inmates is so pervasive that the issue of program access for women would probably never be raised by

anyone, other than a few female inmates who question what has been accepted by staff and other inmates alike. The alternative perspectives I have presented are to challenge the way that the female inmates are stereotyped in this prison, as this may be one reason why they are not getting into educational programs.

The presence of federal inmates in the provincial institution is another factor which influences whether or not inmates are allowed to commence programs. Most of the federal inmates (male as well as female) in the study thought that they had fewer chances to commence programs which teach skills in interpersonal communication, coping with stress, addictions, and self-awareness in a provincial institution. Program attendance in these lifeskills type courses is important to all inmates for obtaining paroles and temporary absences. The primary concern of the federal inmates is that their longer sentences make them invisible at the time of student selection for programs. Because the provincial inmates serve shorter sentences and take up almost all of the spaces in the programs, some federal inmates believe that the school selects inmates on the basis of the release date. Federal inmates have such long sentences, that it would be easy for the school to delay federal inmates to make room for those provincial inmates about to be released.

Of the seven federal inmates interviewed, four said they had to push to get into lifeskill type programs. One of the inmates was told directly that the school preferred inmates with shorter sentences for lifeskills programs. Another was told that these programs are for men, because men needed the skills more. One of those inmates who was immediately accepted into a program (but not into lifeskills) had a serious health condition and could not work. Another inmate who went almost directly into a program (again, not lifeskills) was a first-time offender. Though my sample is small, there is a strong indication that a pattern of deselecting keeps federal inmates from getting into lifeskill programs. Because lifeskills programs are in such high demand, the problem of access is not surprising, with as many as 80 applications to fill 20 spaces for one session. With availability so restrictive, other groups besides federal inmates may be unwittingly denied equal access. Based on the information I have, I concur with the federal inmates that lifeskills seems to be associated with inmates who are approaching their release date.

Therefore the federal inmates' concerns about being passed over for these kinds of programs should not be discounted.

Because of the pressure to provide lifeskills programs to the large number of male inmates under provincial jurisdiction, it would also be understandable that women, particularly those with longer sentences, might get lost in the shuffle. Thus the findings suggest that being a female or being a federal inmate means that access to a lifeskill program is difficult. But being a female federal inmate and seeking a lifeskill type program is a triple bind.

Another aspect of how the prison influences the commencement of educational programs is the prison's priority for work placements. In addition to the previous discussion regarding the length of sentence, the type of crew and security rating are other criteria which could either open or close the school door. Out of all of the crews, the outside crews and the kitchen crew are the most difficult for inmates to leave in order to attend programs. The central work priority in this prison is the kitchen, because the majority of staff are inmates. This priority means that the kitchen cannot have a frequent staff turn-over, and inmates with longer sentences are identified to take a kitchen assignment. When inmates were still being paid, keeping staff in the kitchen was not a difficulty, as kitchen staff formerly worked a double shift, and hence received double pay. Since the loss of the pay incentive, the kitchen is now struggling to keep staff. One of the ways workers are kept in the kitchen is by preventing them from attending programs.

The security rating also keeps the inmates from getting into programs. For inmates, the security clearance they are assigned is critical, as it generally signifies those inmates who have very short sentences and those inmates who are being groomed for release. A minimum security rating also means that an inmate could spend most of the work week outside of the walls. From an inmate's perspective, these advantages may far outweigh going to school. In one way, an inmate getting a minimum security clearance encourages inmates, as it gives them opportunities that inmates with a medium security never have. Yet minimum security comes at a cost, as the labour is not appealing for some inmates, with working in the fields, peeling vegetables or picking up litter along the

roadside. At the same time, because most of the minimum security inmates work on an outside crew, the lack of proximity to the school office and the instructors also prevents them from registering and inquiring about programs. Those inmates who successfully get into programs are often the first inmates pulled when there is a labour shortage for the outside crews. The above discussion is not a criticism of the prison's labour policy, but a demonstration of how the prison's need for workers controls educational programs.

The situation at the prison prior to and during the fieldwork also informed the inmates' responses. By the time I began the fieldwork, the inmates seemed to be resigned to the cutbacks which the prison administrators recently instituted, but they were still adjusting to the changes in the social and economic situation in the housing units. The loss of pay had a critical impact on their economic resources, with some inmates being able to adapt by finding other sources of income but many of the inmates were left destitute. This in turn influenced the social aspect of prison life, as theft, extortion, resale of prescriptions and prostitution became more prevalent. Some of the inmates thought that the poverty in the prison had already lead to increased violence. Whereas some inmates would rather work than go to school when they were getting paid, now they are considering taking programs. The description of the conditions of the prison and the events at the time of the research brings to light that inmates do not operate in a vacuum untouched by the economic upheavals on the outside. This understanding needs to receive greater acknowledgement in prison research.

I found the underlying issue in this study to be the struggle over the inmate's time. Officially, the facility controls the inmates' time, by assigning inmates to work and carefully doling out programs. To some extent, inmates rebel against this authority by refusing to cooperate at work and engaging in unsanctioned activities. In this research, the conflict over time was also apparent by the ultimatums each side gives each other. "Go to work or go to the hole", "fire me", "take me off this crew, or I will walk" and "if you get caught taking drugs you will go to seg" are some of the ways each side attacks the vulnerabilities of the other over the issue of serving time.

Perhaps in some ways the inmates' resistance to the control over their time denotes a healthy self-esteem. To become submissive in prison is to loose a sense of self. Compare this idea with the inmates' interpretation of someone who has become institutionalized and lost their sense of efficacy, "*they function better within the jail system than they do on the street--which is really sad-- happens.*" Another inmate described being institutionalized in this way:

> *If I didn't get the help I need right away, and I sat and sat and sat and I listened to what the inmates had to say and how the guards' treatment towards the inmates, I would forget why I was here--the reason and purpose for being here- I'd become kinda mechanical.[female inmate, #16]*
> [The inmate stated in the interview that the purpose of being in jail was to get help to cope better on the outside]

How time is spent during incarceration is a preoccupation with many inmates. If inmates have a need to use their time well, but they think that this need is being thwarted, they could either accept this fate, and become mechanical, or they could challenge the authority that is blocking them. Which is the healthier response? For this reason, the meaning behind taking educational programs is intimately connected to time. This may explain why taking educational programs is a site of contestation in the prison.

Response to the Literature

The findings of this research are compared to some of the social science investigations of inmates and studies concerning inmates participating in educational programs. The inmates' contributions are valuable because they allow for a new evaluation of some of the ideas about being incarcerated as well as the factors which encourage and discourage inmates from taking educational programs.

Social Science Studies of Inmates

Although Goffman (1961) generalizes about the features of incarceration and this study examines the range of experience from the inmates' perspectives, his insights into life in total institutions does assist in the understanding of aspects of prison life at the medium security prison. Goffman's discussion of the sense of community which develops among inmates, their use of a secret language, their codes of behaviour, their fears of becoming institutionalized, their anxiety over being released, their patterns of social and economic exchange were all evident in how some the inmates described their lives in prison. This has particular relevance because the inmates' perceptions of their incarceration was not given any credibility by many of the prison staff. It can be said that many of the inmates' views were validated by Goffman's work in Asylums, which was written more than thirty years ago. This suggests a stability and predictability of certain elements of life in jail. How several of the inmates described their experience in prison also affirms Goffman's analysis, as he based his research on observations and research of asylums, but beyond anecdotal information, he did not involve large numbers of inmates in his investigation.

The issues of time and the maintenance of self-hood in Goffman's study are especially important for the understanding of the meanings behind attending programs. In this study, the inmates were generally preoccupied with how they spent their time. This was reflected in their vocabulary, how they judged various activities in prison and how they gaged their adaptation to the prison. For most of the students, attending programs was making good use of time, which not only helped the period of incarceration easier to bear, it also gave them something that would benefit them in some way. Rather than just being another form of removal activity, which masks the stress and frustration of living in prison, educational programs provide knowledge and skills in a positive learning environment, which inmates might apply to life on the outside. Educational programs contribute to inmates' personal development without them having to engage in illicit activities. Applying Goffman's understanding of the importance of resisting authority for inmate self-realization means he would approve of the obstacles placed in accessing educational programs. Some of the inmates might agree with Goffman,

that successfully "beating the system" to attend programs does afford some measure of efficacy. At the same time, withholding programs from the majority of the inmate population does limit opportunities for the growth of their personal autonomy. This is especially relevant for large prison populations where there are few openings to programs. In this situation, not all inmates will try to beat the system in order to commence programs because they have unequal abilities and desires to challenge the prison on this issue.

Giallombardo's (1966) discussion of female inmates at a women's prison and comparisons to male inmates offers some contrasts with the culture of inmates at this coed correctional institution. Her findings concerning the female inmates are often dramatically different to the females in the prison where this research took place. Whereas Giallombardo's female inmates were more passive and usually resorted to verbal attacks on one another, the female inmates in this prison were physically violent, reportedly even more so than their male counterparts. Like the female inmates in women's prison, the female inmates in the coed prison also established a social hierarchy, which was described in different terms by different females. The female inmates of both studies shared similar resentments toward the other female inmates. However, unlike the inmates from the women's prison, the females in the coed prison did develop violence roles and they were also just as concerned with being "solid" as the male inmates. Giallombardo's lengthy discussion regarding lesbian activity in the women's prison corresponds with some of the comments from male and female inmates about the lesbian activity which took place in the coed prison. However, neither the male or female inmates in this research acknowledged that the males engaged in any homosexual activities, other than the male inmates who ridiculed such behaviour. Another difference in Giallombardo's assessment is that inmates suffer from a lack of heterosexual intercourse. This cannot be said of the inmates at the coed institution, as occasionally male and female inmates are charged with engaging in sexual activity. Lastly, as in Giallombardo's research, both male and female inmates in the coed institution had developed ways of coping with the stress of prison life. The study of the women's prison in the 1960s demonstrates changes in female social roles in prisons and accentuates the differences particular to

the coed correctional institution.

Baunach (1977) identifies some of the issues facing women who are incarcerated. These include the idea that women inmates are already quite hardened by the time they get sentenced to jail. Another point is that the women inmates are essential for the operation of the prison, and the skill training is outdated and has little value on the street. From the findings of this research, several women seemed to portray the hardened type described by Baunach. In the women's unit, a few of the women were so violent that stricter rules for women congregating in each other's rooms and consequences for fighting had to be instituted. Most of the women in this prison are engaged in work activities which keep the prison running, but very few get into programs where they could learn a skill. Only one female indicated that she had no intention of using the hairdressing skill she had learned in prison. This was because she decided that she did not want to be a hairdresser, not because she could not get a job. Lastly, this study does concur with Baunach in that more research of women inmates is warranted.

Culbertson's and Fortune's (1986) ideas concerning the broad range of women's responses to incarceration and the importance of the situational context of the research site can be supported from this investigation. The women's individual experience of confinement is influenced by the cooed aspect of the prison, along with the other events that occur in the prison every day.

Sacks (1978) discusses the unequal opportunities of women inmates for programs and training facilities in comparison with male inmates. In response to this, she recommends that coeducational prisons could combine men and women within the same facility in order to share the benefits of the men's prison. From what I observed, the women in this research did not receive equal opportunities to educational programs. The prison's labour demands, the minimal encouragement for women to take programs and the heavy demand of the men to get into the school (who outnumbered the women by five to one) could not possibly lead to equal opportunities for programs. Thus Sack's recommendation for coed prisons

makes some assumptions about equality of access that are not present even when women and men are incarcerated together.

Prison Education

The primary concern of the majority of the students was that the institution deprived them of educational opportunities. The United Nations report (Sutton 1992) regards education for the incarcerated as a human right. One of the conclusions in the UNESCO report is that education should have equal status with work as an activity of high priority. The issue of equal monetary reward for work and school becomes a moot point in the situation at this prison, as the incentive pay was discontinued for both the work placement and educational programs. However, it would seem that the rigidity of the work policy of the institution does diminish the priority of educational programs, which is contradictory to the guide-lines in the United Nations report.

The inmates brought up several issues which are covered in correctional education literature. These include their demands for programs, the long waiting lists, and their concerns over how they do not have any say in the policies and decisions made which affect their lives. Morrison (1993) has also recently commented on the negative influence of budget cutbacks on prison education combined with the inmates' increasing demand for programs, which has resulted in longer waiting lists.

Other issues which the inmates discussed were also mentioned in The National of Vocational Education in Corrections Technical Reports Number 1(1977) and Number 3(1977). These include inmates feeling compelled to take programs for an early release; the impact of time left in sentence as a determinant for program commencement; inmates having difficulties with program commencement due to conflict with education admission processes and academic timetables; the high demand for programs and the complaints against the long waiting lists. Judging by the dates of these reports, it is important to note that the problems noted in 1977 are still apparent in 1994. The inmates' perceptions in this study seem to be louder protests of the concerns of the U.S. administration and instructional staff expressed seventeen years ago.

Several of the inmates were also angry because the prison viewed them in terms of their labour potential. These sentiments are found in Cosman's (1980) critique of the attitude in corrections that regards inmates in terms of their economic potential to serve the institution and society does little to foster rehabilitation. This study supports the futility of prison administrators regarding inmates as commodities, because objectifying inmates deepens the frustration and hostility that many of them already feel toward society.

Kelly's (1993) proposal that inmates should be given opportunities to problem solve issues which directly affect their sense of well-being in the prison is affirmed. A strong indicator that the inmates are willing to express their concerns about education in prison is that 20% of their population voluntarily participated in this research. The issue most often identified by the inmates was the lack of access to educational programs. Perhaps the findings of this investigation will assist in creating a dialogue between the inmates and the administration so that a compromise to the current situation can be negotiated.

Shea's (1980) assessment that inmates do not find school in prison appealing does not appear to hold for this study. All of the students commented on the positive atmosphere of the school and the improved treatment they received there. In contrast to work assignments, the inmates stated that the programs provided opportunities to learn something useful. Many inmates consider going to school a positive way of "doing time". However, Shea's conclusion that inmates often cannot complete programs due to transfers, paroles and releases has some bearing. The positive feedback of the inmates concerning the instructors also supports Shea's conclusion that schools provide an opportunity for positive relationships with instructors.

Eggleston and Gehring's (1986) conclusions regarding the way that prison life encourages inmate social development enhances self-awareness, and the prevalence of anti-education attitudes in correctional facilities can be discussed in terms of the findings. It would appear from the responses of the inmates that adapting to prison life is highly stressful, with the loss of personal identification symbols, the strain on relationships on the outside,

the isolation from society and alienation from other inmates. In addition to these, is the deprivation of personal freedom. Discussions with the inmates support the conclusion that the adjustment to these losses could necessitate the re-examination of all relationships and concepts about self.

The ideas presented by Seashore and Haberfeld (1976) concerning the benefits of life skills and academic programs in prisons are supported from the perspectives of the inmates in this study. The students confirmed that attending programs was a way to spend their time productively but that the work assignments did not prepare them for the life on the outside. The learned helplessness mentioned by the authors was a concern for a few inmates in this investigation, as were the issues of dealing with outside relationships and the fears of coping with the outside once freedom is attained. The benefits of educational programs identified by Seashore and Haberfeld are supported by the perspectives of the inmates in the reasons why they wanted to commence programs.

Yet one of the most important points that the Seashore and Haberfeld make is their conclusion concerning the atrophying of inmates' decision making skills. Seashore and Haberfeld identify that the ability to make decisions diminishes in prison and is the result of poor work habits which are inadvertently encouraged through the lack of pay, low work efficiency in work output, the dullness of the routines and minimal personal responsibility and decision making (Seashore and Haberfeld, 1976, p.11). This assessment is reminiscent of the inmates' concern over becoming institutionalized. Another consideration from this study is that these inmates are not being involved in the important issues which influence their lives in jail. This understanding also emphasizes the hidden impact of the various budget cuts, because these measures reinforce the powerless position of the inmates. Thus Seashore's and Haberfeld's assessment that institutional life leads to the atrophying of decision making skills has particular relevance to this research.

Prison Education Research

The following are the findings of reports regarding educational programs offered in prison which can be compared with the conclusions from this

qualitative study.

Although Duguid's discussion of the attributes of the inmates and benefits of educational programs specifies university level programs, some of his ideas can be compared with the results of this research. Duguid says that 50% of the university program attrition is due to inmate transfers. During the period of research, transfers of inmates between different provincial institutions were commonplace, either as a disciplinary action or as part of the release process. Yet the decision tree model does not identify transfers as being an issue for keeping students in class, with just 3 out of 40 inmates being transferred to other institutions. However, by the time the decision tree model had been completed and tested, only 16 inmates remained in programs. Fifteen inmates had been released without supervision, released on parole or released on a temporary absence; 6 were transferred as a disciplinary action and 3 were transferred to lower security facilities. Thus the combined impact of releases, paroles and transfers does have a bearing on continuing educational programs.

This investigation can also support Duguid's assessment that personal goals and potential career change are important considerations for inmates to participate in educational programs, with 19 of the 40 inmates reporting similar reasons. Of the actual choices made by the inmates, this was the most prevalent category for choosing to take programs. Duguid's comments concerning the changing identity of the inmate to that of the student is also relevant to this study. Several students noted the differences in treatment in the school and how they were referred to by the instructors as compared with the treatment on the work crews and how they were referred to by the officers. Despite the differences between university level programs at the maximum security prison which Duguid researched and the types of programs offered at this medium security prison, such considerations as inmate transfers, goal orientation and inmate's identification as students have a similar bearing.

An article by LaBar et al (1983) can be critiqued from the findings of this research. These authors characterize inmates as having the following traits: they "tend to have difficulty deferring gratification... [they] tend not to trust other people... [they] tend not to gather relevant information

and weigh the pros and cons of a course of action before deciding on it. They think they have all the information they need" (LaBar et al, 1983,p.264-265). In this investigation, I suggest that delayed gratification would not have been advisable for inmates, as many of them would not have commenced a program if they had been more compliant. Taking a program actually demonstrates that inmates actively want to do something to enhance the gratification of being released--either for recovery of addictions, possible employment opportunities and an improved self-concept. The authors' understanding that inmates lack trust does not realistically consider the context of the prison and the dynamics between prison staff and the inmate population. The whole prison environment fosters distrust. For the staff, not trusting is a way to promote security, and for inmates, distrust is an important survival skill to deal with other inmates as well as the staff. Therefore a lack of trust is understandable. Lastly, the authors presume that inmates are incapable of a making a well thought out decision. This understanding can be refuted, as many inmates in this investigation thoroughly examined their options before making a decision to commence a program. They based their actions on the information which was available to them. In some cases important facts were withheld, and the inmates were forced to make a judgement based on their experiences and through trial and error. These are determinants for decision making for any population. Thus the conclusions of LaBar et al do not appear to be relevant to this study. Indeed, one might question whether their conclusions are warranted in any prison setting.

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education Review of Penitentiary Education and Training (1978-1979) can be compared with the perspectives of the learners in the provincial institution where this study took place. First of all, in respect to the identification of idleness and boredom as a major problem in institutions, this would be supported by many of the inmates in this study. Likewise the teachers' concerns that they could not to generalize about inmates in the OISE report, is confirmed by the range of responses as to why inmates want to participate in education programs as well as other facets of their culture. The experience that the motivation changes after a time was noted by the teachers and some of the inmates. However the scope of this study does

not explore the changing nature of motivation once programs had been commenced. Lastly, the OISE report also notes that taking programs for the purpose of securing an early release is a "superficial motivation" which is often replaced by a general interest in the program. This point needs to be addressed by examining the subject position of the person making the evaluation. Securing an early release is a viable motivation from the perspective of one who has lost their freedom. It might not be deemed as authentic from the point of view of someone who has never been incarcerated. Therefore assessing why inmates attend programs needs to be re-evaluated in terms of the person making this decision, which is the purpose of this investigation.

The OISE report also provides the survey results regarding several issues which emerged in this study. In the survey question, "What is the logical next step for the inmate after completing your program?", 89 out of 142 teachers, or 48.9% replied that inmates obtained more advanced education or training in the institution, which was the highest rating of all of the alternatives. This can be confirmed by this study, as 26 out of 40 inmates or 65% took another program after completing the first one. The survey question which asked teachers and instructors to indicate by order of importance the advantages of education for an inmate, the answer that ranked first place with the most educators was that education and training improve an inmate's feelings of self-worth. This was followed by the answer that education and training improve the inmate's chances of finding employment following release. In this study, it could be argued that any of the reasons on which inmates based their decision to attend educational programs reflects their feelings of self-worth. However a more specific comparison can be made between the OISE report's second choice about finding employment as a reason for attending programs with a similar (but not identical) observation of 19 out of 40 respondents in this study that educational programs would help with future education plans, a career or business. This was greatest number of responses of inmates for taking programs. Therefore the results of this research supports the findings of the OISE report, with the exception of their assessment that securing an early release is a "superficial motivation".

The National Evaluation Program Phase 1 Report (1979) discusses issues

which were also mentioned by the inmates in this investigation. These include: negative treatment from institution staff compared to support from the instructors; a strong sense that education was not a priority in the institution and a negative perception of institutional staff toward programs. This study cannot support the findings of the United States report in terms of a lack of incentive to participate in programs, because neither work or education provided incentive pay. At the same time, participation in certain programs was deemed to be coercive by some inmates. Drug Awareness, Lifeskills and Anger and Interpersonal Relations were linked to an early release and some of the inmates indicated that this was the only reason that they took these programs.

The results of the factors influencing inmate involvement in the United States study state that inmate interest was considered very important for 94% of the 156 administrators and teachers polled. This can be substantiated from the interviews with the original forty students, as virtually all of them initiated the referral to attend programs, 27.5% of the time making the arrangements without the assistance of a caseworker. Therefore it can be supported that inmate interest should be a critical factor in program involvement.

The flow chart in the National Evaluation Program Phase 1 Report (1979) (refer to excerpt found in Appendix 3) demonstrates how students enter the institution, commence various education programs and also participate in work crews for the institution. Contrary to the way the chart is described, it does not differentiate between the "critical decisions" to participate in programs made by the inmate and those by the institution. The chart is based on the process of attending programs from the vantage point of the administration and presupposes that all major programs are open to the inmate. The model indicates that the inmate is offered an opportunity to accept or reject an education placement, and if it is rejected "the inmate may embark upon his institutional job assignment" (NEP, Phase 1,p.100). In the model, two different programs may be attended concurrently, for example, Adult Basic Education and Vocational Education. Continuation in the program is determined from the institution's evaluation of their security status, program progress and the choice of the inmate. (The report uses the term "treatment" in place of education programs). Inmates may choose to take one program after

another if they pass all of the requirements. The model does allow for later enrolment if programs are not available immediately. During the period of attendance, there is ongoing evaluation and counselling between the inmate with the instructional and institutional staff. The final decision whether the inmate has completed a program is determined by the instructors evaluating the inmate's level of competency. All of the information regarding inmate progress is forwarded to the prison administration as information regarding their treatment. The flow chart is an idealized model, with the inmate benefiting from the flexibility of a system which values education at least as much, if not more than labour.

In contrast, the composite decision tree model of this study reflects the actual decision process from the inmates' point of view. The decisions regarding programs and working differentiate between those made by the inmate and those made by the prison administration or the school. Continuation of a program is dependent on various possibilities. These are also categorized by those which are determined by the inmate and those which are determined by the institution and school. The factors for continuing or not continuing programs which the inmate has control over include: to withdraw from the program and to withdraw due to transfer approval. The inmate has the option of switching to another program or withdrawing from programs altogether when the teacher goes on vacation. The institution and school also have distinct areas of authority over inmates. These include: withdrawal due to institutional or educational disciplinary reasons, forced disciplinary transfer and withdrawal due to labour demands of institution. Disciplinary situations usually commence with the inmate choosing to break a rule. Thus the aspect of control in disciplinary cases generally rests with the inmate, however the outcome rests with the institution or the school. Like the flow chart, the composite decision tree model shows various points of entry and exits for work and school placements as well as exits out of the prison. One of the primary differences between the two models is that the composite decision tree is not based on an ideal, but on tested, decision making criteria based on the perceptions of the inmates. The ethnographic decision tree model has been culturally tuned to reflect the dynamic relationship between the inmates and the authority of the prison.

Parsons and Langenbach (1993) in "The Reasons Inmates Indicate They Participate in Prison Education Programs: Another Look at Boshier's PEPS" identify four factors and their weighting which influence adult participation in educational programs. The four factors are: cognitive control, goal orientation, activity orientation and avoidance posture. The scores for the first two, cognitive control and goal orientation, were very close, but the researchers pay specific attention to the avoidance factor, which provided surprising results in their investigation. Although the analysis for my study collapses 85 reasons inmates gave for taking educational programs into 14 emic categories rather than Boshier's PEPS, comparisons can be made with Parson's and Langenbach's findings.

A comparison of the Parson and Langenbach factors and descriptors reveals some important parallels between the two investigations. First of all, all but three of the categories from the decision, {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} can be identified within the criteria of the Parson and Langenbach study. These exceptions are the length of sentence, the school timetable and the cost of the program. As with the Parson and Langenbach study, the factors of cognitive control (associated with learning, following up an interest, seeking knowledge, an inquiring mind), and action over cognition (associated with an increase in status, overcoming past failures, and trying something), scored the highest among the responses of the inmates. A similar result could be found with the parallelled categories in the {Commence an Educational Program;Don't} decision. However the factor Parson and Langenbach classify as activity oriented, (which is associated with being with friends, needing to belong and wanting to join groups) did not score as high in this studies' categories, which include: familiarity with the instructor and attending programs to be with a friend. The difference in the results may be indicative of the shorter sentences involved in this prison (Parson and Langenbach include maximum as well as medium security prisons in their sample), and the lack of group cohesion, exemplified by the "do your own time" philosophy of several of the inmates.

Of the four descriptors which Parson and Langenbach use in their study, they conclude that the avoidance factor has the least impact on inmate program participation. They have determined that the avoidance factor is unique to prison populations, but is the lowest rated factor in their study,

suggesting that "avoidance motivations played less of a role in participation than any of the other reported motivations" (Parson and Langenbach, 1993, p.40) This factor is associated with "screw the system, frustrate the guards, get a break, avoid cooperating, and get away from responsibilities/environment" (Parson and Langenbach, 1993, p.40). In my study, the avoidance factor is identified by the following categories: to get off this crew, with 7 out of 40 responses; to get fired from my crew, with 1 out of 40 responses; to get charged/get thrown in the hole or work, with 1 out of 40 responses; and to get off [an outside crew] by threatening to walk, which was mentioned as happening to other inmates, but was not given be any of the 40 students. This factor ranks third using Parson's and Langenbach's four descriptors. Contrasting the Parson and Langenbach study, my investigation indicates a definite motivation by inmates to "screw the system". This attitude was expressed by some inmates who cited the recent loss of incentive pay for working, a dislike for meaningless work and an antagonism toward prison authority as one factor to commence educational programs.

In summary of the comparison to the findings of the Parson and Langenbach study and this one, the differing results of the activity orientation and avoidance posture demonstrates the relative nature of different prison populations and other influences in the situation of the prison which need to be considered in studies of inmate motivations to attend educational programs. The Parson and Langenbach report does not indicate the social environments of the prisons where they conducted their research. However, in this investigation, the combination of the recent loss of incentive pay and the antagonism between the inmates and the prison authorities did play a role for some inmates' decisions to attend programs. Therefore, Parsons and Langenbach's conclusion that avoidance motivations are not as significant as the other three factors for inmates to attend educational programs cannot be generalized to include the prison population in this study.

Recommendations

The results of the investigation point to a few recommendations. In order for the prison to accomodate the inmates' educational needs and meet the

educational standards set by the United Nations report, greater flexibility is required in the prison's organization of labour for the work crews to allow for fair access to programs. This can only be accomplished if the prison re-evaluates the policies and actual practices regarding work placement and the provision of programs.

In light of the current reductions in the corrections budget, more programs would not be realistic. However, one suggestion is a reorganization of the work crews in the form of weekday shifts, which might create openings for more students to attend classes on certain days of the week, mornings or afternoons. Another possibility to increase the availability of programs is to restrict students from taking several programs back to back. This measure would create openings to other inmates who are otherwise shut out from programs. One way to resolve the dilemma of select students dominating the number of student placements over a long period of their sentence is to cap the number of programs available for inmates, based on the length of sentence.

There is also a need for specific guide-lines for inmate selection for programs which considers federal inmates and women inmates. In regard to the female inmates, the results of the study suggest that women are not being given enough information and enough encouragement to attend programs. One reason for this situation is that women are usually typecast as short-term inmates. This situation can be resolved by providing women with information about programs, and identifying their length of sentence in terms of which programs they could fit into this time frame.

A final recommendation is to increase the involvement of inmates in prison affairs which influence their confinement. By including the inmates in problem solving and resolving issues, the prison administration could be utilizing inmates as resource persons. This may promote a more positive atmosphere in the prison, and it would allow the inmates greater legitimate control over their lives while in prison--and this in itself is rehabilitative.

Concluding Remarks

Several conclusions can be drawn from this research. First of all, inmates are prevented from attending programs because of a rigid work policy which does not acknowledge the educational needs of all of the inmates. The effects of this are worsened by a lack of consistency in program information being provided to inmates. The issue of unequal access to educational programs appears to be related to the particular work crew, security rating, length of sentence, federal or provincial jurisdiction and gender. Based on the findings of this study, it seems that the forces which prevent inmates from taking programs are too strong for the majority of inmates to contest. Another conclusion is that the inmates' decision making process to commence educational programs in this prison is based on their previous experience, a range of other information sources and through trial and error. I would suggest that this is no different than for people in mainstream society. Lastly, this study has not identified any proof that education is a panacea for rehabilitating offenders, but the findings of this research support that the provision of programs does give inmates alternative ways of dealing with life in prison and possibly life on the street.

This research makes several contributions to the fields of corrections and correctional education. Unique to the recent studies of inmates taking educational programs, this is the first study of this topic using ethnographic decision tree modeling as the method of analysis. Second, this ethnography of inmates is a significant representation of this prison's population, and therefore it has greater validity in advancing what is understood about the experience of imprisonment and educational programs from the inmates' perspective. One of the central ideas of this investigation underscores the importance of regarding inmates as individuals, not stereotypes. The understandings inmates have of their incarceration cannot be separated from the prison, and the events and conditions which make confinement different for each individual. Lastly, this research supports that inmates are vital resources for contributing to issues which concern them.

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Appendix 1

Jail Jargon

[] words inside brackets represent etic input

baby doll	dolly dress, It's just a dress. The material is like a pot holder or oven mitt. It usually goes down to your knees or a little further. [informant's opinion]-- I think part of it is head games and the other is so that they don't hurt themselves- tie a shirt or shoelaces around their necks.
bales	tobacco (not in packs, just open tobacco) bit your sentence
blanket party	4 to5 people would come into your room, throw a blanket over your head-- they would start swingin...they wouldn't care where... [male inmate]
blanket treatment	dummy [someone], beat on them, they wouldn't know who did it [female inmate]
blue shirts	guards
bro or sis	[how inmates refer to] people really well known
brother or sister smiley	[a name to imply homosexuality to a fellow inmate in a joking manner]
buddy	[name given to a fellow inmate]somebody who has not broken a trust]
bug house	[how inmates refer to the Assessment and Treatment Unit (ATU)-- psychiatric wing]
bug juice	[how ATU inmates refer to their medications]

bum	[to borrow]
cell block	[Where one male inmate described he spent] time there just after being sentenced doesn't refer [to] in here -- more penitentiary [female inmate]
checked in	basically they're told they have to go to P. C. [protective custody] or they're going to get hurt... sometimes they get hurt, then they check in.
checked off the unit	(kicked off the unit) to be placed in Protective Custody
cheese out	being ratted on [only heard males use]
cheese eater	rat [only heard males use]
chum	[how inmates refer to] people known for a while
CO3	"top blue shirt" Total Boss of Unit over guards, even [how one male inmate described the senior guard position]
Code 6	"guard coming!" -- inmate code (if a guard hears an inmate call this, or just "6!", you could get charged or major shit.) [the institution also uses security codes which are referred to by numbers]
copper	in a provincial sentence, you're automatically gifted with one-third of your sentence off. The fact is one-third is all copper. Each copper means one day. [only heard one male use this expression, I was told by an officer that the term is seldom heard any more]
cracker	[a synonym for rat]
cracked off	how much time you've put in and how many times you've been in here [female inmate]

dead-time	time served that doesn't count for nothin'. [illustrated by an informant]-- time spent at the Remand Centre waiting for the trial--could take 1 year, depending on the charge. This doesn't count toward the sentence. You start your sentence from the time you appear in court to be sentenced.
deuce	federal sentence [2 years or more]
deuce-less	[2 years less a day- maximum sentence in the provincial system]
digger	seg, the hole, [segregation] [people who have been in the system for a long time are more likely to use the term "digger"]
dime out	rat on [someone]
early birds	new inmates [heard only one male inmate use this term]
federal bit	a federal sentence
fur-backed cheese eater	rat [heard only one male inmate use this term]
good-time	[reference to time spent toward current sentence]
"Goof!"	ultimate insult. They [male inmates] just go nuts! This word usually starts the fights. You can call them...[any profanity], but don't call them this. The long timers know this [taboo word]

grinder	is someone who has no money, goes from cell to cell asking for tobacco, drugs, coffee, chocolate bars, chips, shampoo [getting into programs]- whatever they need--they go grind for it. [male inmates use this term]
heat	[when there's] 3 to 4 guards on the unit at a time--[means we can't breathe the wrong way and we are in a lockdown [one female inmate's term]
heat bags	[how one of the male inmates referred to the women in Unit 2]
	trouble-makers-- the screws always after them--more fights on [the female unit] than any other unit in the joint
heavies	they are the instigators. They are kind of the leaders, the ones everyone looks up to, with a lengthy sentence of time.
hit it	[term used by one male inmate to tell another male inmate to "get lost"]
house	a person's cell
idiots	[how one male inmate described his assessment of 90% of people who were serving time at the institution]
idiot box	[how one male inmate referred to] a guy that's just stupid, no respect, just plain stupid.
"I'm on the grease"	[what you say if] you're mad at someone--and don't want to talk to them [female inmate]

inside	[term used to describe inside the walls of the institution]
institutionalized	If I didn't get the help I need right away, and I sat and sat and sat and I listened to what the inmates had to say and how the guards' treatment towards the inmates, I would forget why I was here--the reason and purpose for being here- I'd become kinda mechanical. [general use] spending too long in here and getting used to it. Outside you're nobody, here, you're somebody. they function better within the jail system than they do on the street--which is really sad-- happens.
kangaroo court	warden court
keeping 6	that's when someone watches and warns you when the guards are coming
kid	less experienced inmate that you take under your wing. Kid gets coffee, cleans your cell, does laundry, performs sexual favours. [only one female inmate used this term]
kites	notes passed between inmates [general use--old term, although only heard the term used by one female inmate directly, and overheard it once from another female inmate in passing]
long-timer	[how inmates refer to] person with a long term
lock down	[when inmates in a unit are confined to their cells--can be for disciplinary, can be a general lock down for count, or in case there has been an escape]

muscling	when someone that is usually well-known goes up to a newcomer, usually a younger girl and demands their "canteen"[female inmate's perspective]
mark	usually an older gentleman that, in exchange for some companionship, not necessarily sexual, will give the girls money for basically anything they want [general use, but women inmates brought this term into the conversation, while male inmates knew what the meaning of the word]
mark in	refers to the process that you go through to get whatever you need [female inmate]
Mother Institution	where you started your time [male inmate]
out door	[how one inmate described a program or a skill which would help him]- a way to step away from your cycle [of crime]
outside	outside the walls of the institution [also known as] "on the street" or "on the outside"
outside the wall	[where the outside crews work--might be at the root house,(vegetable processing facility) or the highway crew]
outside shirt	someone from the outside who works here--includes the guy who runs the kitchen, [teachers, chaplain...me!]
pen time	[time spent in a federal penitentiary]
pool balls [et al]	2 pool balls in a sock, a bar of soap or a pop can in a sock make good weapons--(the can of pop sometimes explodes though) [male inmates]

rabbit	runner, a guy that is making a run for it [eg] out from the potato field [male inmates]
rat	informer someone going to corrections staff and reporting anything illegal, or against the rules of the centre that other inmates may be doing a cracker so to speak--crack to the pigs
rubby bit	90 days or under for a sentence [I heard this expression used only once- I suspect it is a carry--over from old jail-jargon]
screws	bulls, guards
seg time	[time spent in segregation]
shakin it rough	[having a] bad time means stressed, under tension, worried.
short time	[any sentence which is less than 100 days, is considered short time]
60 day bit, 90 day bit	[refers to the length of sentence, usually "bit" connected with shorter terms--this may be relative to the inmate as to what is shorter-- eg. I've heard 2 year bit]
skinner	skin beef, sexual assault someone who is in for a sex crime
skin hound	any kind of sexual molester--or beating [a victim] beyond reason [This expression was hardly ever used in conversation]

sobriety	counting backward in threes, [officer] throwing things down, you pick [it] up--to see if you are under the influence [only heard this expression used by one female inmate]
sock change	only here long enough to change your socks [male inmates]
solid	a stand--up person, good to [your] word, back [your] friend's plays no matter what [general use] [as in] "do me a solid now, I'll do you a solid later" do me right, be honourable [do me a favour] [how one male inmate used this expression]
TA	temporary absence [provincial equivalent to a parole]
"Three Hots and a Cot in the Crowbar Hotel"	Three meals and a bed in jail [heard this expression by male inmates and an officer]
this bit	current sentence
tier heavy	[peer-leaders of the unit] try to keep everybody in line the guards rely on the tier heavies [to help maintain order]
times goin good	[having a] good time [term of sentence is not perceived as being difficult] [male inmate, probably general use]
"too hard a grinder"	[how one inmate referred to their peers who became annoying with the constant requests for things] [one male inmate's expression]

Tour of Alberta	[how inmates often describe serving their sentence(s) at various Alberta correctional centres]
UAL	unlawfully at large
water head	another derogatory term for grinders and marks

Appendix 2

85 Reasons for Choosing an Educational Program (with the corresponding emic category number, and decision tree referents):

1. Emic Categories for {Commence an Educational Program; Don't}

Initial Questions for Decision:
Do I want to spend my time in an educational program?
Subordinate Question:
Am I doing enough time to take a program?

Emic Category Numbers

2. Are there programs I need to take for an early release?
(advised previously by the caseworker, parole officer, others, from own conclusions)

3. Is the tri-centre timetable "right" for the course I want?

4. Do I want to spend my time learning something?

5. Is there a course that I think I would learn something about relationships?

6.Does this program have the possibility of helping me to feel good about myself?

7. Will this help me to stay out of jail?

8. Are there any ed programs that would help me with future education plans, a career change or an existing business?

9. [Can I enrol in the program I want? academic, personal development, upgrading...]

10. Is there an ed program offered for something I've done before that I liked?

11. Is there something that I have always wanted to do [but never done]?

12. Can I get into [something], where I am familiar with the instructor, or have a friend attending?

13. Is education here free?

14. Did I hear it was a real good program or that the instructor is a decent guy?

2. Decision Tree Referents

Legend

DW	Don't work option Refer to {Commence Work;Don't}
IQ	Initial question- Commence an Ed. Prgm
SR CP (U/L)	Sub-routine- Complete Program Unless
CP U/L	Commence a Program Unless

3. REASONS

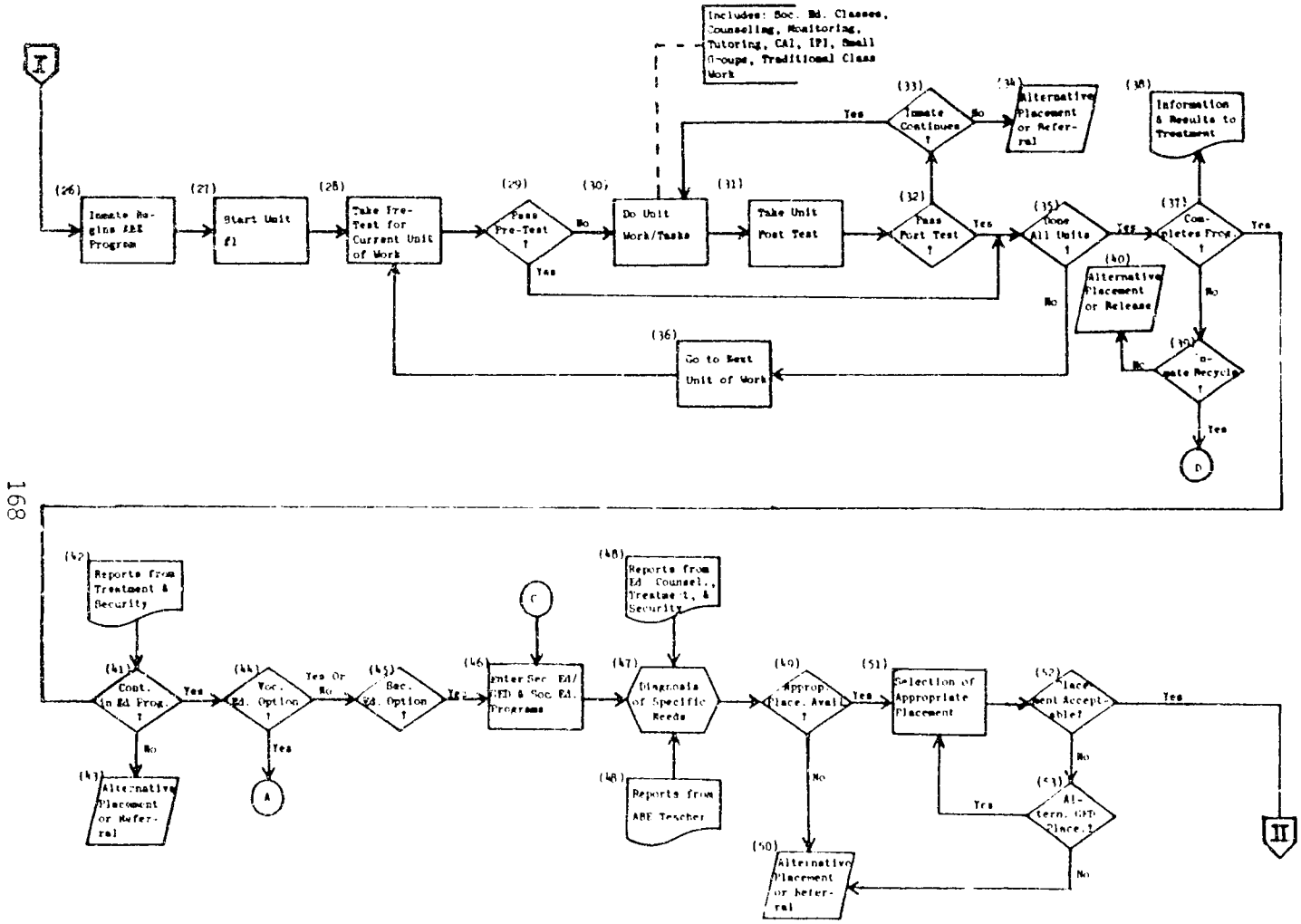
8	1. - in preparation of a mid-life career change
8	2. - can take the AVC [college] courses [I] need
4	3. - can study here [housing unit environment, possibility of success high]
DW	4. - can't do physically challenging work
DW	5. -sentence not long enough for a kitchen assignment
8	6. -education programs available to help with your own [already existing)] business
IQ	7. - even though sentence not long enough to complete an ed program, granted permission to attend anyway
13	8. - education here is free
9	9. - can finish [my] high school
DW	10. - hate labour work
DW	11. -didn't want to work in the fields picking potatoes or slicing broccoli
DW	12. -there is no more incentive pay for work
IQ	13. -[my] sentence was longer than (I) thought, or TA not reinstated
11	14. -always wanted to take computer courses
8	15. -always wanted to go to university (someday)
10	16. - can finish the course started the last time here
9	17. -can get a certificate for typing

9	18. -can get hands-on computer experience
8	19. -can put the courses toward finishing (my) grade 12
8	20. -want to get a good job
7	"a" -am sick and tired of crime
10	21. -wanted to improve (my) mathematics
8	22. -could go to AVC [college] when (I) get out
IQ	23. -Was the length of your sentence a factor?
2	24. -Did anyone suggest to you that this course would be good for a TA?
6&9	25. -in order to learn English/improve (my) English
10	26. -in order to get re-educated
9	27. -in order to get a diploma
DW	28. -did not want to spend (my) time working- where placement wanted [me] to go
DW	29. -in order to get off the unit
DW	30. -was bored
4	31. -could learn something
10	32. -there is something offered that [I] have done before
DW	33. -the teacher said yes -[did not go through a caseworker]
IQ	34. -this is how [I] want to spend [my] "time"
3	35. -the tri-centre timetable was "right" (for [my] length of sentence)
8	36. -it might offer job security someday
10	37. -can take a refresher course [for something taken on the street]
IQ	38. -[my] sentence is long enough
DW	39. -in order to [I]can get off a work crew
SR CP	40. -[I] wanted to take something else because [my] teacher from the other course went on holidays
10	41. -[I] have done this before and I felt good about it
2	42. -it will help [me] get an early release- [my] caseworker told [me]
9	43. -it matched with the results from a career choices program [I] took
6&11	44. -will teach [me] a skill [I] can use at home

5	45. -in order to get [my] children back
6	46. -[I] really need this course
2	47. -because there was a pressure from the outside to take this course
5	48. -it will help [me] to give [my] family a good life
10	49. -[I] started this program elsewhere, but couldn't complete it
6	50 -this program has the possibility of helping [me] to feel good about [myself]
11	51. -this program is something that [I] have been interested in for a long time
4	52. -it would give [me] something to do while [I'm] in here
8	53. -it would give [me] an opportunity to do something with [myself] when [I'm] out
2	54. -it was recommended by [my] parole officer
11	55. -it is something [I've] always wanted to do
10	56. -it is something [I've] taken before but only partly completed
9	57. -it is offered in this prison
13	58. -[I'd] be a fool not to take this opportunity (the cost is so good)
CPU/L	59. -because [I] was accepted
8	60. -[I] want to go to university one day
8	61. -it is a course which will help [me] go to university
4	62. -it is using [my] time wisely
8	63. -it will allow [me] to apprentice [for a trade] one day
CPU/L	64. -there was an opening for the course
12	65. -[I] was familiar with the instructor
4	66. -because [I] am going to be here a while
9	67. -[I] can get my grade 12
7	68. -this will help [me] stay out of jail
10	69. - [I've] been in school all my life, that's what [I] like to do
8	70. -[I] would like to go to attend a university or college while in jail
10	71. - [I] want to take a program working with stuff [I'm] use to working with
11	72. - It will give [me] an opportunity to work with [new materials], and learn new skills
13	73. - It is a program that [I] would have to pay for if [I] was on the street

11	74. - [I] will be able to do this as a hobby for [my] kids and fo [myself]
14	75. -[I] hear the instructor is a decent guy
5	76. - The program will help [me] to learn more about life and [myself]
14	77. - [I] hear it was a real good program
5	78. - The course(s) will help [me] to get rehabilitated
5	79. - [I]think [I] would learn something about relationships
6	80. -It pertains to addictions
5	81. -It would allow [me] access and help [me] have a good relationship with [my] child
5	82. -It will help [me] to cope on the street better
6	83. -It will help [me] take life from a different perspective
6	84. -It will help [me]be a better person
7	85. -It will help [me] so [I] don't return to this place

Excerpts from "Intake Flow Through a Correctional Educational Program" from the National Evaluation Program Phase I Report, 1978, pp. 107-108.


Includes: Soc. Ed. Classes, Counseling, Monitoring, Tutoring, CAI, IPI, Small Groups, Traditional Class Work
(26) Inmate Begins ABE Program
(27) Start Unit #1
(28) Take Pre-Test for Current Unit of Work
(29) Pass Pre-Test ?
(30) Do Unit Work/Tasks
(31) Take Unit Post Test
(32) Pass Post Test ?
(33) Inmate Continues ?
(34) Alternative Placement or Referral
(35) Done All Units ?
(36) Go to Next Unit of Work
(37) Completes Prog. ?
(38) Information & Results to Treatment
(39) Inmate Recycle ?
(40) Alternative Placement or Release
(41) Cont. in Ed Prog. ?
(42) Reports from Treatment & Security
(43) Alternative Placement or Referral
(44) Voc. Ed. Option ?
(45) Bec. Ed. Option ?
(46) Enter Sec Ed/ GED & Soc Ed. Programs
(47) Diagnosis of Specific Needs
(48) Reports from Ed Counsel., Treatment, & Security
(48) Reports from ABE Teacher
(49) Approp. Place. Avail ?
(50) Alternative Placement or Referral
(51) Selection of Appropriate Placement
(52) Placement Acceptable?
(53) Alternate GED Place.?
A
C
D
Yes
No
Yes Or No
I
II

Curriculum Vitae

Sandra Lambertus

Education:	Master of Education student with a specialization in Anthropology and Education Other areas of interest: the Sociocultural context of Literacy and Language, Language Processing, Language and Cognition and Linguistic Anthropology
Other Degrees:	Bachelor of Education (with Distinction) 1992 Major: Elementary Education Minors: English as a Second Language and Intercultural Education University of Alberta Bachelor of Arts (with Distinction) 1990 Major: History Minor: Spanish University of Alberta
Publications:	The English Shift A Workbook for New Canadian Hospital Support Workers Published by English Language Professionals Incorporated, copyright 1993 Discussion questions and Ethics and Consent forms for Research Interviews in the 1994 edition of the text book, Introduction to Canadian Education - Common Understandings in a Pluralist Society, readings compiled by P.T. Rooke with D Schugurenski, used for Educational Foundations 101, University of Alberta
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Teaching Experience:

Graduate Teaching Assistant for Educational Foundations 101, Introduction to Canadian Education - Differences and Common Understandings in a Pluralist Society

Guest lecturer for the 1993 intersession, 1993 fall and1994 Educational Foundations 493, Basic Issues in Contemporary Education on the topic, "The politics of literacy"

English in the Workplace Instructor for English Language Professionals at the Misericordia Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta

English as a Second Language instructor for immigrant adults for Catholic Social Services and the YMCA
I developed course materials for these classes, utilizing resources from the University of Alberta, Canada Employment and Immigration, Alberta Consumer and Corporate Affairs and Alberta Career Development and Employment.

Previously, I served on the Immigrant Women Advisory Committee for Edmonton and produced an audio-visual presentation on the plight of refugee women for the YMCA.

I am an accredited member of the Alberta Teachers of English as a Second Language and hold an interim professional teaching certificate for Alberta Education.

Since commencing the Master's program I have served on the executive of the Educational Foundations Graduate Students' Association and I am currently a member of the Educational Foundations Ethics Review Committee and a member of the Educational Foundations Department Council.