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For thirteen years Southern Illinois University has had an association with the Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard, Illinois, which has been rewarding and useful for both institutions. This article will deal with the educational and rehabilitational aspects of this association. First, we shall look briefly at the historical development of education in prison programs. Second, we shall outline the specific growth of educational services by Southern Illinois University at Menard and the United States Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. Third, we shall examine the influences of this growth on thinking, planning, research, and applications of prison education by the University locally and, by extension of these plans, to other state and federal institutional relationships. Finally, we shall offer some personal and professional projections of the "use" of education in the rehabilitation processes in the prison program. This last point can by no means be stated definitively, but the outlook proposed may be suggestive.

I. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Despite the tremendous support of general education in America, there has been a notable lag in education in prisons in this country. Only a few efforts in education, purely for purposes of education or rehabilitation, have appeared in the history of American penology. For the most part prison systems everywhere were punitive in nature; the widespread faith in the formative or rehabilitative potentials of education were ignored in prison treatment.

The admission of the University into the prison for purposes of service, instruction, and research is a recent innovation in the development of American correctional programs. "Southern Illinois University may well have been the first University to establish a full schedule of college level extension courses and related programs in a state prison for adult offenders."¹

Education in prisons began originally with religious and vocational training, such programs being evident on the Continent in

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¹ Benjamin Frank, Southern Illinois University, Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections. We must be aware of the fact that several levels of education have been going on for some years, that even higher education (as for example, college-level courses) have been held at Leavenworth Penitentiary (Kansas).

the sixteenth century. However, educational programs of any significance in this country are a recent innovation. The first school system for all prisoners was established in Maryland in the 1830's followed by a New York law of 1847 appointing instructors in its prisons.² Those supporting prison education argued that illiteracy, common among prisoners, was an important factor leading to incarceration and therefore providing a remedy for this educational vacuum would allow the offender to deal more effectively with the society he had rejected. Yet the growth of prison schooling, either to combat illiteracy or to offer vocational training, lagged far behind educational movements in general.

Austin H. MacCormick, who visited nearly all of our state and federal correctional institutions in 1927-28 noted that "[n]ot a single complete and well-rounded educational program, adequately financed and staffed, was encountered in all the prisons in the country."³ In the years that followed the Committee of Education of the American Prison Association⁴ provided the catalyst for action, and academic, both primary and secondary, and training programs were instituted in New York, California, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. In 1948, MacCormick was more hopeful: "Education in penal and correctional institutions has at last achieved maturity."⁵ Such advance, however, did not include any truly full programs in higher education.

The outstanding figure in planning for prison education was Zebulen Brockway. In 1861 at the Detroit House of Correction he developed an industrial program and instituted in this country the first grading system based on the degree of reformation (prisoner attitude). His subsequent activity at the new prison in Elmira, New York in 1877 was premised on the desire to

create a school atmosphere conducive to self-discipline by supporting the prestige of the honor grade through grading privileges and housing accommodations. College professors headed divisions of academic and moral education. Professors, public school principals, and lawyers conducted classes in physical geography, natural science, geometry, bookkeeping, human physiology, 'sanitary science,' Bible, ethics, psychology, history, literature and economics.⁶

- ³ MACCORMICK, THE EDUCATION OF ADULT PRISONERS, A SURVEY AND A PROGRAM 38 (1931). Dated as it is, this is perhaps the best study of education in prisons.
- ⁴ See Committee on Education, American Prison Association, Correctional Education Today (1939 Yearbook).
- ⁵ TAPPAN, op. cit. supra note 2, at 691.
- ⁶ JOHNSON, CRIME, CORRECTION, AND SOCIETY 342 (1964).

² TAPPAN, CRIME, JUSTICE AND CORRECTION 690 (1960).

In addition he established one of the first trade schools and manual arts programs for those prisoners incapable of benefiting from the more academic courses. Pressures against prison labor were met by expanding the rehabilitative aspects of his program, through military training, calisthenic exercises and half-day trade school programs, enabling the inmates to work part time.

Considering the remarkable faith that Americans place in education, the movement was slow after these sound beginnings. At the same time, it is understandable that belief in prison rehabilitation and belief in education should be closely related in the minds of those concerned with prison planning.

If education of any kind has been weak and slow in the past, recent developments have been far more encouraging. The second vearbook of the Committee on Education. American Prison Association, a handbook for wardens, pointed out: "The most hopeful trend in prison work in America today is the growing realization that the term in prison can be made into an educational experience."⁷ A broad view of education was apparent in the recognition by the State of New York that "rebuilding of men is far more profitable than the building of prisons,"8 that there is a greater need for trained and qualified personnel who can intelligently proceed toward a rehabilitation program based on the experience of the best minds, and that "unfortunately, the idea has been abroad too long that education in institutions should be confined mainly to the teaching of the three R's"⁹ when the goal is the whole man. Titles of articles in the handbook point up the direction of thinking by the Committee: "Rehabilitation Comes from Within" (Lewis Lawes); "The Inmate Makes His Contribution to the Educational Program" (Youell and McElroy); "Building an Educational Program on Survey Data" (Paul Monser); "Education as the Heart of a Correctional Program in Maximum Security Prisons" (Morris Caldwell); "Contacting Outside Agencies for Educational Purposes in the Prison Situation" (George Killinger).

Offering administrative advice to wardens, Killinger in the yearbook advises: "There is available to any penal institution at a very nominal cost, or simply for the asking, help in every phase of educational activity applicable to prison training."¹⁰ University

⁷ Bates, Foreword to Committee on Education, American Prison Association, Prison Administration—An Educational Process 7 (1940 Yearbook).

⁸ Cass, Introduction to id. at 11.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Killinger, Contacting and Utilizing Outside Agencies for Educational Purposes in the Prison Situation in id. at 269.

Extension courses are available:

To meet the demands of men falling into the upper educational bracket, the cooperation of extension divisions of colleges and universities should be sought. Some state colleges will administer the courses from their offices, correcting lessons and returning them to the prison at no cost except postage.¹¹

The author also notes that complete courses can be sent with scoring keys to be administered at the prison. State colleges are especially interested in prisoners from their state. Cultural courses, as well as practical courses such as agriculture, are adaptable to correspondence courses.¹²

MacCormick and others point out the value of correspondence courses for prisoners. Such a program makes

instruction possible in institutions which lack trained teachers or facilities for classroom study or in which the routine does not permit prisoners to leave their cells for classroom instruction; it makes individual instruction possible and enables each student to go at his own speed; it supplies courses and textual material adapted to adults; it provides material for advanced courses in which too few prisoners are interested to justify the organization of classes even if teachers were available; it provides a great diversity of courses and meets a variety of needs and interests; it provides well-organized vocational courses, which can be successfully coordinated with the practical work of the institution.¹³

Of course there are drawbacks. Prison-students are often incapable of making a proper selection of courses and in addition often do not possess the endurance necessary to complete them.

Prison education activity is in wide variance throughout the states. A number of different programs are in operation including compulsory education through the eighth grade, high school training, and college level courses. The participation of state educational systems also varies. Some states provide personnel, accredit grade and high school work and grant diplomas. Tappan reports that

80 per cent of the prisoners at the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta and nearly half of those at the Illinois State Prisons are enrolled in some type of educational activity. San Quentin has an educational budget in excess of a quarter of a million dollars and Wallkill Prison, with a population of under 500, has an educational staff of twenty.¹⁴

¹¹ Id. at 270.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ MACCORMICK, op. cit. supra note 3, at 222-23.

¹⁴ TAPPAN, op. cit. supra note 2, at 691.

San Quentin's program, as early as 1925, had great advantages with an exceptional educator, and full cooperation from the University of California Extension Division which for years supplied prisoners with courses gratis and worked closely with the prisons. At one point, 1300 prisoners were enrolled in nearly 100 different university extension courses, predominantly academic.

Recent developments in prison education have placed emphasis on social education by lectures, visual aids, and discussions of the These in turn have progressed to group basic social virtues. counseling or group or personal therapy which was deemed more valuable than any broad moralistic approach. Of course, the inferior level of school attainment in the prison population creates an unusual need for education. The emotional tensions of imprisonment and the demonstrated inadequacies of the inmates pose challenges for any intellectual or social schooling. The bona fide educational program, it is believed, can provide the "second chance" for the previously unmotivated person. The correctional institution, properly oriented, fills a gap in the community's educational system which has failed previously to reach a portion of the adult population. Properly considered, prison education is adult education.

Such academic education in prison is supposed to advance rehabilitation. Through improved skill in communication, the offender presumably will be able to reveal and express underlying misunderstandings and conflicts which have caused his deviate behavior. The student prisoner will be able to comprehend more fully his personal problems and his relationships with other persons. His leisure time will be used more constructively during and after his confinement. Through better understanding of government and society, he will be moved toward responsible citizenship. In broad context this is the primary social goal of education. Ideally, social education is individualized, in that it is organized and directed first to determine the inmate's attitudes toward his family, his community, and his work and, second, to encourage him to achieve relationships with other persons which will meet his needs and advance his social interest.

Meanwhile, the applied and technical phases of education have advanced extraordinarily in conjunction both with prison maintenance programs and as job-skills. Naturally, they were the forms of training first sought out and used. Despite major problems in gearing this training to work activities, records do show that released prisoners have found prison-learned skills most useful. Further research is required to show the extent to which prison education and vocational training may be related to the prevention of repeated crime. A few studies indicate that prisoners who have received more than six months of educational work violate parole with significantly less frequency. Whether these results are principally the result of the selection of specific individuals for education, or skill training, or the social aspects of education has yet to be studied fully.¹⁵

II. THE ILLINOIS EXPERIENCE

Early in the school year, 1952-53, members of the staffs of Southern Illinois University and the Illinois State Penitentiary at Menard met to discuss ways and means of setting up vocational training for the Menard inmates. The Division of Technical and Adult Education prepared a course of study and supplied teachers for several automotive courses. This series was soon followed by classes with qualified teachers in art—sketching and oil painting —at Menard and in the security hospital there.

From this beginning,¹⁶ the University has worked closely with the prison, with consistent emphasis upon the use and value of education. As the University has progressively increased its programs, its cooperative and consultant roles, and its planning for service to the prisoners and staff of the penitentiary, the association has increased in quantity and quality under Warden Ross Randolph, now Illinois Director of Public Safety, and his successors.

For the last seven years, the Division of Technical and Adult Education at Southern Illinois University has supplied a teacher for classes in the Great Books, institutional food preparation (for Menard's Civil Service personnel), chorus, arts and crafts, and music appreciation—all on a non-credit basis.

Of more importance, the Division of University Extension that division offering courses for college credit—also entered into cooperative plans with Menard. During the 1956-57 college year, a member of the Journalism department, a former editor of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, taught two courses in that field, and advised and consulted regularly with the staff of the prison newspaper, the *Menard Time*. Over the years, this paper has built and maintained such high standards that it has received outstanding honors from many universities and journalism groups.¹⁷

¹⁵ Id. at 693-94. Cf. JOHNSON, op. cit. supra note 6, ch. 21.

¹⁶ From comments prepared by University personnel for the Governor's Conference, 1964.

¹⁷ In honor of the paper's excellence, the Governor of Illinois each year proclaims a Menard Time Day. Recently the August 1 issue—thirtysix pages, the largest in the paper's history—went out in world-wide

This cooperation fitted squarely within the philosophy of the University: ". . . to develop research programs better to study the specific needs of the area and to check the effectiveness of our instructional programs designed to meet these needs. Through teachers, lecturers, musicians, and special consultants, . . . [to] take the University to the people."

Through a variety of channels, the University has carried out this philosophy. The Menard prison program has become one of the most rewarding and important.

The first experience in studies of journalism at Menard suggested several important points:

1. A state-supported university can take a credit-course program into a prison without objections from the general public.

2. Such credit-courses can be of immediate value, both to the inmates actually enrolled and, in a number of ways, to the entire prison population.

3. All courses must be staffed by unusually excellent instructors.

4. The teacher must be enthusiastic and have no reservations about teaching in a prison environment.

The journalism classes were followed, in 1957-62, by other credit-courses, ten in number, in speech, English, philosophy, and government. The Board of Trustees of the University took official action to recognize the prison program, encouraging the student-prisoners by reducing tuition costs to a token, by increasing the number of University instructors at Menard, by supplying textbooks (a total of over 8000 in ten years) through the University's textbook service, and by passing on additional texts through the Library's Instructional Materials Center. The textbooks, although used, were contemporary because rapidly expanding enrollments of the University during this period required ever increasing numbers of new texts. These books included not only those from college courses, but also junior and senior high school books used in the University school. In addition, all publishers furnish books for elementary and high schools for examination as part of the teacher training program of the University. Copies of these books, after selection had been made for the teacher training schedule, were sent to Menard for the use of all prisoners.

In 1962, the University embarked upon an expanded "college program" at Menard. Decisions were made to offer a continuing

circulation to salute three world correctional conferences meeting in Stockholm, Boston, and Quebec.

curriculum of college-credit courses to a *selected* group of about thirty inmates, called the "College Gang". The students at Menard were to follow, and did, quarter by quarter, the basic general studies schedule of the University (with the exception of courses in the sciences requiring laboratories). This program enabled willing and able prisoners to accumulate credits for further study after release or parole. Nearly all took study loads equivalent to full-time college programs and were excused from prison work duty.

The overall success of the academic program is illustrated by the fact that nearly 500 inmates have participated in a total of sixty-four courses—the "first full-schedule college program in prison" since its tentative beginnings nine years ago. These men have left Menard with the advantages of higher education and a number have gone on to further study at Southern Illinois or other institutions.

During this period, also, the University Counseling and Testing Center has administered the General Educational Development Examination¹⁸ and the federal and Illinois Constitution test at the penitentiary. The Center has also administered scholastic aptitude tests as part of its college program including a set of basic guides in college achievement: English, reading, and mathematical placement examinations.

Partly as a result of its direct experience in these matters, the University established the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, which works with Menard (and other institutions) in many ways. This agency has helped prison students by providing personal evaluations of each man for admissions departments and deans and by counseling them before and after their admission to the University.

The extra-curricular facets of University cooperation are many:

1. The Southern Players, a touring theater group of the University, which travels to twenty-five different communities each year, always includes Menard in its itinerary.

2. The University Vocational Rehabilitation Institute has regularly sent full-time trainees to Menard for several months of apprenticeships and study; Menard's chief psychologist, Dr. Darling, lectures on the University campus as a staff member.

¹⁸ Under the new Illinois law, inmates of penal institutions may take General Educational Equivalency Tests when they reach the age of seventeen and receive their diplomas when they reach twenty-one. ILL. ANN. STAT. ch. 122, § 3-15.12 (Smith-Hurd Supp. 1966).

3. Some students in rehabilitating counseling programs have interned at the prison.

4. The University's athletic department regularly schedules baseball games at Menard, as do some of the fraternities; exhibits of wrestling and gymnastics are frequently given at the prison.

5. For farm management problems at Menard, the School of Agriculture has furnished consultants.

6. The Television Continental Classroom Colleges courses were made available through University assistance.

This cooperation was a factor leading to the Governor's Conference on University-Penitentiary Relationships held in Springfield in April, 1964. Because of these primary exploratory endeavors by the University at Menard, there is now a greater sense of coordinate planning by all state prisons with their neighboring educational institutions. The accumulated experience is proving to be exceedingly valuable in the program now under way at the Federal Penitentiary at Marion. Illinois. The Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Correction at the University and the faculty committee formed this year to initiate a program at Marion are interested in not only developing the college study program for prisoners but also in providing opportunities for research for faculty members and students in the social-behavioral sciences and in conducting training projects for correctional personnel. It is natural, then, to expect that the University's cooperation with these two prisons will greatly increase.

At the dedication of the new Illinois minimum security prison at Vienna, Governor Otto Kerner recognized the success of the program when he cited the proximity of Southern Illinois University to the prison as an asset: "This means that the prison has an excellent opportunity to join forces with the University, for the academic and vocational programs to be offered here number among the very best."

Many universities and colleges have done work in higher education; some have followed the course set by Southern Illinois University at Menard. Correspondence courses, classes using educational television, and even live "inside-the-walls" instruction in college subjects are becoming an important part of many prison education programs. Just an idea only a decade ago, such programs are now on a solid footing.¹⁹

¹⁹ The Menard Time, Aug. 1, 1965.

III. IMPLEMENTATION OF PRISON EDUCATION

As the University-Prison program for education for men in the Illinois State prison helped lead to the Governor's Conference, two factors of utmost importance became apparent: The need for carefully planned work, and the understanding of the "personal" factor in student-prisoner development. Among the questions raised were: How best to measure and build talent? What best contributes to motivation and growth? What does education add to the rehabilitation process and why?

We shall examine the personal relationships of the students later, but several examples will illustrate the need for understanding and for sincere and intelligent planning. Many of the students enrolled in the college program at Menard have been motivated to continue their education. About thirty-five men have taken advantage of this opportunity. Among those who have come to the University after release, several have completed undergraduate programs, two have received Master's degrees, and one is now in the final stages of a doctoral program. Some have dropped out after commencing their studies here and a few have violated their parole while attending school.²⁰

The picture of results is mixed, and unfortunately studies of the effect of education at this level of rehabilitation have not been definitive. Meanwhile we can point to some "success," even though not fully realizing causes and effects.

Let us look at one specialized instance and couple it with the planning functions now being examined. The second instructor in the early series of courses at Menard brought back to the University library a request from one inmate for additional books to read. The librarian worked with the instructor to serve the inmate with volumes as he requested them. Both teacher and librarian were amazed at the results of this one inquiry both in the quality of the books requested and the quantity read. Before his release from Menard, the prisoner asked for and used more than 150 books furnished from the University library and 650 others furnished from other sources. That he absorbed his reading was made clear by the number of vital comments made in his letters to the librarian when requesting additional books. Whatever the motivation and personal result—unknown—his study did point up the need for plan-

²⁰ Benjamin Frank, former Acting Director, Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, considers this one of the most vital "gaps" in understanding and planning for prison education. Some case histories are being made. See Appendix for examples of the Illinois experience.

ning of resources not only in course instruction, but also in teaching, in counseling, and in physical facilities.

For the past three years, the University Crime and Corrections Center has sponsored an annual Midwestern Conference of Correctional Educators. In the most recent meeting, 1965, the problems of prison libraries were emphasized. The Department of Design of the University was asked to present an original conception and plan for a better correctional institution library, one that would solve the existing deficiencies of prison libraries and administration.

According to the University design team studying the problem, prison libraries offer a promising new approach to the rehabilitation process. "An institution library can become the focal point of efforts to help the prisoner find a new community role for himself," it was reported.

In its study the team found wide variations in library facilities offered to prisoners. After visits to prisons in Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin and talks with librarians and prisoners, the study group concluded that libraries in prisons must be more than a collection of books—even good books (which is seldom true in prisons)—and must become centers of materials and information, focused on possible vocational and professional goals for prisoners. Part of the report reads, "Almost every prison tests a man's interests and offers some types of vocational training, but there is nothing in between. A man ought to have the opportunity to measure his interests against up-to-date information about the occupation." The library is a natural place for acquiring, organizing, storing, and displaying such materials and for developing such interests.

The designers believe that new facilities are not the greatest need, but they did offer drawings for construction of a facility that could become a "goal-oriented library." Retaining the library's traditional role as a storehouse and center for reading and reference, the new design provides further for a "back-in" entrance for a traveling bookmobile, new dual book stacks and furniture arrangement, plus maximum surveillance for security purposes, and "microusel" units for the latest in technical equipment for library readers.²¹

²¹ Models of the proposed libraries and descriptive brochures were presented at the Third United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders at Stockholm, Sweden. Copies are available from Southern Illinois University. See also MACCORMICK, op. cit. supra note 3 for early full discussions of library offerings, plans, and use functions.

Much of the accumulated experience of the University at Menard proved exceedingly valuable in developing carefully planned relationships with the federal penitentiary at Marion. At this institution, completed in 1963, the University-Prison program began with the formation of a faculty-institution coordinating committee. First came the initiation of a college-level schedule for qualified inmates to be taught through the University Extension Division. By March of 1965 three college courses were in operation in English, communications, and music appreciation. Additional courses will be added in succeeding years.

All would agree that prison education cannot be effective without systematic curricular planning at all levels. Courses may be offered because they develop skills needed in prison work programs—all extremely useful, but the curriculum should also develop skills, goals, and habits of social responsibility needed after release. But there is more. Counseling and guidance, in a social sense, are essential to education. Inmates especially need realistic appraisal. This guidance may come from group or individual conferences, but a broader behavioral guidance comes in education with the teacher as the model. Planning is more than a series of steps of organization; it includes the personnel of instruction, so that teachers and guidance counselors, all persons involved, become important cogs in planning.

Certainly the following categories apply to the planning of courses of study offered by universities in prison situations:²²

1. Competent personnel. To a great extent the quality of any educational program derives from the type of teachers, the number in relation to students, their emotional stability, their concern for intellectual and personal growth. As noted in the manual: "It must not be overlooked that the frequent association of inmates with men of intelligence, skill, and balanced personalities, is one of the recognized means of achieving desirable changes in inmate personalities."23 Let us pause for one look at an example of such teacher involvement in the University at work in prisons. When one student was considered for parole, five University staff members voluntarily went to Springfield to the hearing to give their opinions of the possibility of the prisoner's adjusting to life outside prison confinement. Included in this group were one of the University vice-presidents, who had taught a class at Menard; an academic dean; a full professor; an assistant professor; and a member of the library staff.

²² AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION, MANUAL OF CORRECTIONAL STAND-ARDS (1959).

²³ Id. at 319.

2. Institutional setting. In the sense that every living experience is a learning experience, all men who serve time in an institution acquire learning of a sort. What kind of education it is depends in large part on educational planning. For better development of students, surroundings are important; they must be conducive to study, to thought, to communication.

3. Scope of the program. The extent and intensity of the schedule will be governed by the institution, its size, and the character of the trainable population. For the University, planning must also include usefulness to the prisoner when released. Prison vocational programs have one set of circumstances and rules; the secondary preparation another; the candidates at the higher level of education must also have an awareness of their direction.

4. Defining the educational program. The University must be aware of its formal relationship. What are the elements which make the University contribution important? They are well-stated objectives: teachers for suitable purposes, sound texts, equipment, environment, a balanced offering for a well-conceived end, a regular schedule of meetings, proper measurements and records, excellent guidance.

5. Library coordination. The prison library usually does not contain the necessary backup for the college courses. The University must furnish or have in the prison library adequate supplementary reading and other materials needed by the educators and students.

6. Special education. The University's cooperation should include physical, cultural, and social training. The physical is self-explanatory. The cultural should include concerts, exhibits, performances, etc.—all geared to the aims of the course schedule. Social education works in a less definable area, but it is ultimately the most vital. Its aim is to rehabilitate, that is, to develop acceptable human behavior (how to eat, behave, etc.). Included also are group or individual therapy and special programs for the handicapped of all kinds.

7. Orientation, guidance, pre-release advising. None of these activities can exist in a vacuum. The ultimate goal is adjustment through intellectual means toward social responsibility.

The function of the University-Prison Coordination Committee, obviously includes more than the introduction of extension courses for the inmate student. In keeping with the policies of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the Committee is interested in its plans for Marion in developing opportunities for research for faculty mem-

bers as well as for advanced graduate students in the social sciences; in communication and sensitivity training to meet the unique needs of the correctional institution; in the development of special courses for the correctional officers who are at the heart of the rehabilitating effort.²⁴

Fortunately, the relationship which grew slowly (with only theories of planning at first between the University and Menard prison) has matured successfully. It should be clear, however, that no University can move into education in the prison without a clear call, a full understanding of limits and rules, a firm concern for involvement, and a complete understanding of the need, the problems, and its long-range goals.

IV. EVALUATION OF PRISON EDUCATION

We come now to the most difficult area: Assessment of the rehabilitative value of higher education in prison. We know that we must not neglect the pertinent elements of vocational training, the elimination of illiteracy, and the growth of inmates at the elementary and secondary levels of study. Dealing with college-level materials offers, however, other and singular problems. For such assessment we have important philosophic concepts, subjective views, and motivations, and personal reactions but very little statistical and empirical support.

Any measuring of the effectiveness of education is fraught with difficulties. Many studies do not seem to achieve adequate conceptualization—perhaps there are too many variables. And statements of individual rehabilitation go only with the single instance in a single life. We have no way of knowing whether education of any kind is the motive force for rehabilitation.

We see no way out of the dilemma of uncertainty about effects; yet this dilemma need not make uncertain our efforts. Simple idealism would suggest that something occurs in the acquisition of knowledge which is of value. Simple pragmatism would suggest the merit of active work. Since, the majority would say, human nature must either be good or bad, we must choose between repressiveness on the one hand or permissiveness on the other. Such oversimplified attitudes say something about our society. If these are the decisive factors: "break the will" or give "uncritical love";

²⁴ In preparation for this kind of effort, the University, through its Center for Crime and Corrections, was the recipient of a special training grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to establish guidelines for the development of such a supervisory curriculum.

if the choices are a return to the punishment code of earlier prison systems or an assumption that there are no "bad" men and that there should be no punishment, we can only say that neither view works very well. The humane are fond of pointing out that the most ferocious laws did not abolish crime. We are often less ready to admit that modern permissive methods have not done so either. There is no doubt that adult crime and, more strikingly, juvenile crime have been increasing during the very period when both men and the social system are growing more enlightened. In point of fact, we must emphasize more and more everywhere the need and effect of education.

Joseph Krutch noted that most "contemporary sociology and most contemporary education is based upon Rousseau's assumption" of the "goodness" of man. "Whenever . . . we argue that crime is the result of some defect in our political or social system, we seductively pleasing idea, but it does not jibe with facts. If we were to ask instead whether men were naturally "civilized," our answer would be more pertinent and we might be able to move to some better educational understanding, some real remedies. Men are not born good or evil. They are not necessarily sick or the victims of something aggressively corrupting in society. The wrong that society has done is a negative one. The components of society, the family, the church, the community, the school, etc., have failed to "civilize" certain members. To say this may offer some sense to the discussion of the rehabilitation factors of the educative process. And of all things, certainly education is the fundamental element in the civilizing process as we know it.

The university is involved in two very basic roles of this "civilizing" or socializing process: (a) its assigned one of encouraging intellectual learning, particular skills, and the growth of knowledge; (b) the supplementary one of developing the personality of the learner. Psychologists tend to agree that the individual eventually has to integrate his attitudes with and from the many experiences he has. At some point, the individual decides that he would "get along" better with himself and with others if he could agree on a new set of attitudes. This decision may come with knowledge; it may come with the act of learning; it may be the result of the educative process. The end ultimately is a change in personality.

Cronback says that formal instruction can extend and clarify

²⁵ KRUTCH, IF YOU DON'T MIND MY SAYING SO 34 (1964).

attitudes already forming.²⁶ However, each person takes on, for the most part, the attitudes of people he knows will treat him well and to whom he is loyal, and these attitudes lead to adjustment. If the prisoner can identify with the teacher, for example, the education he receives may make him loyal to his society and emulative of good citizens. Similarly Klausmeier suggests that in helping set up these attitudes the teacher is the key.²⁷ He is the new authority figure. In prison the more noticeable negative attitude is the resentment of authority. Attitudes toward authority will be modified with new authority figures. The teacher, he says, must plan and teach as the most important authority figure for changes of attitude in prison students.

At one stage authority may suggest only a negative response, a fear. The teacher may overcome this attitude by earning the respect of the prisoner in the classroom. In the end, there may be a strongly held "need" for the teacher. In this image change of authority, the teacher becomes a counselor, guide and mentor, at times a crutch for the prisoner—especially after his release when he attends the regular sessions of the University.

Such a counselor relationship, which is absolutely essential to the prisoner often creates a difficult burden for the teacher. He must at the same time be an instructor and also a kind of fatherconfessor. In the complexity (and perplexity) of the prisoner seeking advice in new experiences, the concerned teacher runs a delicate line of understanding and control. Somehow, mostly intuitively, he must know when to use the "soft-sell" and when to "lower the boom" (to use colloquial terms which the prisoner understands). Teachers are usually by nature hopeful of educational success or accomplishment. The prisoner needs this idealism; yet the teacher knows eventually that the cutting off of the studentteacher relationship must be handled well. He is motivated as a teacher because he "sees" evidence that the educational process has enabled a man to pick up the pieces or to readjust his life because of the University program. If there were no program, the prisoners would still be there. Education does something regardless of statistics.

In an article in the *Journal* of *Correctional Education*,²⁸ Glecker carries the point further. He says that the aims of educa-

²⁶ CRONBACK, EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY (1954).

²⁷ KLAUSMEIER, LEARNING AND HUMAN ABILITIES; EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY (1961).

²⁸ Glecker, Why Educate In Prison?, 17 J. Correctional Education, July 1965, p. 13.

tion are the same for all men everywhere. These are general principles that can be proved. If this were not so, there would be no philosophy of education. Educators in prison have too long been concerned only with the question of what kind of education inmates should have. The educational ideal is the same universally: that which is best for any man. Only secondarily should we plot programs to fit the incarcerated man.

What are these aims? Surely one is a belief that man seeks good and avoids evil for himself. Philosophically there is no such thing as evil—only varying degrees of good. Man tends to seek order, perfection of himself, as do all organisms. The sum total of his stimuli, his responses, his experiences, constitute his education. When he experiences a change in his education, he sustains some changes in his behavior. In fact, since some good habits are the same for all men, and education aims to formulate these habits, education is finally the changing of behavior. To those who say that children apparently get adequate education and still commit felonies, the answer is that they do not experience these formulations through the devices of training.

Glecker concludes:

All men, barring brain damage, have generally the same specific natural powers, or capacities, to some degree. If a man is naturally constituted to be developed, educational training will take so to speak. So long as the staffs of correctional schools understand and accept this ultimate aim, we will have a product of priceless value.²⁹

One of the most penetrating comments on this point is that of a prisoner:

Reformation, like education, is an intrinsic thing. It must come from within the one who is to be affected. It can get its inception, however, from the contacts made and the situations arising from a definite program of training for work, studies, and the proper use of leisure time.

The processes of education must be creative, that is, character building. Every institution program should place emphasis on education and use it as a basis for preparing men and women prisoners to meet properly the problems that will confront them in the days after they have left the institution. A desire to become stalwart, self-reliant men and women must be created.³⁰

Two other views by prisoners are quoted from the *Menard Time*. Carl Stowe writes, "There is a complexity about caging pre-

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ An Inmate Speaks, Rikers Rev., March 1940. (Monthly publication of New York City Penitentiary.)

viously violent men together that has defied penologists for years. How do you separate the men who want to be rehabilitated from the ones who do not? And how do you reach the ones who do not want to be rehabilitated?" These are sincere and penetrating questions.

David Saunders, formerly editor of the prison newspaper, a student in journalism at Southern Illinois University, now an editor of a local weekly, writes: "Any man who wants to can leave prison and make it on the outside. It all depends on him."

Much of this which follows will offer the reflections of Southern Illinois University teachers of the college classes at Menard in the past five or more years.³¹

Thomas Cassidy notes that the basic question is whether or not a university can use some of its resources to make pertinent in a penitentiary the *academic life* of the university.

It is my feeling that classes and teachers *can* be brought successfully into such a situation and *can* function well, given basic minimum requirements. The first factor, of course, is *students*. The university simply 'moves into the area' where the students are, bringing a teacher, the primary resource, and auxiliary needs.³²

The University did make the decision to begin at Menard, and with initial success, to continue. With the good will of all, prison and University administrators, dedicated and challenging teachers, a concern for appropriate course offerings, and a beginning system of selection of students, the basic requirements of all students at the University were made basic for the prison scholars.

All teachers have remarked upon the enthusiasm and the will to persevere—the high morale of the men. Of course these elements varied in time and emphasis, as is normal, but in general they remained at a relatively high level. There were some outstanding students, no question of that. There were some very good students from the beginning, and there was always a feeling that this was a very encouraging aspect of the program. For the inmates, the program was something different, even special, and this fact made it attractive. Because it was a college curriculum, without if's and but's, the men were all too aware of the tremendous chance being

³¹ Especially those of Thomas E. Cassidy, Assistant Professor, English Department, Southern Illinois University. Mr. Cassidy has been associated with the Menard program since 1959. See also his excellent profile, Cassidy, College in Prison, 14 AMERICAN BENEDICTINE REV. 221 (1963).

³² Mr. Cassidy's remarks were addressed to this author in a personal interview.

given to them. Most of the participants felt that the University Extension Division went beyond its normal excellence of service in providing teachers and courses and extra help at every possible opportunity, at great effort on the part of the dean of the division. None of the effort of the University was entered into lightly or without concern and thought. There was an absolute desire to make the work a success.

There are certain points, Cassidy continues, that could be listed as theoretical objectives for the program:

First, there was the matter of the faith of the personnel in the power of education to do something with a person. This is the base for any educational operation whether it be in a regular school or a special program. The formal educational courses, it was felt, offered the inmate an opportunity to gain a sense of personal achievement—an important factor in rehabilitation. Since education does deal with the development and change of human knowledge and behavior, belief in education as a "treatment" became immensely important.

Second, there had to be the recognition that classes, such as the ones being offered by the University, might be acceptable to the men only as an outlet. To be realistic, the teacher had to realize that men in prison are searching constantly for something to do. To be offered a chance for matriculation in courses leading to a higher degree made the willingness to work positive and apparent.

Third, "the process of rehabilitation," Cassidy points out,

has always been kind of a puzzling one. Sometimes I hesitate to use the term. I am tempted to think, for example, that rehabilitation is not really taking place in prison; that the preparation may take place, but that the man himself is the one who rehabilitates himself both inside and outside. I think college courses give him a higher motivation to start this inward process while he is still in prison, and to embark upon real rehabilitation when he gets back into the normal scheme of society.

However, the expression of this faith in the man made by administrative officers and teachers also must recognize that a prisoner is a particular kind of pupil, and that the teacher-pupil relationship takes place within the prison, a particular kind of setting.

Fourth, in so far as they have ability, the inmates are in a better condition in the prison to pursue their studies, to make themselves ready and eligible for parole. Simply put, the men are better inmates because they are taking classes. Teachers notice their changes in point of view. Men are less of a problem, or have less problems, when they are occupied generally and specifically in study. They acquire a kind of purpose that they could not otherwise obtain. And, incidentally, they achieve a standing within the prison, as a college student, which is important in that tight and closed "community."

Fifth, any University of worth, as an institution, is concerned with the "extras" of education, with the formation of social concern, the broad outlook. Such a feeling is impossible to achieve through the classroom process alone and possibly not even with varied cultural and extra-curricular programs that are arranged. Yet there is a fresh wind that blows through the prison atmosphere simply because the teachers from the University are bringing themselves and their ideas and their attitudes from the outside. This experience for the prisoners is enlivening; it exposes them to a view of life that they have never encountered before, perhaps never even heard of before.

Sixth, the students in prison have a greater sense of progress. Always in their minds as they serve their penalty time is the question: "What can I do in the 'joint' [as they call it] to better myself to do something outside." This is a practical, vocational, if you wish, aspect of college education that we must always acknowledge. It is always present in the prisoner's thinking. Such thought and such motivation add substance to his work. It makes for better study habits, concentration, expansion of reading habits, and a broader view of the world. It contributes to growth in self-knowledge, and better and fuller understanding of himself and other human beings.

Certainly the prisoner is not a typical student, but he is a hardworking student because this is his "job". He is released from work assignment to become, in effect, a full-time scholar within the penitentiary. By this differentiation he ends up living a separate life, a life that has both advantages and disadvantages of immediate concern to him. To become a full-time student he gives up a prison job with its benefits. His distinction is real. He has to produce. As he takes his class schedule, studies in the classroom or in his cell, he has none of the multitude of distractions that accompany the normal pursuit of college education. Yet we must remember he has few of the stimulations of the average college student. The teachers seek particularly to make their external effect more average, more normal. How, they ask, can we enrich the program?—by college newspaper, FM radio programs, sale of pocket books, and a visiting program of students to meet with the "college gang," etc.

And behind it all is the hope that this experience will orient the inmate toward a higher aim in life, to instill a desire for further

education. Each of us, says Cassidy, hopes that what is achieved in study or absorbed in discussion will be helpful in the future. Indeed, we wish that what he gets will enable him to "do his time better."

What are the results? The inmates who are in the college program appear to be "better" inmates at the time. One sees this first; it is obvious long before one sees any tangible results in the academic effort. These students perform at a higher level than does the average student. Simply put, they work longer and harder than normal at their assignments, listen and talk more freely and frequently. They learn the things offered in the courses, but they also get into the habit of self-discipline in reading and study, of articulation and expression of ideas. Their conversation becomes different, for they naturally have more things to talk about. All in all, from the instructor's viewpoint, and the observations of wardens and guards, the college study makes for a better existence immediately; it makes the prison experience more bearable and more meaningful.

Basic to the University's role in the prison is the right selection of those who can best benefit from the classes. Which inmates are equipped to take such classes? Which of the many are best served by such a program? Testing and interviews are vital in the establishing of a sound set of norms and guidelines. Other universities may wish to approach the prison program slowly as did Southern Illinois University, first by a few courses and simple aims, allowing events and success to lead them into larger and more comprehensive establishment of college-credit work. Other institutions may wish to do considerable pre-teaching planning, with full concern for the final effect before any beginning is made. Either method has its merits and pitfalls, but neither can ignore, in the long run, the philosophic concern which lies behind all prison study plans. Both ways require involvement of interested people, solid planning, able guidance and testing, reappraisal, and hope.

Always these questions occur to us: Is the educational process itself capable of transforming a point of view or an attitude of mind, or altering, in some respects, an approach to life among students who previously have had no "social" concern? Is it too late to reach them by this means? Does anyone have any doubt that the educational process is capable of affecting such changes regardless of circumstances, no matter what the person has been or is? Can a teacher work with this "captive" audience, even granted its good-will, and make a worthwhile contribution to the rehabilitation of the inmate? Does the inmate himself understand the purpose of the classes—is it simply another device for

him made by authority, another way available for him to blur the deadening routine of prison life—or another way for him to impress the authorities in the prison or the parole board?

Cassidy reports, as one person actively and seriously involved in the teaching program:

I feel it matters very little what the beginning attitude of the inmate is. He may be in the class for the wrong reasons, but it seems to me this doesn't matter; he is in the class. He is on one side of the desk, and the teacher is on the other side of the desk. A new world is provided for him. For the most part, these are men who had long ago abandoned school. They may be young or old, but they are inevitably people to whom education has meant very little. Many of them have managed to complete their high school education equivalency, while in prison or in reform school. They have never looked to a classroom or to a teacher or to a college or a program of any kind as a means for living a life other than the life they have chosen, or the life that they have brought with them into the penitentiary or, indeed, the life that made them go to the penitentiary.

For this teacher, the fact that the inmate is in the class is the giant step forward toward a new self. This is what all the members of the University staff need in order to feel that the program in prison is worthwhile.

Statistics of success or failure as the result of college study in prison may never be conclusive evidence; perhaps it is sufficient to have the several "examples" of success which come to the attention of the University administration. Possibly these few are sufficient warrant for any program. After all, educators are never sure how much of what is taught really "takes," even in the best of systems.

Now, in 1965-66, there are many programs by colleges and universities in prison communities. How they are motivated and carried out in the years ahead may well be the touchstone of success or failure in the rehabilitation of many men and women now under the shadow of prison life. Recently the Leavenworth Federal Prison held its fourth annual College graduation exercises. Fourteen men received Associate of Arts degrees from Highland Junior College (Kansas). The Valedictorian said:

I suppose that eventually some sort of adjustment to prison environment would have to be made, but, without this college program, such an adaptation is still difficult for me to visualize... The opportunity to attend college classes and to earn *bona fide*, transferable credit for the courses offered has filled a long-existing void in my life—or, I should say, in many of our lives.³³

³³ Glecker, supra note 28, at 4.

The self-educated person may acquire knowledge and insights through reading and experience outside the classroom. But it is an unusual person who will undertake the rigorous regime of unguided reading or contemplation. For the prisoner bound by ties of walls and rules, such an effort of self-advancement would be singularly unique. The college course offerings provide a special environment for intellectual growth. The student in such courses has the opportunity to hasten the educational process by systematic exploration of a field of knowledge under the guidance of a competent teacher. Formal education, under the planned study of the college, becomes the means by which an individual prisoner may become aware of and a part of the culture of his society.

The true index is human concern. In a democracy, the right to share in all benefits by all in society is fundamental. We are concerned for the right to be informed, to be free from want and from extremes of punishment. Educational opportunity for all is yet another basic right. Prisons in America lag behind the nation in many things, certainly in educational opportunity. Our belief as educators is that we should seek to remedy this lag—whether it accomplishes measurable rehabilitation or not.

APPENDIX

STATUS REPORT

ADMISSIONS TO SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY FROM ILLINOIS STATE PENITENTIARY, MENARD¹

1960-63

This report concerns twenty male students at Southern Illinois University during the years 1960-63. All of these students came to the University from the Illinois State Penitentiary (nineteen from Menard, one from Joliet-Stateville). This record of their experience and adjustments at the University has been compiled from records recently accumulated at the Center for the Study of Crime and Correction and from discussions with Mr. Thomas Cassidy, Assistant Professor of English.

No effort has been made to establish or verify exact dates of admission or withdrawal as this is not a critical factor in the evaluations presented here. At a later date, when accumulated experience with the program seems to justify it, a full-dress review of the experiment may be in order. For the present, an interim, informal report seems best suited to the situation.

It should be noted that this report concerns only the experience at Southern Illinois University. A chapter of equal significance could be written at Menard, where the program had its origin and where it has been encouraged by administrative interest and attention.

I. ENROLLMENT AT SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

To date some twenty² Illinois State Penitentiary former inmates have enrolled at Carbondale. Other inmates have expressed an interest in attending, some applications are pending, and one man, who was paroled in 1962, apparently started for the University but absconded before enrolling! It has seemed best to confine this analysis to the twenty who have actually enrolled and attended.

Statistics can never tell the whole story. The brief table which

¹ This report was prepared by the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency, and Corrections, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois, January 10, 1964.

² The possibility that some individuals have been overlooked is freely acknowledged. Systematic review and study of applicants from Menard had been in effect only four months when this report was prepared.

follows, for example, obscures the fact that a third of the total group, and about half of those still in attendance here, came to Carbondale less than four months from when this report was prepared. Tempering this fact of limited experience with a third of the population, though, is the indication that those who fail in the program do so within one to three months following enrollment.

A University is not a controlled environment as a correctional institution is, and hence, the information available about these students tends to stress only major successes and failures. A public fact, like graduation or arrest, is easily noted but between these extremes are a wide range of minor successes, minor failures, and adjustment fluctuations. Some, but not many of these appear in the following individual summaries.

II. INDIVIDUAL SUMMARIES

1. Student A: Admitted about Winter 1960, this student had a background of several college courses taken at Menard. He is now a senior scheduled to graduate in June 1964 with a major in microbiology. In 1962 he received a National Science Foundation award for his work in microbiology. He is now a part-time teaching assistant in the department. He has earned the major portion of his expenses through employment at a local scientific instruments industry. This man is now discharged from parole.

2. Student B: Admitted in June 1961, this student graduated in June 1963 with the Bachelor of Arts degree. His major field was English. Prior to his incarceration, he had accumulated two years of college credits in an Iowa college. Following graduation, he enrolled in the Graduate School at Southern Illinois University, and it is anticipated he will receive his Master of Arts degree in the summer of 1964. This man was classified as a sexually dangerous person during his indeterminate confinement in the Menard Psychiatric Division. He was released as recovered, pleaded guilty to the original indictment, and was placed under five years probationary supervision by the Knox County Court. The probationary term now continues.

3. Student C: This student was admitted to the Graduate School in 1962, after having received his Bachelor of Arts from Culver-Stockton College (Missouri) while confined at Menard. His final term of undergraduate studies had been supervised by Southern Illinois University while completing the master's degree in history at Carbondale. This student was employed by the University in a clerical capacity. The degree was awarded in June 1962, and he is now at Iowa State University engaged in Ph.D. studies. He is no longer under parole supervision.

4. Student D: This is the only student in the group paroled from Joliet-Stateville rather than Menard. He was admitted about September 1961, and he continues in attendance. His major field is communications. He has been employed part-time by the University television station and a radio station at Marion. His present parole status is not known.

5. Student E: This man was admitted at the Winter term 1962 from Menard. He attended Southern Illinois University one full year and then formally withdrew. Reportedly, he secured a transfer of his parole to the State of California, where his parents reside. Recent correspondence to the faculty at Southern Illinois University indicates he is now married and employed in California.

6. Student F: This student entered Southern Illinois University in September 1962 after having been paroled about two months earlier. In the interim he lived with his parents in Springfield and worked full-time, accumulating about 800 dollars in savings. He was accompanied to Carbondale by his ex-wife, who reportedly wished to effect a reconciliation. She worked for a time in Carbondale but later left the community. The student attended classes for several weeks, but then withdrew in October, indicating he had exhausted his funds on "foolish expenditures." He returned to Springfield, subsequently violating his parole in 1963 and was returned to Menard.

7. Student G: This student was admitted to Southern Illinois University in the Fall term, 1962, but continued in attendance less than a month. He came without funds, but was provided with some financial assistance and given part-time University employment. His major interest was accounting. He formally withdrew from the University in late October 1962 and went to the home of a sister near Roodhouse. He was returned to Menard as a parole violator in December 1962, reportedly for public fighting and intoxication in Roodhouse.

8. Student H: This man was discharged from Menard in August 1962 and came immediately to Carbondale, where he was furnished part-time University employment during the between-terms recess. His major interest was art, but his attendance was quite brief. He enrolled in September but left abruptly the following month with Student I (see detail below). Student H is now residing in Chicago and employed.

9. Student I: This student was paroled from Menard approximately the same date (August 1962) as Student H above.

He also came immediately to Carbondale and was furnished parttime University employment. He enrolled in September, but left the University and community a month later in company with Student H and two girls, aged nineteen and twenty. This student rented an automobile at Murphysboro in which the group traveled out-of-state. The automobile was later found abandoned in Chicago, and Student I was arrested and returned to Jackson County for prosecution. He received a new two-four year sentence for larceny by bailee. Reports show he had married one of the girls involved during the out-of-state trip, but the union was dissolved by divorce following his arrest.

10. Student J: This student was admitted about September 1962, and was enrolled in the dental technology course at Southern Illinois University's Vocational-Technical Institute. In 1963 he was arrested for illegal transportation of liquor and suspicion of illegal purchases for minors, but this episode was apparently dissolved as he continues on parole and in attendance at Southern Illinois University. This student has had financial support from a mother who resides in Centralia and teaches in the public schools.

11. Student K: This man was also enrolled in the dental technology course in September 1962. He is apparently now nearing completion of the course, and he is described as a "valued" employee by the maintenance department at Vocational-Technical Institute, where he held part-time employment throughout his attendance.

12. Student L: This is an older man who was admitted at the Spring term, 1963 as a part-time student. His academic aptitude is apparently quite high. This man is a former rabbi, who is now active in rabbinical work in several southern Illinois communities. He is also employed part-time in the University library.

13. Student M: This man was admitted to Southern Illinois University in June 1963. He holds a bachelor's degree from Northwestern University and has published in several national magazines. Concurrent with his admission, he was appointed a research assistant in the school of communications.

14. Student N: This student was admitted at the Fall term, 1963, from Menard. He resides and is employed full-time at the Anna State Hospital. Difficulties in transportation from Anna to Carbondale have prevented his full participation in University studies. He has been a part-time student, and he has been active in the University chess club, traveling with the chess team for intercollegiate meets. He is hopeful of purchasing a small car to overcome present transportation difficulties.

15. Student O: Admitted in September 1963, this student came with approximately 1000 dollars contributed by his parents toward educational costs. The money was to be budgeted over a one-year period. During the first two weeks, this student lived with a faculty family and had active assistance in finding suitable housing. Eventually he rented a trailer in Carbondale. Employment was arranged for him as a student janitor, working four hours a day from 8 p.m. to midnight. According to his statement, he attended classes only irregularly. In November he was arrested for illegal transportation of liquor, fined by the city and reprimanded by University officials. Subsequently, he was arrested for possession of burglary tools and suspicion of burglary. He was returned to Menard in December as a parole violator.

16. Student P: This student was admitted at the Fall term, 1963. He continues in attendance, enrolled in the general studies curriculum. He is employed by the University as a student janitor, and he resides at International House in Carbondale.

17. Student Q: This student was also admitted in September 1963. Originally, he was employed as a student janitor but he has quit this work and is said now to earn an equivalent amount in painting commissions. This student's study interests have consistently been in art and related areas. He has resided at International House, Carbondale. He has recently married a student here, but it is not yet known if this will alter his college attendance plans.

18. Student R: This student was originally paroled to a work arrangement at Swanwick, Illinois in July 1963. Following an onthe-job injury, he left this position and came to Carbondale. In December 1963, he made application for admission to the University. He was admitted and preregistered for classes, prior to information being received concerning his parole status. He commenced classes on January 3, 1964, at the opening of the Winter Term. This student has no financial resources, and he has been living at the subsistance level since coming to Carbondale. He has indicated intentions to seek student employment. This student was not enrolled in the college program at Menard, and he is not known to any of the faculty at Southern Illinois University, except through recent contacts. He indicates academic interests in English and music.

19. Student S: This man was admitted for the Winter term, 1964, following conditional release from Menard in December 1963. He has had substantial assistance and guidance from the faculty here, and he now holds student employment in the geology department. He is without funds and will be dependent on employment.

20. Student T: This man was admitted at the Winter term following conditional release from the sexually dangerous persons commitment. This release was effected by the DuPage County court. He is residing in a rooming house in Carbondale with a younger brother, who is now a sophomore. He will have minor family assistance, but will be largely dependent on employment for support.

III. INDIVIDUAL FAILURE IN THE PROGRAM

The four students (F, G, I, O) who violated their paroles, either at Carbondale or subsequent to their withdrawal from school, were interviewed at Menard on January 9, 1964. It was hoped that these men might provide a candid review of their experience in the program and describe difficulties of the economic, social, or emotional character which they encountered.

In the interviews each man was quick to assume individual responsibility for his violation. None of them wished to transfer blame to other persons or agencies. They were urged, however, to describe problems which may have predisposed the violation.

The group was unanimous in its praises of Southern Illinois University, giving particular stress to the attitudes of staff and students. One man though felt he was unprepared for such considerate handling. "I'm not use to being treated so well," he commented.

Within the community, one individual, who had grown up in Chicago, felt ill-at-ease. "I was forever afraid somebody was going to find out about my parole. I moved three times in the first few weeks," he explained.

However, greatest stress was placed on financial factors. The necessity for budgeting money, if you had it, or the need for better paying employment, if you were without funds, was repeated by each man. Three of the four felt that a period of employment prior to coming to Carbondale would be desirable. The consensus seemed to be that this requirement would screen out those who were poorly motivated and give at least a small financial reserve to those whose interest was sustained. Three to six months for such employment was the suggested period. However, to be effective, such a requirement, one man felt, would have to be universally applied.

Comment was also received on the difficulty of social adaptation in the highly permissive atmosphere of a university. One man remarked, "I think we actually felt we were just going to another institution, where there might be fewer rules but still considerable outside restraint. We found though we were entirely on our own, and it was too much freedom, too suddenly, for some of us."

One man felt that all ex-inmates should be required to live in one house with a counsellor to set rules and give advice. He did not feel that the group identification, *i.e.* parolees, would be a disadvantage.

IV. FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

In reviewing this program with the many persons interested in its success, a number of questions and suggestions have been received. These ideas might form a base for future discussions and review of this or similar programs.

Should a University committee be formed to regularly and systematically review the total program? Perhaps this committee could meet with Warden Randolph at Menard periodically to determine program needs at the institution.

Should the University provide or lend assistance to an orientation program for prospective students from Menard? How could better preparation, other than academic, be insured?

Should the University look toward establishing a small loan fund for men from this program? Could this serve to bridge the period from release to receipt of the first student work check?

How should a more effective working relationship with the Illinois Parole and Pardon Board be accomplished? Should the "voice" of the University be centralized in the office of Admissions and its Director? What additional channels, if any, are necessary to insure the free flow of information between the University and the Board?

Could the Extension Program at Menard be made a two campus undertaking, so that some student applicants from Menard could be directed to the Edwardsville campus, when this setting seemed more appropriate to their background?

Should or could specialized parole conditions be set for individual students applying from Menard? Could these stipulate in some, or all cases a period of employment in the community prior to enrollment?