Penal systems of European countries vary in educational programs and humanizing efforts. A high percentage of Soviet prisoners, many incarcerated for ideological/religious beliefs, are confined to labor colonies. All inmates are obligated to learn a trade, one of the qualifications for release being evidence of some trade skill. Swedish institutions, leaders in humanizing efforts, offer vocational/industrial training, continuing education, and follow-up educational programs. The Finnish penal programs, although limited to elementary instruction, indicate a strong progressive strain. Education is a feature of all penal institutions in England. Of the French inmates involved in education, about one-fourth are enrolled in correspondence courses. Italy, prohibited by legislation from organizing schools in prisons, provides vocational training. Elementary academic education is provided in Portugal, Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece, and Hungary; vocational training is emphasized in Belgium and Poland. Dutch penal staffs provide impressive group therapy experimental programs. In the United States, programmed instruction and college education provision are current trends. Although a national strategy for adult basic educational training exists, General Education Development (GED) research is lacking. Vocational training, which is often provided, is weak. (EA)
EDUCATION--PENAL INSTITUTIONS: U.S. AND EUROPE

by

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Nearly a year ago I reported on the state of inmate education in the United States and Europe. Since that time I have had the opportunity to return to Europe for another look. I was fortunate in visiting two countries I had not previously visited—Finland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Although I implored a number of Eastern European countries for admittance to discuss penal education, the replies I received from American Embassies who did a great deal of leg work on my behalf proved unfavorable. At the end of last August I received an official invitation from the Hungarian People's Republic—an invitation I hope will be honored when I return next year. Officials with whom I talked in the Scandinavian countries reported that their requests to visit several of the Eastern European countries had been overlooked in the past, but visiting prospects—whether because of the European Security Conference or other factors—appeared brighter. For the first time, Finnish correctional officials seemed reasonably confident that some of them might have the opportunity to visit penal institutions of the Soviet Union in the near future. In Sweden I learned that their officials probably would have the opportunity to see Polish prisons.

Meanwhile prison unrest and violence over here continues. This year the public has been treated to accounts of MacAlester, Walpole, and Leavenworth, along with various accounts of jail
outbursts. Texas, a state somewhat in the forefront of penal progress, recently had its moment of shame with the news account of Mountain View, a maximum security institution for youths, where beatings and tortures were used to maintain obedience to institutional norms.\(^{(1)}\)

Europe, of course, is not entirely free from violence. Violent disturbances in British prisons occurred at Parkhurst, Cartree, and Albany, while Italy experienced serious riots in Rome, Turin, and Cagliari. In England the complaints lodged against officials ranged from the correctional staff stealing food from the prison kitchen, unnecessary delay in issuing educational textbooks requested by prisoners to overcrowding and the dual role of the prison disciplinary board—members who serve both as disciplinarians and ombudsmen. A central grievance is the inability of the inmate to contact his MP unless the matter has first been raised with Home Office. Prisoners are not allowed to write to the press.\(^{(2)}\)

The thrust of Italian inmate complaints centers on an archaic authoritarian penal code dating back to the days of fascist Italy in 1939. The plight of these unfortunates waiting perhaps months or even years to be sentenced has become a national scandal. Parliament passed a bill permitting judges to allow suspects provisional liberty.\(^{(3)}\) Despite this, half of all those found in Italian prisons have not been sentenced and a thoroughgoing reform has not been enacted although Parliament has been discussing such a bill since 1947.\(^{(4)}\)

None of this, of course, holds a candle to the Russian labor prisons—savagery in the form of constant malnutrition, exposure
to the extreme elements of sub-zero winter climate in insufficient clothing, several people crammed into small cells, outright brutality including medical experiments on the inmates. Descriptions of this reminds one of "Dostoyeski a nightmare of the more recent Nazi and Stalinist camps. These conditions do exist according to a recent publication by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, "USSR Labor Camps", which contains testimony from recent emigrants, underground writings smuggled out of the USSR, extracts from other sources, and a graphic eyewitness account by Avraham Shifrin, a Soviet Jew, intellectual, and lawyer who spent a decade in 30 labor camps. Estimates on the number of camps run as high as 1,000 with maybe from 5 to 10 million people condemned to slow annihilation on a work treadmill to oblivion. (5)

Many people are what one might call "Bill of Rights" prisoners, incarcerated for their ideological or religious beliefs. Freedom of press, assembly, travel are practically unknown in the Soviet Union which has endured six centuries of authoritarianism—explained in part as an antidote to the perpetual threat of anarchy. Even the medieval Orthodox church, at one time the center prop of the country, discouraged contact with outsiders for fear of dogma pollution. Interestingly enough it was Tsar Alexis in 1649, not the Communists, who made the first formal demarcation between political and civil crimes. Peter the Great was the first to set up a system of internal passports whereby people were not permitted to travel without extraordinary permission and who also organized the first political police administration. Catherine the Great used censorship extensively to fight the "French position"—ideas about freedom which captured the imagination of
many Eastern Europeans and won the support and sympathy of a number of our own citizens just recently rid of the British. Nicholas I of the 19th Century developed a skilled secret police well-known for the invasion of the privacy of Russian intellectuals and foreigners alike. (6)

But what of the criminal prisons? Lenin wrote the initial treatise on correctional labor science practiced in the Soviet Union today.

The administration of criminal justice should rely on the principle of the conditional discharge of the offender.

Courts should express the attitude of society toward crime and the criminal through the exercise of social reprimand.

Punishment should be without deprivation of liberty, as for example corrective labor or special public projects.

Prisons should be transferred into educational institutions in which prisoners are educated rather than isolated.

Correctional institutions should rely on the support of the neighboring communities to strengthen the educative aspects of their programs. (7)

Dr. Nikolai A. Struchkov described the present administrative model to John Conrad which he described in his excellent book, "Crime and Its Correction—An International Survey of Attitudes and Practices." Ten percent of the Soviet prisoners are confined in prisons. Those may be awaiting trial, unsuited for confinement in a corrective labor colony, or have committed such a grave crime that their placement in a labor colony is too big a risk. Most prisoners then are confined to labor colonies and even those confined in prison at first are ultimately sent to such a colony. (8)
According to Conrad, labor colonies can be categorized as mild, general, and strict. Those in the mild colonies have less than three years to serve, are not guarded, and some are even permitted to live off the reservation with their families. The general colony is guarded, but liberal visiting and correspondence privileges are allowed. In the strict regime inmates reside in cells and contacts with the outside are severely restricted. (9)

Each colony is organized into detachments which average about 150 depending upon the kind of assigned work. Work units live and eat together and each member of the group assumes responsibility for the others in the group. Imprisonment terms range from a maximum of 10 to 15 years for most major crimes of violence and criminal acts against the property of the state. One can receive a sentence of 10 years for crimes against personal property, murder without premeditation, and lesser crimes of violence. Conditional release can be granted after one-half to two-thirds of the sentence has been served; this, of course, relates to the nature of the offense. (10)

All inmates are obligated to learn a trade, one of the qualifications for release being evidence of some trade skill. It could require extensive education for some and the standard ten year school was available for anyone deficient in the three R's. At the labor camp at Kryukovo in the Moscow region the inmates were paid almost the prevailing industry scale, depending on their skill. The highly skilled could earn up to 75% of the wages paid on the outside and the less skilled 45%. (11)

One of the devices used for participation of the inmates in the management of the Colony was the Commission on Professional
and Vocational Education. This Commission was to assist the deputy chief for education by helping to motivate the untrained inmates to learn a vocational skill. If, for example, the top administration had incorrectly estimated the inmate's ability to do a job, it is the responsibility of the Commission to so inform the colony head to make an appropriate change.\(^{(12)}\)

Conrad states that Kryukovo is significant even if other labor colonies fail to live up to this model. Westerners are allowed to visit only this colony, but it represents the way in which the Soviet government would like such institutions to appear to foreigners. There is neither unemployment nor made work at Kryukovo. A great deal of the work undertaken by the colony requires a high degree of skill from the inmates who may not have previously had such skills. The commissions, frequent meetings of collectives, and trade training prepared them for eventual release to the community and made up the very essence of the colony's operation. Since the wage rates approximate those paid in industry on the outside the expectation is that an equivalent amount will be produced.\(^{(13)}\)

The juvenile correctional labor colony at Pushkin, a suburb of Leningrad, has a basic educational program. Everyone learns a skill before release in either the building or metal trade. Individual responsibility is emphasized for each boy and the classroom situation stresses social restoration—a goal to be devoutly desired. Education rather than work forms the basis of the program here. Before a young boy can leave (age range is from 14 to 18) he has to become reasonably proficient at a skill. A large part of the program is devoted to the development of cultural
interests and standards. Communist Youth Chapters visit the institution to lead discussions on political and economic topics. Parental committees come to the school to learn about the programs and confer with the staff members. Boys who attain the ideal, as Conrad states it, never disobey regulations, study hard in school or shop, meet the established work norms, give due deference to instructors and elders, keep out of trouble on weekend passes, model themselves after society's best at dances and social occasions, and study good literature. (14)

Two years following discharge the institution still exerts control over the young men through contact with different cultural organizations, trade unions, and the police. Redivisist statistics were not available. Conrad found this mystifying.

"As at Kryukovo, it is reasonable to conclude that in a society in which individual choice of conduct could be severely limited, in which surveillance could be intensive, and in which group expectations could be mobilized in support of norms, there should be a high rate of success." (15)

A long range study of Soviet corrective labor practice in collaboration would be needed. Conrad's proposal for such an approach included:

A review of all the literature in the field, most of it now untranslated; a team of social scientists with a good knowledge of Russian involved in a series of discussion with the leaders of Soviet corrections; entree into all levels of institutions where inmates are confined which would include interviews with staff and inmates. All kinds of group processes would be observed with the intent of enumerating different political categories. Russians would be given the same opportunity in the United States. (16)
Professor Nikiforov of the Institute of United States Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR told me he expects to visit the United States sometime next year to observe some aspects of our criminal justice system. This might herald the beginning of the exchange proposed by Conrad given a more settled international picture. My own entry into Soviet prisons was forbidden since I wasn't given the green light to visit the USSR until two weeks prior to departure. The Soviet-American House of Friendship in Moscow arranged the interview with Professor Nikiforov, a professor of criminal law. He promised to assist me upon my return to visit a few of the institutions. However, I can report a heightened status of police and correctional officers. Both of these branches of the criminal justice system were underpaid which led to considerable job turnover. Recently, though, pay scales have been revised and more people now consider these permanent career possibilities. (17)

Sweden

The Swedish penal system is world famous for its efforts to humanize its 68 penal institutions. All are small compared to U.S. standards—the largest being Kumla with around 300 inmates, and its 31 open institutions usually supporting around 60. Two-thirds of the prison population serve for less than four months, furloughs are available to all with good behavior records, a vacation village was established for select prisoners who could bring their families there for month-long stays, and all open prisons as well as some of the closed ones provide for conjugal visits. In the village of Gruvberget prisoners attend classes in the mornings and study subjects supposed to assist their return to society. At Uppsala
at the Studiegarden nearly twenty prisoners are housed in army-type buildings where the elementary grades are taught on the premises, and two or three of the more advanced students study at the University's adult education center in town. These students travel to school without escort and blend in easily with the town's population. Mr. Enar Lundborg, the headmaster, reported the program had been quite successful over the 6-7 years it had been in progress, although no attempt had been made to enlarge it. (18) Most have heard of the training-work program experiment now underway at Lillberga Prison where inmates manufacture tools, machinery, and parts for prefab houses. They are paid the same amount they could earn on the outside and pay for their food on working days. They are also compelled to pay fines and property damages connected with their sentences from their earnings. (19)

Education for Swedish inmates has three objectives: first, to permit inmates with unsatisfactory education backgrounds to improve to the extent that they can take advantage of vocational or industrial training. Second, inmates who had their education interrupted are assisted in getting back into school upon their release. Third, inmates already enrolled in a public school are provided an opportunity to continue their studies during their sentences. Inmates of the school drop-out variety take refresher courses of varying lengths in areas such as the Swedish language, mathematics, civics, and problems faced in everyday life. Schooling is often only 1/2 day with the remaining time devoted to employment in the production shops of the institutions or some other suitable activity.

The National Correctional Administration has entered into agreements with Sweden's county schools whereby those engaged in self-study receive tutoring assistance from teachers recruited from
the local school system who are paid a fixed salary for this work. Vocational and industrial training, until recently available primarily for juvenile clientele, is now offered to groups in adult prisons. Since sentences are short the training is of an introductory nature and is carried on after the prisoner is released at one of the public training centers. At present, for practical and economic reasons, the training in institutions is limited to the building trade areas—wood and concrete work, engineering, weak-current electricity, motor mechanics, and the plastics trades. Cooperating institutions include the National Board of Education, the National Labor Market Board, and the trade unions and employers' organizations. The short terms of prisoners have compelled considerable emphasis on individualized instruction using audio-visual materials and programmed tests. The national school system has veered in this direction during the past few years providing ample material in programmed education. (20)

The study prison at Falun, Sweden, a small 19th century building with only 19 prisoners, typified the human aspects of Swedish prison life. Here the prisoners were engaged in self-study from the lower grades to the university level. The atmosphere was relaxed and a spirit of camaraderie prevailed among inmates and correctional officers. An American, a young black incarcerated on a drug charge, said he was spending his week-end pass at the home of a correctional officer where a fishing excursion had been planned. (21) So far there is nothing to show that any of the Swedish programs have in any way affected recidivist rates one way or another. Sweden, it seemed, had a good many pilot projects such as Uppsala, Tillberga,
or the new therapy institution at Gavle, but nothing yet on a broad scale. Norman Bishop, a Britisher in charge of a small research bureau at the National Correctional Administration emphasized that approximately 25% of the Swedish inmates cannot read or write well enough to hold down a job. Although a number of programs have been and are being tried out, there are not sufficient funds yet to try anything on a broad scale. A great deal more effort has to be made in evaluating Swedish programs. The big advantage Sweden has over the U.S. is the shorter sentence in terms of cost. Probation is certainly less dehumanizing than incarceration but a major research thrust has been lacking; it is expected that with Bishop at the helm, research in corrections will take on a new importance.

Finland

Finnish offenders are placed in six different categories of prisons.

Control Prisons—maximum security prisons for recidivists
County Prisons—medium security prisons for mixed populations
Farm Prisons—secure prisons with open working conditions for recidivists
Youth Prisons—secure prisons with some open working conditions
Prison colonies—open institutions for recidivists towards the ends of their sentences
Labour colonies—open institutions for first offenders

Only about ten percent of the inmates operate within the open sector of the system at any one time. When a person has served the main part of his sentence he can get transferred to one of the four prison colonies where he is paid a bit higher for his work than in the closed institutions. The Labor Colony was instituted by a Finnish Communist who served as Minister of Justice in the late
1940's--designed and adapted from the Soviet experience. The Finns felt it worked well enough to keep it. The Labor colonies handle first time offenders, most of them serving sentences for drunken driving of about four months duration. One can meet people from all walks of life in a Labor colony. I visited the Helsinki Labor Colony and learned that sea captains, students, members of Parliament, foresters, truck drivers, etc. had served sentences. In this free atmosphere of the island the inmates were busy converting an old barracks, formerly a fortress, into modern apartments to help Helsinki solve its housing problem. Formal education programs did not exist at the labor colony; informal study and discussion groups organized by the inmates themselves appeared to constitute the "education". Other than the youth prison where some attention is paid to education most of the emphasis is on work in Finnish prisons.

Education primarily is limited to elementary instruction and there exist no programs developed in cooperation with outside schools and universities although the inmate must prepare himself in his spare time. The prison teacher's main task is to develop programs (discussion groups, etc.) in the spare time provided inmates. Two vocational training schools exist; one in the youth prison in Kerava and the other in the prison in Riihimaki. The director of the Finnish Correctional Administration, Mr. K. J. Lang, reports some statistical evidence exists which show that pupils graduating from the vocational school in Riihimaki show a lower recidivism rate than other released inmates.(24)

Overall Finnish prisons impressed me. A strong progressive strain is indicated by: the Labor camp where an inmate could stay
on after he finished his sentence to be gainfully employed until he had a job and a place to stay; the development of more open institutions; wage rates at labor colonies comparable to the rates paid free workers in the same kind of work; the use of women as professionals in the National Correctional Administration and as correctional officers in some of the closed male institutions. Finland is behind Sweden in correctional research generally. Since education per se is not especially significant in the Finnish program, little time is devoted by the Finns to a study of its impact upon released inmates.

Denmark

In 1971 Denmark published a survey on the general education of prisoners in Danish penal institutions. If its recommendations take effect education would be comparable to that which the Danish students receive on the outside. Most of the education now takes place after working hours from 6 to 9 PM under conditions such as poor heating and lighting in the classrooms, rooms that are too small, and not soundproofed. Those who did the survey recommend a built-in research component to evaluate and test the proposed changes. (25)

Norway

Norway has only a few full-time teachers in its juvenile institutions and nothing significant in its adult prisons. School facilities as such do not exist in institutions and much of the education program is based on correspondence studies. A 1969 elementary school law was passed making 9 years of compulsory schooling the rule and
the impact of this should gradually be felt in prisons where those of school age are incarcerated. This summer I visited the new maximum security prison in Trondheim where several therapy programs were in use, including education, as a result of a transfer to this institution of a man who developed these programs while he served as the director of a juvenile home. Here at Trondheim a youth school and workshop school are provided on a yearly basis. Students can take examinations and courses which would be acceptable to the school system on the outside. Self-study programs are also available for some during and after working hours. There are no evaluations of any of these programs.

England

Education is a feature of all penal establishments in England. Many full-time teachers are recruited by the Local Education Authorities, but teachers so employed are reimbursed by the Prison Department. A series of policy statements issued by the Home Office starting in 1969 declared the intent of making penal education the equivalent of education in the free society. All prisons have libraries, but courses in adult institutions are offered in the evening. The vocational training program has been reviewed to modify the courses to meet the requirements of industrial training boards and improve the course content. In a few study horstals (youth prisons) some residents study full-time and for those of compulsory school age or in need of remedial education, regardless of age, it is now a part of the working day. Education personnel in the Home Office reported that a few of the Colleges of Further Education had begun to offer a limited number of courses in which prisoners were released
for study. Thirty-two prisoners are now involved in a University Without Walls program one day a week full-time and this number is expected to increase to around double in the next year or so. At the elementary level, the British experience has been that the "remedials" at this level can't concentrate for more than two hours per day. The education budget of the Home Office in 1973 tripled since 1967 and the establishment of a Chief Officer of Education in the Home Office indicates a growing interest the impact of education of the lives of the offenders. (26)

**France**

In 1971 over 19,000 French inmates were involved in education programs, but over 5,000 were doing it through correspondence courses. The French prison administration believes that the educational programs contribute to a reduced recidivism rate, but hard evidence is lacking. (27) What best exemplifies the French system is called Le regime progressif (progressive regime) in which prisoners advance through five phases to ultimate freedom—the final phase labeled conditional release. Conrad described it as the logic of punishment, the application of strict rules which do not provide for feedback, and where there seems to be little concern as to the success of the system or whether it is even relevant to the problem of crime. The other theme of French culture found in its juvenile institutions is community concern where the time spent is given to making the life of a juvenile a comfortable, constructive, and nurturing experience. The national center for training and research for juvenile schools emphasizes the need to study both delinquents
and staff in order to build a system with therapeutic qualities. Conrad suggests that the world has much to learn from French juvenile institutions, and this is especially true of the French judges and lawyers who operate the harsh, modern bastilles where adult offenders are incarcerated. (28)

**Yugoslavia**

In Yugoslavian institutions there exists elementary schools for skilled workers and various courses for the semi-skilled. In some prisons the school director and teachers are employees of the prisons themselves and in others the teachers come from the outside. People who take technical courses in prison must have completed their first 8 years of schooling. As in several other countries (France, Portugal) some prisoners are permitted to leave the prisons to take an exam at a lower school or university. Special studies reported that those who acquired technical skills in penal institutions had a 50% lower recidivism rate compared with those who did not acquire technical skills. (29)

**Italy**

Italy in 1971 had over 10,000 men and women in vocational training at 31 prisons. The failure of a penal reform bill to be enacted prevented primary and secondary schools from being organized in all prisons. I saw a rather extensive therapy program at Rebibbia where the Criminology Department of the University of Rome had facilities within the prison. The emphasis tended toward the medical and psychological aspects of treatment and formal education did not play a large role. (30) The Filangieri youth prison in Naples, an
overcrowded institution of 160 boys did have public school education. Teachers taught for half the day during the week and shop training made up the remainder of the program. The staff, dedicated to their charges, lacked sufficient money to make many programs possible. (31) Educational research in Italian institutions is non-existent.

**Portugal**

Dr. Jose Guardado Lopes, the Director-General of Prison Services in Portugal, described several of the Portuguese programs. At Leiria Prison young men classified as semi-free attend technical schools along with regular students and at the Central Prison in Lisbon inmates can take examinations for technical and high schools both in the schools outside and in the prisons themselves. The academic work is at the elementary level. Last year 14 took examinations for the "primaria," the equivalent to the second grade of American elementary school and 20 took the "segundo grau," the equivalent of the American fourth grade education. At the Cadeia Central Prison in Lisbon a contract with a semi-autonomous subsidiary of General Motors (Empresa Comercial e industrial de Automoveis e Acessorios, Lda.) has placed 15 people in automobile repair training. Upon release, they will be offered jobs in garages. A second program is operated by Comportel (Companhia Portuguesa de Llevadores SARL) where seventy inmates now study the techniques of the assembly of elevators, electricity, and elevator repair. Although the number of inmates in educational programs fluctuates, 85 inmates have just been involved in these programs for one year; these private industry training courses are brand new and no one can predict the effect the training will have. (32)
Spain

In Spanish prisons classes for illiterates are compulsory. If a person has attained the level of a third grade education and qualifies, (non-dangerous offender) he can participate in education and other activities outside the penitentiary. A considerable number of inmates are permitted outside to take academic courses and special training. Unlike Portugal, apprenticeships in the prisons are conducted by technicians who work for the state bureau called the Penitentiary Works under the direction of the Ministry of Labor. The courses include vocational and other special training, but higher education is available only on an individual basis when the time is available and administrative requirements of the prison are met. Vocational training would include carpentry, masonry, tractor operation, glass cutting, weaving, plumbing, metal work, welding, mechanics, and painting. In one institution, The Penitentiary Institute for the Young of Liria (Valencia), of 329 inmates who received training, the recidivist rate was 12%, however national statistics on program successes have not been compiled. (33)

Luxembourg

Only ten percent of the prison population of 140 can take advantage of the trade school program because of the short sentences. The Advocat General of Luxembourg insists that the trade school training had a beneficial effect on the recidivism rate, but no evidence was offered. (34)

Holland

Holland, like Sweden, is ahead of the United States in its approach to sentencing; most inmates have sentences under six
months. Dutch penal staffs operate impressive group therapy experimental programs in some institutions and The Corridor Institution for mentally healthy young short-termers is an outstanding example of architecture with an interesting training regime. Formal education and vocational training programs were not included because of the short sentences ranging from four weeks to four months.

Recently, the Criminological Institute of the Free University in Amsterdam has been involved with the House of Detention in Amsterdam. The inmates are delinquents held in custody and/or have been given a short term prison sentence (six months). The project is a video film of a Dutch penal court-session and the procedures followed at the police station and in the detention house. Puppets play all the roles accompanied by a dialogue in several languages on Dutch penal rules. Nearly 50% of the inmates in Amsterdam are foreigners and so the project is to make them and the uninformed Dutch inmates more aware of their legal rights. Training is provided to teach prisoners how to handle social service and labor exchange representatives, to get the right advice about the proper job, unemployment benefits, licenses, etc. This is particularly important for the unemployed ex-prisoners. In the planning stage are ideas to teach single delinquents cooking and house-keeping and to start some training in vocational education.

Belgium

Trade school training is organized in certain prisons in Belgium with the Ministry of Employment and Work and several private companies. Penal officials believe that the education programs have had a beneficial effect on the personalities of the inmates.
but said no proof could be offered to show a decreased recidivism rate. (37)

Switzerland

What few programs I saw in Switzerland were offered after the working day. The Swiss idea of education is disciplined work. Vocational schools near certain prisons are available to certain prisoners for training. Big cantonal prisons have several hours a day available for training for inmates under 30 years of age. Teachers come in after the working day in the bigger prisons and teach a limited number of courses. Some courses can be completed by correspondence. (38)

Greece

Greece has 28 prisons for men, one for women, 3 correctional institutions for young boys, two reformatories for young women, and 3 reformatories for young men. Elementary education is available in all institutions for those who have not complete this instruction including illiterates not older than 45 years of age. The diplomas granted are equal to those granted by corresponding public schools. For those detained in the reformatories, permission can be granted to attend technical schools, high schools, or the University to receive instruction. About 40% of the inmates are involved. No statistical data is on hand to show the rate of recidivism, but the Director General of the Correctional Administration maintains that the recidivism is smaller for those who have received training as compared to those who have not. (39) American embassy personnel informed me that American prisoners in Greece
did not participate in any of the programs including the farm prison off the coast of Greece near Athens where prisoners are permitted to work a day off of their sentences by working a day on the farm. (40)

**Hungary**

In Hungarian prisons a person is required to finish four classes of primary school if under 50 years of age. Eight classes of primary school are available for all convicts. The school certificate issued upon completion of studies contains no reference to the fact that the work was done in prison. (41)

**Poland**

Article 54 of the Polish Executive Penal Code requires convicts to finish their elementary school education if they have not reached their 50th birthday and if their prison sentence has 6 months or more to run. Elementary education is carried on in time free from work, and in regular scheduled school classes. Convicts are permitted to take vocational training in areas which correspond to the need of national economy. Courses are offered in iron working, welding, carpentry, upholstery, shoemaking, tailoring, concrete work, steel fitting, masonry, plastering, blacksmithing, plastics manufacturing, leather repair, hairdressing, and bookbinding. Prisoners who finish their sentence before the end of the year are permitted to take their final tests in the institutions. Those on parole (what is called conditional release) can also continue their schooling on the outside since the prison education programs duplicate what is taught in the public schools. One-time educational
courses are organized in penal institutions for the purpose of developing an attitude of citizenship and the inculcation of the principles of community life and to instill into the incarcerated person knowledge, initiative, and new interests while attempting to raise the cultural level. These programs include lectures and talks and discussions focused on books, newspapers, movies, and television and club activities.

Vocational training is set up on a two-year training cycle consisting of theory courses lasting 20 to 24 hours per week and 36 to 40 hours of practical training. Two semesters are taught, one beginning August 15th and the other February 1st. The training accomplishes in two years what would take three years on the outside. Vocational programs for inmates with shorter sentences are also organized. Supervision over the prison schools is handled by the prison authorities in regard to rehabilitation, with the local education authorities administering the pedagogical aspects of the programs.

On the outside an organization known as the Society for Popularization of Knowledge provides penal institutions with lecturers, material, films, etc. on various subjects; active in this work is the People's Anti-Alcoholic Committee.

People on probation or parole in Poland can be compelled to begin studies or to continue them. This might be at the institution itself or a factory where the person is undergoing training. All education in Poland is free. Evaluation of these programs is apparently lacking.
A LOOK AT THE UNITED STATES

Programmed Instruction

A major difficulty with prison student bodies still at the elementary and junior high level is the absence of provisions for individual differences. Programmed instruction can help to correct this by allowing students to proceed at their own rate. Correctional institutions in the U.S. have increasingly turned to programmed instruction. A survey in 1970 by Belcastro, Codha, and Valois showed, however, that 60% of the institutions did not use programmed instruction. A majority of those that did use it spent over one hour per day on all levels. They concluded that most correctional institutions are not yet taking advantage of the distinct benefits of this form of instruction. (43)

Several years before, the first project at the Draper Institution at Elmore, Alabama, funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, demonstrated that academic achievement could be raised by using programmed instruction. (44)

The elementary and secondary education staff of the California Youth Authority collected data on 30 projects carried out at all nine Youth Authority institutions and at four Community Treatment Centers during 1968-1969. The use of individualized instruction with programmed material and audio-visual devices was highly successful at 7 institutions where stress was placed upon improving reading ability. Systems models used at 2 institutions provided alternatives to existing educational-vocational programs. One model included a diagnostic center for identifying deficiencies in academic, vocational, and social skills and the other used behavior modification
methods. Two school psychologists provided education vocational guidance, diagnosed educationally handicapped youngsters, conducted academic testing programs and augmented communication between the public and Youth Authority Schools.\(^{(45)}\) Sweden was the only country in Europe I found which placed considerable emphasis on the use of individualized instruction using audio-visual materials and programmed texts, although England has now started to utilize teaching machines.\(^{(46)}\)

**Adult Basic Education Training**

The University of Hawaii moved to the forefront of Adult Basic Education when in May, 1969, the Education Research and Development Center of the University of Hawaii began building a model of adult basic education for corrections. The project is "geared toward achieving reforms, innovation, and improvements in the nation's correctional settings through the vehicle of career-based adult basic education."\(^{(47)}\) The teacher training effort can best be described as a national strategy operating in a regional and state setting and over a four-year period, 700 individuals in corrections will be exposed to specialized training and provided with supervision and guidance in developing models for career-based education.\(^{(48)}\) The Program Director of the Center, Dr. T. A. Ryan, stresses that for the training to be effective, people at national and regional levels must be brought together with different backgrounds and biases to bring about desired changes. Funded primarily by the Division of Adult Education, HEW, 40 states and the United States Bureau of Prisons are participating.\(^{(49)}\)
The GED

The Texan Department of Corrections in 1956 was the first to initiate a General Education Development Testing Program in a penal institution. These high school equivalency certificates have been awarded to a number of inmates during the succeeding years and so far the data indicates that the acquisition of a high school equivalency certificate increases the inmate's chance of staying out of prison. (50)

John J. Marsh did a survey of selected practices of GED testing in state penal institutions during 1972 since information was not available at a national level regarding details of the administration of the GED in correctional facilities of the states. The American Council on Education reported that 43 states had been granted official approval to administer the GED in correctional facilities in accordance with their published rules, but Dr. Marsh's survey showed that 21 states do not administer it in all their correctional facilities. (51) One question he asked was: "Since the inception of GED testing in the penal system how many have been administered the test?" Thirty-six states gave numerical responses and Dr. Marsh estimates that a few thousand inmates take it each year, not an impressive figure if the population of state penitentiaries is over 200,000. (52) He questions whether a sincere effort is made to make full use of the test. Forty-eight states indicated that they had programs of Adult Basic Education to prepare an inmate to take the GED. He feels, however, that some evidence exists that State Departments of Education see GED preparation and testing as no more than an administrative responsibility—i.e., "they feel a
responsibility for the integrity of the test and little more,"(53) but he also notes that legislatures might be reluctant to authorize and fund an involvement of the State Department of Education in the penal world.(54) However, this does not excuse the professional educator from taking a stand on the matter of correctional education.(55)

GED research is apparently lacking penal institutions. GED test scores have not been used as a basis to correlate with factors such as recidivism, frequency of early parole, job retention. It deserves more emphasis, Marsh concluded, because education in the penitentiary "as an ingredient of human development is of greater importance in relationship to the environment than in the free world."(56)

Vocational Education

Vocational training programs are found in a good many institutions. In 1966 Mr. John T. Torrence did a study on the relationship between training programs offered in State and Federal Penal Institutions and unfilled openings in the major occupations in the U.S. and found 36 occupations for which training could be feasible.(57) Studies in this area go in both directions. The Washington State Division of Program Evaluation and Statistics indicated no discernable difference in recidivism rates between inmates who have completed vocational programs and a similar group which had not.(58) A California study at the California Institution for Women found no evidence that vocational training affects parole outcome, but after the study was completed some more promising courses were instituted and tentative estimates were that professional training in marketable skills with follow-up job placement could provide success.(59) The
only full-time vocational program certified by the Minnesota Department of Education at the state prison was funded through Section 251 of the Manpower Development and Training Act. An arrangement with the parole authority assured the trainees they would receive strong consideration for parole upon completion of the program. Training began in the fall of 1968. Of those released and still out by June, 1970, two-thirds made good adjustments and about one-third made marginal adjustments. Of those re-arrested, about one-half had committed new offenses and one-half had violated parole rules.\(^{60}\) On a more positive note one is referred to the final report of the Draper Project begun in 1964 and completed in 1967 in which education, skill training, counseling, job placement, and post-release assistance were provided. The follow-up study of 228 graduates of the project lends credence to the view that the project did reduce recidivism.\(^{61}\)

Dr. George Pownall's study of federal releases led him to conclude that a real area of weakness in the correctional system was training. So-called vocational training programs often were no more than maintenance work to help keep the prison going. He found negligible differences in employment rates between those who did and did not have vocational training, but he also found that those who had a year of more of vocational training had a higher employment rate than those who did not.\(^{62}\) Less than one-third of those who received training used it in their first post-release job. His surveys were done in the mid-sixties and he notes in the early 70's more willingness on the part of local, state, and federal government agencies to relax their hiring requirements to employ more
ex-offenders. There is still a great need for governments at all levels to take stock and evaluate their existing policies and practices. Institutions, he feels, could work together with industry to establish realistic training programs since training should be limited to areas where inmates have the chance for employment opportunities.

A thorough evaluation of Ohio's vocational education is to be found in a report entitled "Rehabilitation Education." I suspect that the conclusions reached are applicable to many penal institutions in this country and Europe. In all of Ohio's penal institutions the vocational education programs are grossly inadequate. No sound programs can be developed because funds are lacking to adequately staff such a program. In many areas, the consultants who did the study found uncertified and unqualified teaching and administrative personnel. The inmates reported inmate instructors to be not effective. No extensive diagnostic program exists for inmates with emphasis on vocational education. Conclusion: "It is our opinion that education, especially vocational education, does not hold a very high priority treatment." A summary of related research appears in an appendix attached to the Ohio study. The consultants contend that the related research indicates that vocational education in prison can favorably affect the offender's parole success, but that the value of vocational education alone for that purpose is questionable. Singling out a particular course of work experience to prove reduced recidivism is hardly possible. Still, they feel, it is a good way to communicate with offenders. Some combination of offender characteristics and treatment of research techniques
are needed to identify the good rehabilitative values in correctional education programs. (66)

Post Secondary Education

At a manpower training conference in 1968 Dr. Stuart Adams stated that prisons involved with college education had been growing at a phenomenal rate. He suggested that perhaps 25% of all prisoners could ultimately be involved in higher education. (67) Craig Colvin reports that one of the first institutions to establish a large scale college program within its walls was the Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard under the guidance of Southern Illinois University in 1952. In the past two decades over five hundred inmates have participated in a full-academic college program in that institution. (68) What first started as a vocational training program expanded to the extent that now some offenders upon completion of their prison terms take Masters and Doctorate degrees. (69)

In 1974, New York State expects to establish a community college at Bedford Hills in Westchester County serving only male and female inmates. Initially the enrollment will be between 150-200 people, of which 50 will be women. (70) Bluefield Community College in southwest Virginia expects to have both male and female inmates on its campus during the spring semester of 1974. Jackson Community College has over 350 prisoners enrolled in liberal arts classes taught at prison and another 125 trustee students attending classes at night on campus between the hours of 10PM and 2:30AM. The college offers a full-time placement service to all its students and this is particularly meaningful to inmates who must have an occupation
before they can be granted parole. Plans are underway to seek Federal money to do a follow-up research study. (71)

The final report of the Lorton-Federal Community College program shows a comparable recidivist rate to that of similar programs. After twelve months the Lorton experimental college group had a conviction rate of 18%. The control group conviction rate was 25%. (72) Of course it would be nice to know what the conviction rate of these groups are 2, 3, and 5 years after release. Newgate information in September of 1972 showed that college program projects in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Oregon had a rearrest rate of 11% with 8% convictions. (73) In the final Summary Report, however, the conclusions reported that college program participation in general or in the Newgate program in particular did not lead to a reduction in recidivism. (74) The study cautions the reader to avoid the trap of assuming that college programs are ineffective in reducing criminal behavior. (75) Recidivism, contends the analysis, ranks poorly as an indicator of college program effectiveness in lowering criminal behavior because:

"1. it is conceptually a poor index of criminal behavior

2. it is an insensitive measure

3. it is contaminated by other factors and measures other than criminal behavior." (76)

Follow-up studies are, I found, beset with difficulties. My research assistant and I attempted to trace 95 inmate students who had been paroled after college work at Hagerstown Jr. College. Even with the cooperation of the Maryland Correctional Administration and the State Parole Agency we have been unable to trace 50 of the students. This was financed cut of my own pocket and there is
frankly a financial limit to what one person can do, but I am continually amazed at the number of programs funded in education with no built-in research component to assess the payoff. Stuart Adams documents the fact that evaluative studies have been done in corrections in great numbers over the past 15 or 20 years involving a wide area of treatment approaches. His conclusions are not as dire as some (Martinson 1971) who have found that treatments now used had little or any decisive effect on reducing the recidivism of convicted offenders. Nevertheless, as one intimately involved in post secondary education with police, correctional officers, and inmates, I would like to have access to many more studies showing at least what happens to the inmates who have been in college and university programs.

Sensibly, it would seem as if education should be viewed more in the light of a communicative tool rather than a panacea to eliminate criminality. So many offenders have been turned off by school before they enter the institutions that it is unrealistic to expect too much. For example, in Maryland in the spring of 1972, two twenty-week programs were devised to assist probationers to achieve a GED since so many of them lacked a high school diploma. After testing to determine reading and arithmetic grade levels classes began in February, 1973, with thirty people in the two programs. Classes were conducted twice weekly in Baltimore and the range of those attending on a particular night varied from one to eleven. Participation was voluntary and ways were discussed to improve attendance. Results were not encouraging and due to irregular attendance, follow-up testing proved not to be practical. Two twenty-week
programs have now been conducted, but refunding is uncertain at the present time.(78)

The Future and Conclusions

Most of us involved in higher education should be most concerned with getting the inmate students out of the prison classrooms and into the campus classrooms. Too many things get in the way of education in institutions. I am not dissuaded by the number of those students who run off, get physically intimate with female students, take drugs, or stop attending classes. These are impediments of minor importance and done every day by regular students.

A great deal more effort should be expended in getting inmates and correctional officers as students into the same classroom. Dr. James McKenna of Villanova University who successfully ran a sociology class of some 40 odd inmates and correctional officers at Graterford State Prison in Pennsylvania attributed his success to the fact that he had been there for 5 years and had gained the confidence of both inmates and correctional officers.(79) At Leesburg State Prison in southern New Jersey, where Glassboro State College and Cumberland County College operate in the institution, it is now possible for classes to be held comprising the public, staff, and inmates.(80)

My own experiment with this approach proved highly satisfactory and will be the subject of a future paper. In this situation people with opposing points of view have an opportunity to confront each other in a more rational setting. And what better preparation for the counselor-correctional officer operating in a prison, a community correctional center or half-way house than this initial kind of exposure! Ideally, of course, police officers, students, and ordinary college students would also be in these classes.
Another thing needed badly is a continued effort to improve the status of correctional educators and to raise the standards of the correctional education profession to the point where it is recognized as such by the other components in the world of education. Correctional educators today have their professional needs met by the Correctional Education Association which is only a division of the American Correctional Association. For the first time the Correctional Education Association is holding a national conference at Millersville, Pa. (State College) May 19-22, 1974. This is separate from the convention of the American Correctional Association and may prove to be the starting point in a regenerative effort to give correctional education a badly needed lift in its fight for professional recognition. Another need is the establishment of a correctional education major in the graduate and undergraduate schools not connected to the traditional education degree approach. A gentleman from Arizona reported at the American Correctional Conference in Seattle last summer that the University of Arizona will offer such a degree beginning in 1974. As more states establish penal school systems as school districts entitled to all the monetary benefits of other school districts one can hope other segments of the education spectrum will begin to pay more attention to correctional education. Political struggles will have to be waged, however, to replace the top priority custodial function with a top priority treatment function.

In the vocational education field one of the most exciting projects was described Saturday night, October 27, by the Model Cities Director in Baltimore, Md., Mr. C. Noel Damron, at a meeting of
Triangle Therapy—an inmate self-help group at the Maryland Correctional Training Center. Over the past two years certain industries in the Baltimore area have placed trained instructors in some of Maryland’s prisons to give training in vocational specialties such as welding and pipe fitting. Five hundred of the institutional clients completed the training and were placed on jobs. Eighty-five percent are still gainfully employed. (81) This kind of success will hopefully become the basis for national legislation. Job shortages in the training skills accounted in part for the easy transition into the working environment. (82)
FOOTNOTES


8Ibid, p.157

9Conrad, p. 158. Conrad quotes from a book entitled Fundamentals of Soviet Law --P.S. Romashkin, ed., Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962, pp. 413-42. "...corrective labor is but one of a series of sanction, including death (for nine different offenses including murder, terrorism, banditry, embezzlement of state property, and issue of counterfeit money or securities), deprivation of liberty, exile, restricted residence, corrective labor without deprivation of liberty, disqualification from office, fine, and public censure." Romashkin is quoted as saying, "Individualized punishment is a most important principle of Soviet Criminal Law: the courts impose punishment in accordance with the . . . social danger of the crime, the degree of guilt of the accused, his personality, and the attendant circumstances."

10Conrad, loc. cit.

11Conrad, p160.


13Conrad, p. 165.

14Conrad, p. 167.

15Conrad, p. 168.

16Conrad, p. 169.

17Interview with Professor Boris Nikiforov, Moscow, USSR, July 3, 1973.
Interview with headmaster Mr. Enar Lundborg, July 11, 1972.


Interview with American inmate incarcerated at Falun Study Prison, Falun, Sweden, July 9, 1971.

Interview with Mr. Norman Bishop, Director of Research, National Correctional Administration, June 25, 1973.


Letter of K. J. Lang, Director, Finnish Correctional Administration, Helsinki, Finland, December 27, 1972.

A Commission to Study Danish Penal Education, Report, 1971. For more information one should write to the Department of Prisons, Ministry of Justice, Copenhagen, Denmark.


Material for Dr. Ken Kerle from Dr. Dusan Cotic, Yugoslavia Penal System, Ministry of Justice, November 7, 1972.


Tour of the Milangieri de Napoli, August 1, 1972.


34. Letter to Kenneth E. Kerle from Stephen Lande, 2nd secretary, U.S. Embassy, Luxembourg (information on Luxembourg prison system furnished by Mr. Alphonse Spielmann, Deputy prosecutor of Luxembourg, Oct. 24, 1972.)

35. Letter to Kenneth E. Kerle from S. J. Steenstra, Criminological Institute, Free University, Amsterdam, Holland, August 7, 1973.

36. Ibid.


38. Weiss, Irma Schweizerischer Straf-und Massnahmenvollzug der Gegenwart in der Perspektive moderne penologischer Behandlungsmethoden, pp. 98-9, 100, 106, 193, 1970. Dr. Weiss wrote her Ph. D. dissertation on the Swiss penal system and in the course of her research visited a good number of European prisons. Interested persons should inquire at the University of Zurich, Switzerland.


40. Interview with Mr. John Peters, American Consulate, Thessaloniki, Greece, August 4, 1971.


42. Information concerning Education Activity in Prisons and Reform Schools in Poland, mailed by American Embassy in Warsaw, Poland.


44. McKee, John M., "Experimental Project to Increase the Educational Achievement of Institutionalized Offenders Through Programmed Instruction," Rehabilitation Research Foundation, P.O. Box 1107, Elmore Alabama.

45. California Youth Authority Dept., Evaluation Summary of compensatory education in the California Youth Authority, 1968-1969. Sacramento, 1970, 38 pp. California has one of the most research oriented Dept. of Corrections in the U.S. Four studies on behavior during the 1st year in prison, a follow-up study of
residents released from the California Rehabilitation Center to
out-patient status in 1969 and exploration in inmate-family rela-
tionships are listed in the Library of Congress monthly publication--
Monthly Checklist, State Publications, November, 1972, p. 832,
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

46 See footnote 20.

47 Adult Basic Education in Corrections Programs--Overview, Edu-
cation Research and Development Center, Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu,
Dr. David C. Ryans, Director, Dr. T. A. Ryan, Program Director,
Adult Basic Education in Corrections Programs, Revised June 6, 1972,
p. 1.

48 id. cit.

49 Ryan, T. A., Adult Basic Education in Corrections: Training
and Model Implementation, Paper prepared for American Correctional
Association Congress of Correction, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,
August 23, 1972, p. 11.

50 Jones, Richard C., Recidivism Among General Education Develop-
ment Program Graduates, Texas Corrections Department, Austin,
Texas, 1969.

51 Marsh, John J., GED Testing in State Penal Institutions--
A Survey of Selected Practices, August 29, 1972, p. 5. Dr. Marsh
is an Assistant Professor of Education, Eastern New Mexico University.

52 Ibid., p. 9.

53 Ibid., p. 10. Some states do more than others. In Florida
more than 3,000 out of 9,000 plus inmates are enrolled in academic
programs involving grades one through twelve culminating in a GED.
Letter from Mr. T. F. Jones, Education Administrator, Div. of
Corrections, Tallahassee, Florida to Dr. Kerle, Sept. 27, 1972.

54 Marsh, op. cit., p. 14


57 Torrence, John T., "Relationship Between Training Programs
Being Offered in State and Federal Penal Institutions and the
Unfilled Openings in the Major Occupations in the U.S.; Master's
Thesis, School of Technology, Kansas State College, Pittsburg,
Kansas, 1966.

58 Conte, William M., "Correctional Education--A Many Faceted
30, 1967.

59 Spencer, Carol and Baracosheca, John B., "Vocational Training
at the California Institute for Women: An Evaluation," Research
60. "Multi-Occupational Vocational Training Program," Minn. Dept. of Research and Planning, Minn. Dept. of Corrections, June 1971. This was reported in the Mass. Correctional Assoc. Bulletin No. 21, Nov. 1971 by Albert Morris, Research Cons., Professor of Sociology, Emeritus, Boston University.


63. Ibid., p. 30.

64. Ibid., p. 30. Georgetown University Law Center, he reported, was conducting a study on the actual hiring practices of local governments in regard to ex-offenders.

65. Rehabilitation Education, Evaluative Research Planning. Project in Vocational Education for the Ohio Dept. of Correction and Rehabilitation, funded by a grant from the Office of Education, HEW, through the Division of Vocational Education, Ohio. Report issued in 1972. Interested persons should write to Mr. F. Patrick Cronin, Director of Educational Services, Division of Corrections, Columbus, Ohio.

66. Ibid., p. 146. Note--The New England Resource Center for Occupational Education--55 Chapel St., Newton, Mass. 02160 in conjunction with the Far West Laboratory in Berkley, California is in the process of developing a sourcebook of prison occupational and vocational education. The project is operating under a grant from HEW's Bureau of Adult Vocational and Technical Education. For further information write to Ms. Sandra Robinson, Project Associate, Prison Project SERCOE in Newton, Massachusetts.


Ibid., p. 25.

"Summary Report: Project Newgate and Other Prison College Education Programs" by Keith Baker, John Irwin, Steven Haberfeld, Marjorie Seashore, and Donald Leonard, April, 1973., p. 12.

Ibid., p. 13.

Ibid., p. 13.

Adams, Stuart, Evaluative Research in Correction: Status and Prospects, Paper prepared for the American Society of Criminology New York City, November 2-6, 1973, pp. 35. The Martinson evaluations mentioned is an unpublished study by Robert Martinson, 1971. Material quoted is from a May 14, 1973 news release by the Legal Aid Society, 305 Broadway, New York City. Dr. Adams cites the Calif. subsidy plan which in the past 8 years kept an estimated 40,000 offenders in the community and out of state prisons as one of the significant payoffs.


Interview with Dr. James McKenna, Graterford State Prison, May 25, 1972.

Interview with Mr. John Gruzio, Education Director, Leesburg State Prison, Leesburg, New Jersey, May 29, 1973.

Speech by Mr. C. Noell Damron, Model Cities Director, Baltimore, Md. at Tringle Therapy Self-Help Group, Maryland Correctional Training Institute, October 27, 1973.

Ibid., conversation of Dr. Kerle with Dr. Damron.