

UTILIZATION OF THE BERKSHIRE MODEL IN
CHANGING THE ENVIRONMENT OF A
COUNTY JAIL: AN EVALUATION

November 1, 1977

Investigator:

Dr. Norma B. Gluckstern, Ed.D.
Catholic University
Washington, D.C.

&

University Research Corporation
Washington, D.C.

52659
This report has been sponsored by a grant from the National
Institute of Corrections. (October 1, 1976 - September 30, 1977)

NCJRS

DEC 6 1978

ACQUISITIONS

UTILIZATION OF THE BERKSHIRE MODEL IN
CHANGING THE ENVIRONMENT OF A
COUNTY JAIL: AN EVALUATION

November 1, 1977

This report has been sponsored by a grant from the National
Institute of Corrections. (October 1, 1976 - September 30, 1977)

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Norma B. Gluckstern, Ed.D.
Catholic University
Washington, D.C.
&
University Research Corporation
Washington, D.C.

Sponsoring Agency:

National Institute of Corrections
Boulder, Colorado

Research Associate:

Finn Aage Esbensen
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

Research Consultant:

Robert Coates
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Research Consultant &
Editor:

Kate Wenner
New York City, New York

November 1, 1977

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Model Education Program and its evaluation represents the work and effort of a great many people. Among them are the many representatives of state, community and federal agencies, University of Massachusetts officials, teachers and students, the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections administration, Sheriff and correctional officers, the many Berkshire Jail inmates who were past and present participants in the program, as well as countless individuals in the field of correctional reform who have given guidance as well as suggestion to the Model Education Program.

I would like to single out two individuals without whom there would have been no program. The first is Dr. Larry Dye, who in his tenure as a professor of Education at the University of Massachusetts School of Education conceived of the Model Education Program, initiated it in the Berkshire County Jail, provided leadership and inspiration in the difficult period of reform. Secondly, I would like to thank Mr. Ralph Packard, current Director of the Model Education Program in the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections. Ralph Packard worked hard and long with great dedication, sincerity and care to help institute the Model Education Program in the Berkshire Jail. Because of his foresight and participation in the change process, a cooperative working relationship between the outside change agent and the jail staff was forged. Without his cooperation the program would not have been possible.

Finally I wish to restate my thanks to the inmates themselves. Despite what was often a very frustrating history with previous correctional reformers, they were willing to give us a chance to join together with a crew of outsiders to forge what turned out to be a highly cooperative, if often difficult, program for individual change.

Among others I would like to single out by name are the following:

Pittsfield Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission

George Gibeau
Raymond Lucas
Jerry Crowley
Zoe Bowie

Pittsfield Department of Education

Donald Sommer
James Shiminski
Nancy Messerly

Pittsfield CETA Program

Peter Perlmutter
Werner Elsberg

Belchertown State School

Dr. Robert Jones

VISTA Program

Richard Amerling

Berkshire County House of Correction Jail Staff

Sheriff John D. Courtney
Deputy Master, Henry Como
Al Bianchi
John Sondrini
Ed Ziemlak
Dick Smith
Ralph Packard

Model Education Staff

Dianne Haber
George Horton
Paul Hyde
Bill O'Leary
Jim SanSouci

CONTENTS

Foreword.	ix
Preface	xii
Executive Summary	xxvi
Glossary of Terms	lxiii
Chapter I The Model Education Program:	
An Overview.	2
The First Year: Entry into the Jail and the Creation of a New Environment.	13
The Second Year: Program Development and Implementation-- Using Participatory Program Development as a Change Strategy	22
The Third Year: Transfer and Transition--the Institutionalization of the Model Education Program into the Berkshire Jail	29
Chapter II Methodology of the Evaluation of	
the Model Education Program.	35
Interviews and Questionnaires.	40
Participant Observation.	46
Review of Program Materials and Comparative Data on Other County Correctional Institutions	48
Chapter III Can a Hostile and Indifferent Jail	
Environment be Made into One of Support and Advocacy for Inmates?.	53
Communication.	55
Decision Making.	65
Security and Discipline.	76
The Management System.	93

Chapter IV	Can a Jail Become an "open" Institution and Establish Community Ties that Facilitate the Reintegration of Inmates Back into their Community?	109
Chapter V	Can an External Change Agent such as a University Function as a Change Agent in Assisting Reform in a Jail?	141
Chapter VI	Can the Model Education Program be Replicated in Other Jails	167
Chapter VII	Summary Discussion	193
	Recommendations to the Berkshire Jail	214
	Recommendations to the National Institute of Corrections	217

APPENDICES

-	Appendix I	Chronological Outline of the Model Education Program
-	Appendix II	Model Education Program Evaluation Questionnaire
-	Appendix III	Participant-Observation Research Observation Outline
-	Appendix IV	Model Education Program Staff (1973-1976)
-	Appendix V	Members of the Model Education Program National Advisory Board
-	Appendix VI	Funding Received by the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections in Connection with the Model Education Program
-	Appendix VII	Publications Pertaining to the Model Education Program

FOREWORD

Jails have traditionally been the neglected stepchildren of the corrections arena. They have neither received the level of resources available to state and federal institutions nor have they been subjected to as much public scrutiny. Yet many offenders housed in jails are at a critical juncture in their criminal careers. They are between the juvenile institutions and the "big time." If their criminal tendencies are not deflected into more constructive avenues at this point, many will most certainly graduate to our state penitentiary systems. To write off these persons at this point is to simply invite more havoc for both them and society.

For these reasons, this report, based on experience in developing an education program in a jail--the Berkshire House of Corrections,--is timely and should prove thought provoking. Collaborative efforts between the jail staff and an outside agent, the University of Massachusetts School of Education were undertaken through the Model Education Program. Its purpose was to make the jail a more humane and productive environment and to construct positive linkages for the jail and its residents with the surrounding community. Having observed the quality of life within the jail, I can attest to the fact that something did happen to alter rather dramatically the kinds of relationships which we have come to expect of jail life. This report is meant to document those changes in a readable format; explain why they oc-

curred; and explore policy implications that may be of interest to others in the corrections field.

The research effort has had several unique characteristics. First, it has functioned in an action research mode encouraging the participation of various interested parties in instrument development, analysis, and formulation of new policies based on the research findings. Staff, outside service providers, and inmates have been involved throughout the research project. Second, the former project director of the Model Education Program, Dr. Norma Gluckstern, has served as the director of the research effort. At first blush, the reader may be inclined to shout, "bias!" However, because of the conscientiousness of the research staff and because of the participation of outside groups, who frequently had conflicting interests, this report is a fairly self critical appraisal of an intensive effort to reform a jail. The report is probably no more biased than one that would be prepared by an "outside evaluator," and it is probably more informative. Third, a key data collection component depended on the efforts of a live-in participant observer, Finn Aage Esbensen. His efforts have added much to the credibility of the findings by providing us with a "real life" snapshot of what happens on the "inside."

This report should provide helpful, practical suggestions for persons considering reforms in other jails. Also, the program described here should illustrate clearly how action

oriented people can become responsibly involved in the evaluation of action programs.

Robert B. Coates
Center for Criminal Justice
Harvard University

PREFACE

THE COUNTY JAIL: POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

PREFACE

THE COUNTY JAIL: POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

According to the 1970 National Jail Census, there were 3,921 jails in this country housing some 141,588 inmates on any given day. Estimates on the number of inmates in the period of a year run from one to four million persons.¹ According to a survey conducted by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, a jail can be defined as a "locally administered institution that has the authority to retain adults 24 hours or longer. The intake point for the entire criminal system, the local jail is used both as a detention center for persons facing criminal charges, and along with prisons, as a correction facility for those serving sentences. Inmates sentenced to serve time in these local jurisdiction jails tend to represent the younger offenders in the national crime statistics. They are often young men and they are likely, failing successful intervention, to commit progressively more serious crimes and end up populating state and federal prisons.

Despite the critical life junctures at which jails often see inmates, very little has been done to improve the county jail system or to intervene in the inmates' lives. Though some jails do offer minimal services to inmates, most do nothing but provide barely decent facilities in which inmates do "dead time." To date, there has been no comprehensive national approach to the

¹Mattick, Hans W., "Contemporary Jails in the United States: An Unknown and Neglected Area of Justice," in Glaser, Daniel, Handbook on Corrections, New York: Rand McNally, 1975, p. 780.

situation in county jails. For instance, there has been no comprehensive effort to introduce programs to stimulate the successful reintegration of young offenders back into society and prevent recidivism at the early stage of a criminal career before crime has become a self-perpetuating style of life.

The need for the effort is obvious--crime statistics have been on the rise, particularly among the young. Jail inmates across the board have deplorably low educational levels and poor employment records. These factors, even when the negative effects of institutionalization themselves are discounted, mitigate against successful reintegration into the community. When the effects of institutionalization are added, the problem becomes even more serious. In jail, these young men waste away with little to occupy them beside watching television or playing Ping-Pong. They become conditioned by the institutional environment to become passive, irresponsible and dependent. They are treated like children, given no responsibility over their daily lives, no opportunities for self-development and no guidance in that direction. The jail experience, far from acting as a deterrent to crime, exacerbates the very problems that may have put the person in jail in the first place.

This description of county jails has been put forth by many experts in the field of corrections. In a range of eloquently stated reports, noted criminologists such as Goldfarb, Mattick, Glaser and Flynn share a similar point of view. Jails, they agree,

are the "bastard stepchildren" of the whole criminal justice system; at the same time, and ironically, they are also one place in the system where intervention in inmates' lives has the most potential for success.

Local jails simply do not get the same national attention that state and federal facilities do. Because their populations pose less of a public threat, because jails are administered locally and are not usually subject to state or federal monitoring, because they tend to be understaffed and underfinanced, because of the tendency of the local citizens to prefer an "out of sight, out of mind" criminal policy, jails rarely get the scrutiny that other institutions, correctional or otherwise, should face in a free society. Jails are often forgotten by the average citizen as well as state legislatures and regarded by correctional experts as the most degrading, backward and repressive places in the entire penal system. In addition, reform-minded people have often passed over county jails because they assume that inmates are sentenced there for periods too short to make programming beneficial.

Edith Flynn describes jails as places where the "chief characteristics are crippling idleness, anonymous brutality, human degradation and repression."² Daniel Glaser points out

²Flynn, Edith Elisabeth, "Jails in Criminal Justice," in Lloyd, E. Ohlin, Prisoners in America, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973, p. 59.

that, "The major costs to society from jail conditions probably stem not from clear violation of moral norms that the inmates suffer there, but rather from the prolonged idleness of the inmates in highly diverse groups cut off from much communication with the outsiders."³ Jones explains:

The majority of county and city jails are more or less independent units, each having a certain autonomy. The grounds, buildings and equipment are owned by the respective counties and cities. In a majority of cases the buildings are old, badly designed, poorly equipped, and in most instances in need of urgent repairs. They are not properly heated, ventilated or lighted. They do not have the necessary facilities for the preparation and service of food; proper and adequate provision for bathing and laundering are missing; sanitary arrangements are, for the most part, primitive and in a bad state of repair; only in rare instances are there proper hospital facilities or means for caring for the sick and infirmed; religious services are infrequent; educational activities are almost completely unknown.... Recreation is mostly restricted to card playing, and in general, complete idleness is the order of the day.⁴

The National Advisory Commission on Standards and Goals has taken note of these deficiencies and made extensive recommendations, calling for increased development of vocational, educational, counseling and job placement programs. The April 1976 Report to the Congress by the Accounting Office on the Conditions in Local County Jails echoes this. It points out that despite large ex-

³Glaser, Daniel, "Some Notes on Urban Jails," Crime in the City, New York: Harper and Row, 1971, p. 238.

⁴Jones, American Jails, Centennial Congress of Corrections, 1970, p. 5-6.

penditures of funds on programs for corrections, county jails still represent an untapped area for reform. The Commission calls for the establishment of a national priority program for the upgrading of county jails.

The county jail population offers enormous potential for successful intervention. The fact is that the county jail system may be the one part of the overall correctional system where something effective can be done.

The ultimate goal of any correctional reform, beyond fundamental concerns for safe, humane, and decent institutional standards, is obviously the effort to reduce recidivism by making the correctional experience an effective means of keeping the offender from returning to crime. Recent literature in correctional reform suggests that this is best accomplished by a two-pronged approach--reduce the negative affects of incarceration while introducing programs that prepare reintegration. These ideas have given birth to the concept of "community-based corrections," which sets as its task the establishment of links between the correctional facility and the surrounding community.

County jails are ideally suited to be a site for this reintegrative, community-based correctional approach. The small size of most jails, their location within the community, their minimum security inmate population, and the young age of their inmates makes them good candidates for preparing their population

for entry-level jobs in the workforce. All of these factors contribute to making county jails a correctional site with significant potential.

A further potential of the county jail lies in the possibility, due to small size, of transforming it into a new environment, supportive of the growth of its members. Many jails have attempted to institute reintegrative programs and failed because the programs were instituted in an environment whose nature mitigated against success. Jails are often negative, hostile, and tense places which create suspicion, caution and lack of cooperation among people who work or are incarcerated in them. Discipline and administration are often authoritarian and arbitrary. New programs for the offender often get misused as systems of rewards where punitive measures of control are the rule. For reintegration programs to be successful, they must offer participants an arena for decision making and self-reliance. Only in this way can they permit a level of personal investment in a program that will be sufficient to make its successful completion possible. Therefore, the environment in which the new programs are offered is as crucial as the program itself. County jails, especially because of their small size, offer an ideal opportunity for the creation of such a new and supportive environment.

The Model Education Program, educationally oriented, community-based reintegration program, was developed as an experiment to work with the county jail population. It emerged as a

joint effort between the University of Massachusetts and the Sheriff of the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections. From 1973 to 1976, these two institutions worked in close collaboration to create a demonstration program to show what could be done to transform a county jail.

The Model Education Program was based on the premise that programs to reintegrate offenders back into society would not succeed unless the context in which they were offered was supportive of specific goals for reintegration. Thus, the transformation of the jail environment itself was seen as a key factor of the program. By transforming the jail from its traditionally negative and hostile environment to one of support and advocacy for inmates, it was hoped that the manner in which inmates participated in reintegration programs would improve on the chances for success of the programs themselves. The Model Education Program was conceived of as a comprehensive effort in which programs offering new opportunities to offenders would be developed in the context of a support and service system that would enable them to work, perhaps for the first time.

Education was seen as the overall vehicle of this effort, but it was not restricted simply to providing classes and courses to inmates. Instead, an educational thrust would inform every aspect of the new programs--its systems or program development, its approach to assessing jail and inmate needs, and its efforts at providing inmates with the necessary personal and skill resources

that would enable them to function more successfully in the community. Overall the Model Education Program held to the basic educational premise that, with guidance, individuals can learn to make better use of their own and society's resources.

There were three key components of this Model Education Program: 1) the creation of an environment of support and advocacy for inmates; 2) the "opening" of the jail to outside sources of support, community agencies, community scrutiny, and community participation, and the enabling of incarcerated inmates to go out into the community to pursue the opportunities that could help them; and 3) the participation in the change process of an outside change agency, in this case a university, that could provide resources, impetus, and a persistent commitment to the change process. No "closed" institution like a county jail could be expected to change without outside intervention when that change would demand a reorganization of such things as existing jobs and entrenched bases of power.

Following the three-year creation of the Model Education Program, the need for some form of evaluation of its processes, successes and failures was seen as a valuable endeavor. Sufficient national attention had been focused on this experiment to suggest that its lessons might be applicable to similar institutions elsewhere. Though no evaluative mechanism had been built into the creation of the program, it seemed that sufficient data could be gathered at this point to offer informed insight into what had been

carried out. It was decided that a case study approach would best suit the desired aims, and thus data were collected from a number of sources--in-depth interviewing, participant observation and collected program materials. This case study method of evaluation was chosen in order to present an overall description of both the change process and its affects on the institution. By the same token, the goal of this evaluation was to write a report that emphasized an overall description of the program and its methods as well as a qualitative description of its results. The report was not constructed to give a strict statistical analysis, but rather to provide useful information for potential practitioners as well as to give interested observers an overall evaluation of the Model Education Program.

Since the Model Education Program was designed to use a cooperative and self-help approach to change, an "action-research" design was chosen for the evaluation study. This meant that the people who had participated in the program from its inception were asked for input into different stages of the evaluation--in its formulation, management, and during the review and interpretation of data. Such an evaluation would not merely inform interested outsider parties, but would also help the program reassess its directions.

It should be noted that the study focused primarily on testing the hypotehsis that a jail could be made into an environment of support and advocacy for inmates. The second hypothesis

put forth by the Model Education Program was that this new environment would promote the success of reintegration programs for the offenders. However, to test adequately this second hypothesis would be a much larger undertaking than was possible within the scope of this evaluation. It would require a study of recidivism patterns which would require a long-term study and the use of a control group. The present study did attempt to make some preliminary evaluations in that direction by looking at the extent of participation in the new reintegration programs and the perceptions of people who participated in them. The attitudes and experiences of these participants give a good preliminary indication about the relationship between making a jail into a supportive environment and the success of its reintegrative programs.

This report concentrates on four evaluation topics: the changed jail environment, "opening" the jail for reintegration programs, the use of an outside agency as an instrument of change, and the potential for replication of the Model Education Program.

Chapter I gives an introductory overview of the processes, programs and goals of the Model Education Program. It tells how the program first came into being and describes the stages of development. It discusses some of the particularly unusual features of the program. This chapter also establishes some of the premises on which the Model Education was based and gives a general insight into its particular style of bringing about institutional change. Because the Model Education Program was a

complex, comprehensive, and many-faceted program, a careful reading of this first chapter is suggested for ease in interpreting the data and conclusions drawn in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter II describes the evaluation methodology, paying particular attention to a case study approach to data collection.

Chapter III addresses the question, "Can a jail be changed from a hostile and indifferent environment to one of support and advocacy?" Here, attention is given to examining the environment of the jail as it now exists in comparison to how it was before the Model Education Program. Particular issues related to this changed environment are considered, among them security, decision making, communication, and a new style of management.

Chapter IV addresses the question, "Can a jail be 'opened' in order to enable the reintegration of its inmates back into society?" Here the extent to which outside agencies and individuals were allowed to involve themselves in the jail will be discussed. Additionally, the extent to which offenders were able to go out into the community to take advantage of education and vocational opportunities will be considered.

Chapter V asks the question, "Can an external change agency, such as a university, be used in bringing about change to a county jail?" Here the particular advantages and problems of this teaming of two institutions in a change effort will be

considered. What are the benefits of this change strategy, and what are its inherent liabilities?

Chapter VI considers whether the Model Education Program is a likely candidate for replication in other similar institutions. Was there anything so unusual or extraordinary about the Berkshire Jail or the factors which brought the Model Education Program into being that would prevent its successful replication elsewhere?

Finally, Chapter VII summarizes the key and important findings of the report, focusing on the particular strengths and weaknesses of the Model Education Program. If the Model Education Program met its mandate of creating a model for bringing change to county jails, what, if anything, does this contribute to an understanding of the overall problems of county jails?

In addition, Chapter VII includes specific recommendations to the National Institute of Corrections, who sponsored this evaluation study and report. These recommendations are a distillation of the implications of the overall report with specific thought given to further directions for action.

We hope you will find this report both informative and helpful. We have not attempted here to come up with the definitive approach to solving the problems of county jails. We wish only to share the details of an experiment that proved a valuable

endeavor to the many who participated in it.

An Executive Summary precedes the chapters and has been prepared to provide a synopsis of the major points elaborated in the full report. Those readers desiring a complete discussion of the topics, however, are advised to turn directly to Chapter I.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EVALUATION REPORT ON THE MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM
AT THE BERKSHIRE COUNTY JAIL AND
HOUSE OF CORRECTIONS

Principal Investigator	-- Norma B. Gluckstern, Ed.D.
Sponsoring Agency	-- National Institute of Corrections
Research Associate	-- Finn Aage Esbensen
Research Consultant	-- Robert Coates
Research Consultant & Editor	-- Kate Wenner

November 1, 1977

This summary is intended to highlight the topics covered in detail in the text. In order to avoid repetition, it is suggested that those who desire full information on the Model Education Program turn directly to the text.

Introduction: The Position of the County Jail

Local jurisdiction correctional facilities known as jails or county houses of correction are "the intake point for the entire criminal system," according to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. As such, they generally house the younger and first time offenders, who are likely, without successful intervention, to become recidivists and end up populating our state and federal correctional institutions. Estimates of the total number of inmates incarcerated under these circumstances range as high as four million a year. Up to this point, however, this group has received little attention in national correctional reform efforts.

Recent correctional literature has pointed to the value of "community-based corrections" as a strategy for reintegrating offenders back into productive roles in society. By tying a correctional facility to the surrounding community and its resources, it is hoped that offenders can take advantage of educational and vocational opportunities that will give them an alternative to crime. The 1970 National Jail Census¹ revealed

¹Local Jails: A Report Presenting Data for Individual County and City Jails from the 1970 National Jails Census. U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service.

that there are some 3,921 county jails across the country, housing, on an average day, about 141,600 offenders.

County jails are particularly suited to a community-based reintegration correctional strategy. They offer the opportunity to work with a younger group of offenders before they have developed long criminal histories. This younger population is also of an age appropriate to entry-level jobs in the workforce. And, the administrative relationship of jails to local towns and counties makes them well situated to become linked to the local community.

Despite this potential inherent in county correctional facilities, they remain, as most correctional experts concur, the bastard step-children of the entire criminal justice system.

Facilities are sub-standard; reintegration programs are minimal; and the inmates do "dead time," passing days with little but Ping-Pong and television. A high proportion of these inmates have substandard educational backgrounds and poor employment records. In these jails, they are treated like children, conditioned to be dependent and passive, and given no opportunities for self-development. This can be described as the negative effects of institutionalization. The net result is that the jail experience, far from acting as a deterrent to crime, may in fact promote crime by reinforcing negative attitudes.

The Model Education Program

The Model Education Program is an effort to address this situation. It is a comprehensive, educationally oriented, community-based, reintegration program operating in the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. It emerged as a joint effort between the University of Massachusetts and the sheriff of Berkshire County. From 1973 to 1976, the jail and the university worked in close collaboration to develop a demonstration project of what could be done to transform a county correctional institution. Following the three-year demonstration project, the National Institute of Corrections funded a study to evaluate the program. This evaluation was carried out from October 1976 to November 1977 and this report represents a summary of its findings. The Model Education Program now continues under the direct administration of the Berkshire Jail and is part of the jail's regular and on-going operations.

The Model Education Program was based on the premise that jails have an obligation to try to assist the reintegration of inmates back into their communities under circumstances that reduce the likelihood of a return to crime. The program was developed with the understanding that efforts to reintegrate offenders back into society would not succeed in an environment that undermined the reintegration goals. This meant that the jail had to become an environment of support and advocacy for inmates. Thus, the Model Education Program attempted to initiate a com-

prehensive systems change, transforming the jail from a negative, hostile and authoritarian environment to one that would allow collaboration, trust and cooperation among those who lived and worked there.

Participatory program development and participatory management were chosen as two mechanisms to create this new jail environment. They were also seen as ways to counter the negative effects of institutionalization since they would allow inmates to have an impact on the circumstances that affected their daily lives. Education was adopted as the overall vehicle of this effort and as a means of giving inmates the skills and credentials they would need to enter the workforce as well as the "life skills" they would need in order to succeed in civilian life. An educational framework also provided the underlying philosophy of the program, which said that with effective support and guidance, people can learn to make better use of both their own and their society's resources.

There were four major objectives in the Model Education Program: (1) the creation of an environment of support and advocacy for inmates; (2) the "opening" of the jail to the outside community--to community agencies, community scrutiny and participation--while also allowing inmates to go out into the community to pursue the opportunities that could help them; (3) the participation of the University of Massachusetts as an outside change agent to facilitate institutional change at the Berk-

shire Jail; and (4) the establishment of a model for correctional reform that might be applicable to other county jails.

Evaluation Methodology

The evaluation study of the Model Education Program was designed to assess the program's success at meeting each of the four objectives. An "action-research" design was chosen for the study so that people who had participated in the program since its inception would have input into the evaluation all along the way--at its formulation, in its management, as respondents to interviews, and at the review and interpretation of data. Additionally, a case study approach to the evaluation was followed so that a variety of sources of data could be brought together in order to give a comprehensive view of the institution, the program and its participants.

Data for the evaluation was gathered from three major sources: (1) questionnaires administered to inmates and correctional staff, and interviews conducted with Model Education Program staff, community agency personnel, U-Mass students and faculty and a wide variety of people variously connected with the program; (2) participant-observation by a graduate student associate who spent 52 days living inside the cell block; and (3) a review of program materials as well as comparative data from other similar county correctional institutions. Though each data source could stand by itself, the validity of any piece of information was in-

creased when other sources served to substantiate it. In all, those who were either interviewed or answered questionnaires included 80 incarcerated inmates, 27 Berkshire correctional officers, 48 people variously connected to the program as staff, community agency representatives, former inmates, University of Massachusetts participants, and seven university graduates who had participated in a student-inmate program in which students earned college credit for living in the Berkshire Jail. In addition, data was used from interviews conducted a year before with 14 correctional officers employed in the jail before the inception of the Model Education Program. This data provided a very general basis of comparison.

Program Overview

Before proceeding into a review and interpretation of the evaluation data, it will be helpful to present an overall description of the Model Education Program. This overview will be offered without supporting data and is meant only to serve as a general introduction to the scope and nature of the project.

The Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections is a 107-year-old facility located in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, a city of 56,000 people in a largely rural section of the western part of the state. The jail houses an average of 80 inmates, 95 percent of whom are male, five percent female, and 90 percent

white. The median age of inmates is 22.3 years. Most inmates are sentenced for periods up to two-and-a-half years for crimes ranging from breaking and entering to manslaughter. At least 68 percent of the inmate population in January 1977 had not completed high school. The correctional staff are all white and range in age from 24 to 65. In January 1977, all but three had completed high school. In the fiscal year during 1975 and 1976, the Berkshire Jail operated on a budget of \$520,705.43. The total cost of keeping an inmate incarcerated for one year was \$6,665.13, or \$18.21 a day. Correctional officer salaries range from \$11,078 to \$13,605 per year.

In the Berkshire Jail, inmates reside in a four-tiered cell block that is kept locked throughout the night and day. Each inmate has his own cell, equipped with a cot, wash basin, and toilet. Inmates are required to be at breakfast at 7:30 a.m., are free to roam through the cell block during the day, and are locked back into their cells at 9:00 p.m. each night. The jail has an upstairs story with classrooms, meeting rooms, and offices. This is where the Model Education Program has made its home. In Berkshire Jail parlance, this area is called "the upstairs"--a term used loosely to refer to the overall Model Education Program. By the same token, the "downstairs" is where the daily operations of the jail are based.

Before the inception of the Model Education Program, the Berkshire Jail typified most county correctional institutions.

Aside from minimal educational and work release programs, there was virtually nothing for inmates to do but hang around the block all day or do menial institutional work. Discipline was strict and administration was authoritarian. As an observer of the Berkshire Jail, Professor Fred Cohen of the Criminal Justice Program of the State University of New York at Albany recalled, "....The resentment, alienation, and passivity engendered in inmates seemed to heighten the chances of a return to a criminal life style."²

The development of the Model Education Program took place over a three-year period and can be divided into three distinct phases: (1) entry into the jail--the creation of a supportive environment; (2) program development and implementation--using participatory program development as a change strategy; and (3) transfer and transition--the institutionalization of the Model Education Program as regular and on-going operation of the Berkshire Jail.

The Program began officially with a planning grant given by the Fund for Improvement of Post-Secondary Education in July 1973. At that time, both the jail and the University of Massachusetts assigned full-time staff to the project, creating what came to be known as an "external-internal change team." Before

²Cohen, Fred, "Comment, Jail Reform: An Experiment That Worked?", Criminal Law Bulletin, Vol. 12, #6, p. 760.

the official start of the program, weekly meetings were held at the jail in which university staff met with inmates, correctional officers and jail administrators. Over time, this meeting was institutionalized as a regular weekly event and became one of the major participatory mechanisms of the Model Education Program.

The first year of the program was dedicated to building trust in the jail and breaking down a long held antagonism between inmates and correctional officers. Human relations training methods were used and many formal and informal meetings were held. A Governance Board was formed to make policy decisions relating to the program, and later, relating to the entire jail. The Governance Board was composed of inmates, correctional officers, and U-Mass representatives. At the same time two pilot projects were begun under the Model Education Program auspices: the Concord Reformatory Project in which a training team of five Berkshire inmates and correctional officers taught a human relations course to inmates at Concord State Reformatory; and the Berkshire-Belchertown Project in which four inmates and one correctional officer traveled daily to the Belchertown State School for the Retarded so that inmates could participate in in-service training and become full-time retardation counsellors on work release from the jail. This Berkshire-Belchertown Project developed into an on-going career training program for Berkshire inmates. At the same time, two college courses were instituted at the jail which gave university-level credit to participants. The courses were arranged through the University Without Walls

Program at U-Mass. The student-inmate program, in which university undergraduates lived in the cell block under the same conditions as inmates, was also instituted during this time.

Also, at this time, a National Advisory Board, made up primarily of nationally known correctional experts, began bi-annual meetings at the jail to provide guidance and support to the program.

All of these programs served to develop credibility for the change effort in the jail. They also developed a broad base of participation and served to identify inmate and correctional officer leadership. Correctional officers who supervised the Concord and Belchertown Projects were role models for a new concept of correctional work in which correctional officers would act as counsellors, teachers, and program coordinators. At the same time, correctional officers, inmates, and program staff went out together into the community to begin negotiating a cooperative relationship between the jail and the various community and state social service agencies. For the Model Education Program was based on an understanding that it not duplicate services and resources already available in the wider community. Instead, it would serve as a mechanism for identifying and using already existing resources by teaching inmates and officers the skills to make use of them.

In the second stage of implementation of the Model Educa-

tion Program, a participatory method of program development was instituted. This was a mechanism for identifying inmate reintegration needs, designing programs to meet them, and developing the resources and funding to make those programs possible. The process of participatory program development was also meant to be an education in itself, providing inmates with work and management skills that would help them on the outside. In the course of participatory program development they learned skills in needs assessment, program development, proposal writing, fund raising, negotiation, and resource management.

Among the new programs that were developed in this way were such things as a self-help drug group, a basic adult education and high school equivalency program, a series of "survival" courses on subjects like consumer education and financial management. Courses taught in the jail under a variety of auspices ranged from human sexuality to auto mechanics and computer programming. A self-classification system was used as the basis on which inmates participated in these new programs. This was consistent with the Model Education Program premise that inmates would have greater success with career and educational choices they made for themselves. At the same time, the Model Education Program was set up to provide a support base for the individual inmate as he experimented with these new opportunities that had been made available to him.

In the third year of the Model Education Program, uni-

versity personnel gradually cut back their participation and transferred full responsibility for the program to local community and jail staff. At this transfer stage, an Educational Policy Committee was formed which provided the central focus for the on-going educational programs. The three-year development period of the Model Education Program terminated in July 1976 with the conclusion of the grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. By this time, however, jail staff and inmates had succeeded in securing a variety of other program grants, including \$136,000 for the creation of a pre-release center. This grant and the overall Model Education Program is now administrated by a correctional officer who, following his work with the Model Education Program, was promoted to the position of director of education of the Berkshire County Jail.

Evaluation Findings

The evaluation of the Model Education Program focused on a consideration of its four major objectives and each one was seen as a question to be answered: (1) Can a hostile and indifferent jail environment be made into one of support and advocacy for inmates? (2) Can a jail become an "open" institution facilitating the reintegration of offenders back into the community? (3) Can an external agency such as a university be instrumental in bringing about change to a county jail? (4) Can the Model Education Program at the Berkshire Jail be replicated

in other county correctional institutions?

In an overall sense, the accomplishments of the Model Education Program can be detected in responses to the evaluation question, "What specific things have changed in the jail since the introduction of the Model Education Program?" The answers fall into nine major groupings, the most frequently mentioned being "the atmosphere has improved and there are more programs" (20 percent); "the jail is more open to outsiders" (14 percent); "increase inmate involvement" (11 percent); and "an adapting and upgrading of staff" (11 percent). In order to look at these observations in greater detail, the four research questions will be addressed one by one.

1. Can a hostile and indifferent jail environment be made into one of support and advocacy for inmates?

The Model Education Program was based on the premise that helping inmates make a successful return to society required offering them new opportunities as well as creating the kind of supportive environment that would make real utilization of these opportunities possible. This environmental change aimed both at the quality of interaction among people and at the style of institutional management.

The evaluation investigated the areas of communication,

decision making, security, discipline, and the work and attitudes of correctional officers. The data revealed overall that the social climate of the jail had taken on a new quality of cooperation, openness, and reason as a result of the new programs. Disputes are now channeled through mechanisms that have been set up both to mediate grievances and to discover solutions to problems. Inmates have learned that it is within their grasp to identify their needs, design programs, and gain support to get those specific needs met. New patterns of inmate leadership have emerged as well. In contrast to an old style of inmate leadership, which functioned primarily for intimidation, the new inmate leaders are those who demonstrate that they are adept at orchestrating change.

Additionally, the data indicate that there are a significant number of friendships within the jail now--among inmates, between inmates and some correctional officers, and between inmates and program staff. A number of inmates stated in interviews that individual correctional officers and program staff have become role models for them. In the cell block itself, there is a significant increase in inmate solidarity; and communication among inmates on issues of mutual concern takes place in both formal meetings and informal discussions. At the same time, the nature of security within the jail has changed as the old style of strict military-like supervision has waned. There is a great deal more daily activity centering around the jail. Inmates are in and out of the cell block and the jail itself

with greater frequency; at the same time, a wide variety of outsiders are frequent visitors to the jail. In interviews many correctional officers reported finding this activity disconcerting and said that their job is more difficult now that they have more activities and more outsiders to monitor. However, there is no evidence that infringements of discipline and security have worsened. In fact, the variety of new programs designed by the inmates themselves appear to have a self-disciplining function. Additionally, it appears that the newly systematized forms of participation in the jail program development and in program management mean that there is less opportunity for frustrations to build up and cause inmates to take grievances into their own hands. There is also evidence that correctional officers have begun to use their disciplinary authority in a more consistent and fair way. The old indiscriminate mass lock up as a form of discipline has been replaced by a system of carefully assessing who caused a particular disturbance and punishing only the appropriate offender.

The reported discomfort of correctional officers with the more "open" jail, however, signals one of the most significant findings of the evaluation: the failure of the Model Education Program to get significant support or participation from correctional officers. Of the 27 officers working full time, only four became highly involved in the program, involved, that is, to the extent that their daily work responsibilities were significantly altered from their old job duties as line officers.

This lack of correctional officer involvement was paralleled by another problem revealed in the evaluation--a realignment of subgroupings in the jail so that some hostility and mistrust began to develop between the "upstairs"--those associated with the program--and the "downstairs"--those choosing not to be associated with it. Both groups included some officers and inmates since the downstairs' officers worked with a group inmate trustees.

The data suggest that the lack of substantial involvement by correctional officers is attributable to a number of factors: (1) the lack of sufficient orientation and training of correctional officers by Model Education Program staff; (2) a general mistrust on the part of correctional officers of the U-Mass staff as being "college bound" and "theoretically oriented" outsiders; (3) a general feeling among correctional officers that the U-Mass staff were coming into the jail on behalf of the inmates and as such were not interested in the situation of correctional officers or would side with inmates against them; and (4) a confusion or fear about the new job duties and attitudes that were being expected of them as advocates on behalf of inmates.

The data also showed discrepancies between the officers' and the inmates' impressions about each other's relative power to affect such things as disciplinary procedures and jail policy. Inmates feel they have less power than correctional officers report thinking the inmates have. Over and over again

the correctional officers expressed opinions that indicated their view of themselves as a disenfranchised group. While the sheriff of the Berkshire Jail was generally seen as instrumental in introducing the reform program into the jail, some participants indicated that they would have valued a more direct involvement by him in the actual operations of the program. They suggested for example that he might have been able to play an instrumental role in easing the tension of the "upstairs-downstairs" split.

2. Can a jail become an "open" institution and establish community ties that facilitate the reintegration of inmates back into their communities?

The Model Education Program was based on the premise that "opening" the jail to permit stronger community ties would promote the possibility of successful reintegration of inmates back into society. Allowing community representatives and agencies into the jail to deliver services in cooperation with the Model Education Program, and allowing inmates to go out into the community to participate in programs offered there, were seen as means of preparing an inmate to return to a productive role in the community. An additional objective of "opening" the jail was to break down the negative stereotypes about jail and inmates in the community in hopes that when the inmate tried to make his adjustment back into society, he would not be hindered by old pre-

judices. By the same token, opening the jail to outsiders was expected to generate community concern about the jail itself and establish community interest in seeing that the Model Education Program and similar programs were maintained.

The evaluation revealed that the jail had been substantially "opened" as a result of the Model Education Program. A wide variety of reintegration programs were created. The problem was addressed with the understanding that reintegration programs would have a much greater chance of success if they were offered as part of a comprehensive effort and backed up with guidance, coordination and support. Internal program mechanisms such as a Wednesday Night All-Jail Meeting, a Governance Board, or a drug group, were seen as helping inmates with "life skills" and as a means of improving inmate self-confidence. Programs involving educational and vocational opportunities were seen as a way of giving inmates the skills and credentials they would need to make entry into the job market. The Model Education Program attempted, as much as possible, to see that these latter programs were offered to inmates through existing community agencies and schools.

Inmate, self-report data indicated a high degree of participation in these programs, ranging from five percent who were enrolled in the U-Mass University Without Walls Program working toward college degrees, to 43 percent who regularly attended the Wednesday night All-jail "town meeting." Data also

showed that a majority of inmates now identify "rehabilitative-reintegrative goals" as the primary purpose of their incarceration experience. Forty-six percent felt the Model Education Program had given them a skill that would help them in the community, and 37 percent felt that the program would help them "a lot" in not returning to jail. (Discounting 17 inmates who did not participate in the program, the 48 percent felt the Model Education Program would help them "a lot" in staying out of jail in the future.)

A particularly interesting component of this "open" jail policy allowed former inmates to return to jail to visit friends, staff, and the inmates and also to continue to participate in the Model Education Program as long as they felt that it was necessary after their release. This is contrary to correctional policy in most jails where the return of released inmates is seen as a threat to security. Evaluation data, however, revealed that this particular innovation may have been a crucial aspect of the program by allowing an offender to make a gradual adjustment to "free society." Many inmates apparently did not have relationships on the outside that were as positive or supportive as the ones they developed in connection with the Model Education Program. The need for this sort of continuing after-care also led to the development of Project Re-Entry, which was formed by a group of ex-offenders to provide support to newly released inmates beginning full-time study on the U-Mass campus.

The National Advisory Board, which was created to provide guidance to the program, was also seen as a valued asset in opening the jail. However, it was also considered of less value than what could have been accomplished by the creation of a local community board. A local board could have strengthened the ties more directly between the jail and the community, and possibly have conducted a much needed information dissemination program to educate local citizenry about correctional issues.

In a wider sense, a failure to change local community attitudes toward the jail was seen as a significant weakness of the program, since citizen attitudes are tremendously important in making reintegration programs work. Overall, however, the Model Education Program caused the Berkshire Jail to become much more open to the community at large. Outside participation ranged from visits by school groups, who were allowed to interact freely with inmates, to regular service visits by the variety of community agency representatives who developed cooperative working relationships with the program. These agencies included state departments such as the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, the Department of Education and Labor, and the Parole Board; the U.S. Department of Labor's the Comprehensive Employment Training Act programs; and civic organization such as the JayCees. Representatives of these agencies reported that the Model Education Program enabled them to better provide services by offering them (1) a site to provide services, (2) access to inmates, (3) an opportunity to try out new and experimental pro-

grams in a cooperative environment, and (4) an opportunity to coordinate with other community agencies in the delivery of services. The delivery of services was also improved because of the pre-selection of participants that evolved through the Model Education Program's self-classification system. Since inmates made their own choices with the guidance and support of program staff, they were more likely to make effective use of the opportunities that were offered. The majority of these agencies reported benefits from working in cooperation with a jail-based, comprehensive program.

3. Can an external agency such as a university function as a change agent in assisting reform in a jail?

The Model Education Program was based on an alliance between two institutions, one identified as needing change and the other charged with the responsibility of functioning as the change agent. The university wanted to meet new demands that it become more socially responsible to the community; the jail wanted to respond to an increasing call for correctional reform. Outsiders could presumably have more leverage in changing an institution like a county jail with entrenched interest groups. Also, the University of Massachusetts, as the change agent institution, had many resources necessary for the change effort--people with specific change skills, educational opportunities, professionals and teachers, and fund raising skills and contacts.

The evaluation showed that this alliance between the two institutions proved to be an effective strategy for bringing about change. It was not without conflicts, but overall the two institutions were able to maintain a shared commitment to a similar set of goals.

As discussed above, a weakness in this change strategy showed up in connection with the failure to get significant participation by correctional officers in the new program. Many people in the jail, and the correctional officers especially, were suspicious of outside "do-gooders." Their university base and orientation aggravated the problem because they were viewed as somewhat naive about jail life and sometimes too theoretically oriented. However, their ability to deliver the resources they promised and bring a complex program into operation, slowly gained the trust of most people in the jail. The major advantages of the U-Mass involvement listed by respondents in evaluation interviews were "resources," the "creative thinking and objectivity" brought to bear on the situation, and the way it functioned as a "catalyst for change."

As described above, many of the correctional officers felt that the U-Mass staff favored the inmates, while ignoring the needs and concerns of the correctional officers. This reflects an inevitable problem for an outside change agent attempting to work within an institution with antagonistic sub-groups. If, as outsiders, they appeared too closely allied with either

group, they would have lost the support of the other. Perhaps the change agent tradition of working on behalf of the "oppressed" group may have been an underlying factor in the U-Mass team's closer alliance with the inmates. Whatever the underlying cause, however, had the university team been more cognizant of the problems inherent in coming into an institution with firmly established sub-groupings, they might have avoided the problem of alienating a portion of the correctional officers. They could have made better provisions at the outset for building strong alliances with both groups, taking greater care in maintaining their neutrality, and relying on their skills and resource delivery to build trust rather than on making philosophical alliances with either group.

A particular innovative aspect of the Model Education Program was the student-inmate program in which 18 U-Mass undergraduates, in six different groups, spent three-month internships living in the Berkshire Jail under the same conditions as regularly sentenced inmates. These student inmates played a significant role in developing close relationships with inmates and encouraging their participation in the Model Education Program. They also functioned as informal tutors and counsellors. The student-inmate program proved to be a valuable experiential education for those who participated in it, most of whom were planning human service careers. Evaluation data showed that student inmates were trusted by sentenced inmates and were able to be positive role models for them.

A crucial period of this change partnership between the two institutions was the final stage when it was necessary for the U-Mass team to leave and test whether the program could carry on independently. The fact that many people interviewed in the evaluation weren't even aware that U-Mass had officially left was a significant indication of the ease with which the transition was carried out. U-Mass had, in effect, been preparing for its departure from the first day of the program by conscientiously transferring skills and contacts to local staff and inmates. For example, the U-Mass staff taught inmates, local staff, and correctional officers to generate their own funds and resources by approaching a variety of state, local and general agencies. As a result, by the time the grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education expired, (a grant which had been funnelled through UMass and used to implement the program), the Model Education Program had become self-sustaining financially. After the U-Mass departure, reintegration programs continued on as before. The Governance Board, however, was disbanded, but was later reconstituted as the "Sheriff's Committee." This provides an illustration of how the jail retained the original program goals, but needed in various ways to restate them in order to make them more fully their own. However, it will take a longer period of observation to truly assess whether such things as participatory management and participatory program development are maintained in the long run in the jail.

4. Can the Model Education Program be replicated
in other county correctional institutions?

One of the objectives of the Model Education Program was that it serve as a demonstration project of a correctional reform strategy for other county jails. To evaluate whether it met this particular objective, it was necessary to assess whether or not the Berkshire Jail was typical of other county institutions. Secondly, it was necessary to try to determine whether the factors that went into bringing about the change could be readily available to people interested in putting together a similar program.

Overall, data revealed that before the inception of the Model Education Program, the Berkshire Jail was quite typical of county correctional facilities across the country in regard to its size, population, staff, and physical structure. Three possible areas of departure from this were: (1) the relative racial and ethnic homogeneity of both the inmate population and the correctional officers; (2) the availability within the jail of a separate physical space in which the Model Education Program could locate its offices, classrooms and meeting rooms; and (3) longer inmate sentences than the national average for county jails. Any of these factors might have bearing on the replicability of the program. None, however, could be considered essential for successful replication. The issue of the length of sentences suggests, however, that an effort to replicate the program

in jails where sentences are typically very short would probably require substantial program modifications.

A number of people interviewed in the evaluation commented that they thought the Model Education Program was able to succeed because of the fact that some programs for inmates (an educational release and work release program) already existed in the jail. Data from The Nation's Jails³ show that 67 percent of jails do have some such, non-federally funded programs.

A description of the social climate of the Berkshire Jail before the introduction of the Model Education Program suggests that it typified what has been reported by various correctional experts as the norm for county jails. This indicates that the conditions under which the Model Education Program was brought into being were not unusual in any way that would suggest difficulty at replication.

In attempting to isolate important factors leading to the success of the Model Education Program, participants were asked to list what they thought had been essential in contributing to whatever success the program had. A wide range of skills, resources, individuals, agencies, values, and attitudes of staff and participants were mentioned. Skills ranged from "grant writing ability" to "the ability to bring ideas into reality." At-

³ The Nation's Jails, U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, May 1975.

tititudes ranged from "sensitivity" and "giving people hope" to "the dedication of the staff and their concern for inmates." The existence of a third party, who initially brought university and jail representatives together to discuss the possibility of a joint effort, was also mentioned. The participation of this person, an ex-offender, was seen as advantageous in creating and introducing the program. Human relations skills were singled out as being particularly useful in fulfilling the objective of changing a jail environment.

The issue of funding also has bearing on replicability. The Model Education Program developed a specific policy in regard to funding which involved a diversification of funding sources. It also relied on a variety of state, federal, and local agencies, schools, community groups, individuals, and the jail itself to provide needed resources for the program. These resources sometimes took the form of direct funding, but were also in the form of staff, skills, services and supplies. This type of funding policy appears to enhance the possibility of replication because it uses a spectrum of resources available in most communities.

Conclusion

The issue of replicability goes beyond an evaluation of the conditions of implementation and resources brought to bear in the course of the change effort. It also includes a consideration of the premises, instruments, and strategies used

in creating the program. Some combination of these is what is likely to make replicability possible. By way of summary, then, a list of some of the key components revealed through the evaluation as instrumental in the creation of the Model Education Program has been designed:

1. The cooperation of an outside change agent, the University of Massachusetts, to provide staff, resources, ideas and commitment to the change process.
2. The commitment of the jail's chief administrator to the program and its goals.
3. The assignment of full-time staff to the change effort by both the jail and the university.
4. The creation of a supportive jail environment.
5. The use of human relations training to teach interpersonal skills and break down antagonisms among sub-groups.
6. Weekly, all-jail meetings as a forum for discussion and airing of grievances.
7. The use of collaborative, self-help program development in order to
 - a. Teach life skills like negotiation, resource management, cooperation, finances, etc.
 - b. Continually reintroduce a changing inmate population to the reintegration process.
 - c. Give inmates a personal stake in the success of reintegration programs, and
 - d. Establish a model of cooperative management procedures that can be applied to jail operations as well.
8. The establishment of participatory management of the jail wherever possible.
9. The creation of new roles for correctional

officers as teachers, counselors, program supervisors, etc.

10. Training inmates and correctional officers to find, develop, and make use of existing community resources.
11. The introduction of a wide variety of educational and vocational programs, both jail and community based, to provide inmates with specific routes into new jobs and careers.
12. The use of a self-classification system in which inmates choose their own reintegration program. (Not using new programs as a means of behavioral control.)
13. Using the jail as a site for community agencies to offer services to inmates.
14. Using the jail as one link in a reintegration process that also involves schools, group homes, pre-release centers, etc.
15. The creation of a governance board with representatives of the inmates, correctional officers, jail administration, and program staff.
16. An advisory board of outside experts and interested persons to offer guidance and review of the program.
17. A comprehensive aftercare program which allows released inmates to return to the jail for informal support and continued participation in programs as long as they feel the need to do so.

Additionally, it might be useful to review the specific programmatic weaknesses of the Model Education Program, revealed by the evaluation, defining them in terms of additional strategies that might be incorporated in further such programs:

1. Orientation and training, together with specific incentives for participation, for correctional officers;

2. The maintenance of a careful neutrality toward existing sub-groups by an external change agent coming into the jail;
3. An on-going community board on which community leaders serve and take an active role in reviewing the progress of the program; and
4. An effective community education effort so that local citizens will be more receptive to inmates who try to make their way back into new roles in society.

Recommendations to the Berkshire Jail

The original premise of the evaluation was that it be an action research model and give feedback to those involved in continued operations of the program. As such, the following three recommendations are offered.

1. The Formation of a Community Board

Repeatedly participants and observers commented on the need for some sort of advisory board for the Model Education Program to be made up primarily of local citizens and community leaders. This board could provide a link to the wider community and help develop community support for both the program and the jail itself. It could also serve as a mechanism for insuring that the jail remain an "open" institution and accountable to the wider community.

2. A Program of Community Education

The need to get greater support from the local community was a sentiment echoed over and over again in the course of the evaluation. Though the Model Education Program has tried to gain community support through such things as staff speaking appearances at community associations, dissemination of information through local media, and efforts to bring more community members into the jail, distrust and disinterest in the Model Education Program remains the general attitude. This scepticism toward correctional reform is typical of attitudes across the country, but it has been aggravated in the Pittsfield area because of a series of highly publicized escapes from a local state work camp.

In order to address this problem, a program of community education is recommended in which inmate families would be enlisted to hold small discussion groups in their homes. An individual family with a son, daughter, or relative in the Berkshire Jail would invite neighbors, friends and relatives to participate in an evening discussion in which one or two inmates (including the family member serving time) and correctional officers from the jail, would give a presentation of the Model Education Program, its objectives and their personal participation in it. Participants would be free to ask questions and air opinions. They would also be given concrete ways in which they could offer their own volunteer help to the Model Education Program through such things as vocational skill training courses and assistance in looking for

job opportunities. An agency such as the Family Advocates Program, which is already active in the jail, might serve as the link between the Model Education Programs and these inmate families. Over time, this small scale and personalized approach to community education might also have the added benefit of providing a means for inmate families to involve themselves in a more positive way in the incarceration experience of their child or relative in jail.

3. Breaking Down the "Upstairs-Downstairs" Split

The tension in the jail between those working in the Model Education Program (upstairs) and those choosing not to (downstairs) was mentioned repeatedly in the evaluation. This problem could be addressed in several ways; a) by increasing the flow of information between the two groups by a deliberate effort to see that both groups be represented on all jail committees and boards; b) through a program of orientation for the downstairs staff to the projects and objectives of the Model Education Program; c) through a concerted effort to assess the concerns and needs of the downstairs staff and develop programs to meet those needs; and d) through an effort to develop specific incentives for participation in the Model Education Program by correctional officers, such as pay advantages, promotions, or school credits that could translate into pay increases.

Additionally, it is important to recognize that the

"upstairs" staff needs periodic program orientation as well. It is essential that everyone working in connection with the Model Education Program have a thorough understanding of the program methods and objectives. Such things as participatory program development and participatory management are as important in preparing an inmate for reintegration as any specific educational or vocational opportunity. Both the "upstairs" and the "downstairs" staffs need to be thoroughly acquainted with the underlying correctional strategy on which the program is based.

Recommendations to the National Institute of Corrections

The hope of any evaluation is that its findings form the basis of further innovative action. The Model Education Program was created in order to address problems of county jails in general. It is hoped that the present report can be helpful to a wide range of correctional innovators and administrators who are concerned with the potential as well as the situation of the nation's county jail.

The National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has a special interest in county jails because of its commitment to the area of state and local corrections. It is, therefore, in a unique position to address the needs of county jails from a nationwide perspective. It can become the hub of a national reform program that enables local county jail sheriffs to work together on problems that concern them all.

Based on the findings of the present report, it is recommended that the National Institute of Corrections be a convening agency to bring together a group of interested sheriffs with the purpose of introducing them to the concept and operations of the Model Education Program. Hopefully, a significant number of these sheriffs would consider introducing a similar program in their own jails.

Although NIC would have to provide initial seed money for this project, all operating funds could be secured from state, local, and federal agencies already set up for that purpose. The NIC seed money would be used for two specific purposes:

- The cost of convening a nationally representative group of county jail administrators, and
- The cost of supporting a small training team to work with those jails wishing to initiate a program based on the Model Education Program.

NIC might consider five steps described below in creating such a national program.

First, the creation of a training team is necessary. This team would use the information gathered in the Evaluation of the Model Education Program at the Berkshire Jail to determine how to assist sheriffs wishing to replicate the Model Education Program in their jails. The team would develop whatever

specific training materials that were needed for this purpose. It might pay particular attention to developing training materials for work with correctional officers in order to prepare them to be participants and leaders in county jail reform programs.

Second, an initial meeting of interested county jail administrators from across the country should be convened. In this meeting, county jail administrators would be given an intensive introduction to the Model Education Program by the training team. A series of presentations, discussions, and so on, would serve to introduce this group of county jail administrators to the overall operations, objectives, and methods of the Model Education Program. Past participants in the Berkshire Model Education Program might be enlisted to describe their own experiences and answer questions.

Thirdly, a second meeting of selected county jail administrators would be called, in which a group of not more than 10 sheriffs who attended the initial meeting and expressed interest in creating a similar program in their jails would be brought together for a second training session. They would be expected to bring members of their jail staff, particularly middle level managers, to this nuts and bolts session in which the first steps of initiating the new program would be set into motion.

The fourth step would involve visits by the training team to each of the participating jails. During these visits,

the training team would act as trouble shooters, assisting on specific problems and reviewing the overall progress of program development. They might also conduct intensive training sessions for local program participants.

Finally, a semi-annual meeting of county jail administrators who are setting up Model Education Programs in their jails, would be reconvened so they could compare notes, gain mutual support, and form the basis of a national reform group for county jails.

We also suggest that NIC consider establishing a separate evaluation component for such a program so it could monitor the progress of the individual jails. This would offer important comparative data on the various methods of program implementation. It might also provide a means to secure important data regarding the effects of these new programs on recivism.

Glossary of Terms

ABE	Adult Basic Education
AIC	American International College (Criminal Justice Program)
Belchertown Project	In-service training program for incarcerated inmates at the Belchertown State School for the Mentally Retarded, Belchertown, Massachusetts
BCC	Berkshire Community College, Pittsfield, Massachusetts
BHC	Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections
CETA	Comprehensive Employment Training Act (Through CETA, the Federal government funds projects charged with creating new employment op- portunities for the unemployed)
"Downstairs"	The first floor level of the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections, where most daily jail administration and operations take place; includes the visitors' room, the guard room, the main en- trance to the jail, the main en- trance to the cell block, the in- firmmary, etc. It also describes a perceived attitude that is des- cribed in the text.
"Upstairs"	The second floor of the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections where the Model Education Program is headquartered; includes Model Education Program offices, class- rooms, meeting rooms, library. Again, the term represents an at- titude that is described in the text.
MEP	Model Education Program; also Model Ed

Mass. Rehab.	Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission; state agency charged with providing services for the handicapped
NAB	National Advisory Board--the Model Education Program's advisory board consisting of local community and national figures interested in correctional reform
FIPSE	Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education which provided the original funding for the Model Education Program
U-Mass	University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts
UWW	University Without Walls Program, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts
Project Re-Entry	Support program for ex-offenders located on the University of Massachusetts campus and organized by ex-offenders from the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections
VISTA	Volunteers in Service to America--federal program which provided volunteer staff to the Model Education Program
Wednesday Night Meeting	Weekly all-jail meeting held at the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections; a "town meeting" originated in connection with the Model Education Program
Governance Board (later become The Sheriff's Committee)	Board consisting of inmates, correctional officers and jail administration representatives and charged with making policy decisions pertaining to Berkshire County Jail programs and operations
Student-Inmate Program	Experiential education program for University of Massachusetts undergraduates in which they spend one college semester living as "sentenced" inmates at the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections

The Drug Group

Self-help, inmate initiated, discussion group meeting weekly at the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections to help inmates with personal problems, particularly those that are drug-related

Voc Ed

Vocational Education

EPC

Educational Policy Committee, a group of inmates and correctional officers at the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections charged with responsibility for developing curricula for jail educational programs as well as interviewing, hiring and supervising teachers

GED

General equivalency diploma

Inmate Communication Center

Orientation program run by inmates at the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections designed to introduce newly incarcerated offenders to the jail, the Model Education Program, and educational and vocational opportunities

CHAPTER I

THE MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM:

AN OVERVIEW

This chapter is designed to introduce readers to the processes, programs and goals of the Model Education Program. It explains how the program first came into being and describes the stages of development during the three-year implementation period. The chapter will describe some of the premises on which the Model Education Program was built and give some general insight into its particular style of bringing about institutional change.

It should be noted at the outset, that this chapter presents an overview. It is not the purpose here to detail or interpret findings. General conclusions about the program's operations will be suggested, but a more complete presentation of the results and consideration of supporting data will come in subsequent chapters in which various aspects of the program are evaluated.

In July 1973, the Berkshire Jail and the University of Massachusetts entered into a three-year partnership to create a new approach to correctional reform. Using education as the primary focus, they agreed to develop a model program to address the particular set of problems faced by county jails. With the understanding that a county jail experience often did more harm to inmates than good, this reform partnership set as its primary goal the task of enabling county jail inmates to make a successful transition back into productive roles in society.

The Model Education Program sought to use the county jail system as a key link in re-routing the lives of often very young offenders away from a lifestyle of crime. From the outset, the program was based on the premise that successful change required collaboration. Inmates, correctional officers, jail administrators, college professors, students and community members alike were expected to join forces cooperatively and develop a program using their own as well as community resources.

The Model Education Program was also predicated on the assumption that meaningful reform would require a total systems change in the Berkshire Jail. Central to that change would be the replacement of a hostile jail environment with one conducive to cooperation and trust. Part of the restructuring process would be the "opening" of what was traditionally a closed institution. This would require that outsiders have easier access to the jail and that inmates be allowed out into the community for education and training more freely. Clearly, the effort engaged in by the University and the Jail would require mitigating community attitudes about jails -- attitudes that had been years in the making.

The Berkshire Jail

The Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections is a 107-year-old facility in Pittsfield, Mass., a city with a population of about 56,000, located in a largely rural section of the western part of the state. The city is primarily white and working class. Many of its residents work in the local General Elec-

tric plant, the county's largest employer. Until recently, unemployment rates have been among the highest in the country, but were not out of proportion with other similar areas in New England.

The jail, encircled by an old metal fence, is situated in a run down part of town and is set back from the street. It is a three-story, brick building, with the sheriff's house attached to the front. The old Victorian architecture, the barred windows, the neatly tended but unimaginative grounds, give the place an atmosphere that could suggest any time of the century.

Currently the jail houses an average of eighty inmates, 95 percent are male and five percent, female; 90 percent are white and the rest are black.

This inmate population has undergone some notable changes over the last eight years. The average age of inmates has been dropping. In January 1977, at the time of our survey, the median age of the inmates was 22.3 years. The median age of all inmates sentenced to the Jail since January 1969, is 27. There has also been a shift in the types of offenses. Whereas 32 percent of inmates incarcerated over the past eight years were sentenced for public disturbance, currently, only four percent are now in jail for this offense. Clearly, one reason for this change is the decriminalization of alcoholism in Massachusetts -- jails in the state no longer serve as "drunk tanks." Another possible contributing factor could be a change in sentencing or arresting procedures. Property crimes now make up a sizable portion of the offenses.

Thirty-six percent of the inmates are in jail for breaking and entering or larceny. In a survey spanning the previous eight years, an average of only 23 percent of the inmates were serving time for those two property offenses. Inmates sentenced for crimes against the person, that is rape, murder, and manslaughter, have also increased in recent years. Finally, there has been a noticable increase recently in the number of offenders from other jurisdictions being sentenced to the Berkshire Jail. Though the reason for this is not certain, one possible explanation could be the growing reputation of the Model Education Program throughout the state. There have been a number of specific requests by inmates, the Department of Corrections, and individual judges to send a particular offender to the Berkshire Jail to participate in the Model Education Program.

Most inmates in Berkshire are sentenced for periods of up to two-and-a-half years. Most are young men ranging in age from 18 to 25. At least 68 percent had not completed high school when they were sentenced to the Berkshire Jail* and about 20 percent had not gone beyond eighth grade. Primarily, the inmates come from the local county, though some as mentioned, are sent from other areas. Some are "wrapping up" state time. There are also "bound-overs" awaiting trial. During the course of any given

*This figure may in fact be higher than 68 percent due to possible inconsistencies in the self-reporting method by which inmates fill out information on being admitted to the jail. They are asked how many years of school they have completed. A reply of "12 years" may or may not mean a high school diploma, was received.

year, the jail handles some 1,015 inmates.

The correctional staff that works in the Berkshire Jail is also primarily white and from the local area. Their age range is from 24 to 65, with the largest group being between the ages of 41 and 50. Of the 27 full-time staff, two are women. All but three of the correctional officers completed high school, and 14 have had some education beyond that. Prior to working at the jail, over half had worked in manual trades. Sixteen have worked at the jail for more than six years, 11 for more than 12 years.

Administration at the Berkshire Jail is the responsibility of an elected sheriff, and a chief administrative officer whom the sheriff appoints. At the time of the creation of the Model Education Program, the sheriff was John Courtney and his chief administrator was Henry Como. Courtney had been in charge of the jail since 1962.

In the 1975-76 fiscal year, the Berkshire Jail operated on a budget of \$520,705.43.* The cost of keeping an inmate incarcerated for the year was \$6,650.13 or \$18.22 a day. The salaries received by correctional officers currently range from \$11,078 to \$13,605 a year.

*Of the money spent directly on inmates, \$57,527.22 went for for, \$3,172.32 for clothing and materials, \$12,562.45 for medicine and medical supplies, and \$21.15 for aid to discharged prisoners.

The physical lay-out of the jail is typical of many county correctional facilities. Inmates reside in a four-tiered cell block that is kept locked day and night. Each inmate has his own cell equipped with a small spring cot, a wash basin, and a toilet. Each cell faces onto a walk-way on the tier. Many inmates attempt to get privacy by hanging blankets over the bars, even though this is a violation of house rules and can result in a disciplinary "lock-up." Inmates often decorate their cells and some have private stereos and radios. Inmates are required to attend breakfast at 7:30 a.m. each morning. They are then free to roam through the cell block during the day and are locked into their individual cells again at 9:00 p.m. The cell block is a noisy place with the sounds of banging, loud music, and voices day and night.

Meals take place in a small institutional mess hall in the basement of the jail. Visits with friends and relatives are conducted in a large high-ceilinged room in front of the cell block and at the center of the jail. Inmates standing on the tiers can look out through the bars that enclose them to the visitors' room where much of the daily activity of jail business takes place. Adjoining this main room is the infirmary, various administrative offices, and small women's section, and the guard room.

A rickety stairway leads up to a second story of the jail which has classrooms, small offices and two large meeting halls. This is where the Model Education Program has made its

home since 1973. The walls are decorated with posters and home-made murals. There are crowded book shelves, study rooms and the Model Education Program's administrative offices. In Berkshire Jail parlance, this area is known as the "upstairs." At nearly any time of day, inmates can be found here in classes, studying, or engaged in meetings, informal conversations, and discussions.

Before the inception of the Model Education Program, the Berkshire Jail was a dreary place. The primary attitude was one of boredom. Inmates passed their days watching television and playing Ping-Pong. Most seemed thankful for the chance to do even the most menial institutional work. Aside from a work-release program, which enabled a small group of inmates to leave the jail for jobs, and an educational program in which a few inmates were allowed to attend classes at the local community college, there were no programs allowing inmates to use their time productively to prepare themselves for release from jail.

Professor Fred Cohen of the State University of New York, who has been in a position to observe the jail over the past years remembers it this way:

Prior to the Model Education Program, the Berkshire County House of Corrections, functioned like virtually every other jail in the country, with inmates and staff viewing each other with hostility and through the distorted lens of stereotyped roles... Correctional officers frequently acted in a repressive and authoritarian manner and treated inmates like young children not capable of exercising any responsibility in

their daily lives... The resentment, alienation and passivity engendered in inmates seemed to heighten the chances of a return to a criminal lifestyle.¹

Cohen and others involved with the Berkshire Jail before the Model Education Program came to life remember it as a tense and highly authoritarian institution. Administrative procedures operated arbitrarily. Inmates and correctional officers had little basis for rapport. Inmates weren't allowed even small measures of responsibility in determining their day-to-day lives. All this added up to a situation typical of county jails across the country. The Berkshire Jail appeared to be fostering an institutional dependency which could worsen an inmate's chances for successful reintegration into society upon release. By isolating the inmate from society and offering him no programs for self-improvement, the jail appeared to be aggravating problems that were very likely the reason an inmate was incarcerated in the first place.

Inception of the Model Education Program

Early in 1972, the Massachusetts State Legislature passed Chapter 777 of the Massachusetts General Laws which provided for the introduction of work and educational release as well as furlough programs in the state's correctional institutions. This law was well received by the Berkshire sheriff who had al-

¹Cohen, Fred, "Comment, Jail Reform: An Experiment That Worked?", Criminal Law Bulletin, November/December 1976, Vol. 12, Number 6, p. 760.

ready instituted his own work-release program and looked forward to state supported opportunities for more innovations.

At the same time, the University of Massachusetts was also facing institutional reevaluation. A major study entitled "The Future of the University of Massachusetts" called for "a coherent public service policy, including efforts to assure that public service activities serve a university purpose as well as a public purpose." The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching echoed this thrust by encouraging the University to move outward into the community where it could employ its vast resources "in converting knowledge to readily useable forms for immediate application" to the pressing problems of society.

Through a set of fortuitous meetings, university and jail personnel were able to see that their newly defined goals could coincide. Through a third party, an administrator of the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission who had a special interest in corrections, the sheriff was introduced to an ex-offender and a faculty member of the University of Massachusetts School of Education's Juvenile Justice Program. These men together designed a correctional reform package and agreed that education should be the primary focus. Once partnership of the two institutions was settled, university faculty members began holding regular open meetings at the jail. These so-called "Wednesday Night Meetings" were free-for-all discussions covering a range of topics connected to jail reform, but they also focussed on particular problems faced by the Berkshire Jail. Meanwhile

the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE) in Washington, D.C., agreed to provide a \$50,000 planning grant for the new program. If the planning proceeded with success, FIPSE would presumably provide operational funds.

Officially, the Model Education Program began with the award of the first planning grant on July 1, 1973; it terminated as a model program with completion of FIPSE funding on June 30, 1976. Actually the program started with the decision by the Jail and the University to work together and ended with the departure of the university staff. The program then continued as a regular part of the operations administered by the Jail staff. In a sense, which will be discussed later, the Jail became the program.

The creation of the Model Education Program can be divided into three distinct phases;

1. Entry into the jail: the creation of an environment supportive of the change process;
2. Program development and implementation: using participatory program development as a change strategy; and
3. Transfer and transition: the institutionalization of the MEP as part of the regular operations of the Berkshire Jail,

Throughout these three stages, the relationship between the two institutions and their staffs also underwent changes as

the University staff transferred the necessary skills to jail personnel to enable them to be able to carry on the programs by themselves.

THE FIRST YEAR

Entry Into The Jail and The Creation of a New Environment

People working and living in the Berkshire Jail had seen reform programs and reformers come and go with little lasting affect. They were suspicious and cynical about the potential of this new program. Furthermore, the antagonisms among the various sub-groups in the jail, particularly the tension and mistrust between inmates and officers, made the jail an unlikely candidate for a change process predicated on the participation of its members. The adversary and unequal relationship of the two groups made cooperation difficult yet the Model Education Program was based on the premise that without cooperation, meaningful change would be impossible.

In the early stages of the program, inmates often sat back and watched as correctional officers and the university staff talked things out. Inmates were cautious about joining in or taking sides before they could be sure that the program was really going to amount to something. They knew full well that if the program fell apart, as many had done before, they'd be stuck in the jail to work things out with the correctional officers again.

They were not going to take the risk of speaking out until they could feel reasonably certain that their actions would not end up backfiring. But once it was clear to the inmates that the Model Education Program would stay, they began to be vocal. Then the next task was the long and arduous process of breaking down old antagonisms between officers and inmates. The objective of this was to build up a working trust, and this meant opening up lines of communication and discussion. There were many meetings, formal and informal, aimed at getting inmates and the officers to see each other as more than "boys" and "screws."

Both the university and the jail had assigned full-time staff members to the Model Education Program. The university hired a project director and she began work with the funding of the FIPSE grant in July 1973. The sheriff assigned two senior correctional officers full-time to the Model Education Program. One became director of education and the other became assistant director. Very quickly, the three established themselves as a working group, creating what they later referred to as an "internal-external change agent team." This team approach was based on the understanding that together, because of their different skills and constituencies, the three of them would be able to function more effectively than any one of them alone.

One particularly innovative component of the Model Education Program was the introduction of "student-inmates" into the jail. There were University of Massachusetts undergraduates who earned a semester of credit by spending three months incarcerated

as "inmates." The objective of this project was two-fold: (1) to give experiential education to students preparing for possible careers in the human service area, and (2) to provide a means of encouraging inmate participation in the Model Education Program through the friendships and trust they would develop with student-inmates. It was also hoped that student-inmates would serve as models for a new kind of leadership in the cell block -- a style of leadership that would help other inmates rather than control and intimidate them. Hopefully, this would counteract the negative effects of the traditional patterns of inmate leadership. It was also expected that student-inmates would offer help in the block as tutors for Model Education Program courses and serve as informal counselors. In July 1973, the first group of student-inmates began their "sentence" at the Berkshire Jail. There were three men and two women who lived under the same rules, procedures, and restrictions as regularly sentenced inmates.

During this planning stage of the Model Education Program, a set of working goals and objectives were developed. These represented an amalgam of the needs expressed by inmates and correctional officers together with the change team's understanding of wider issues in corrections. The following list is an overall summary of these initial objectives:

1. The creation of a jail environment supportive of change and personal growth.
2. The use of collaborative program development as a means of learning life-management skills.

3. The introduction of a new management system including self-government, democratic decision making, fairness, and the rationalization of administrative procedures.
4. The use of educational methodology through seminars, courses and discussion groups in assessing jail needs and discovering appropriate solutions.
5. The "opening" of the jail for easy access by outside community members prepared to offer support or services; "opening" the community for easier access by inmates to participate in educational and vocational opportunities.
6. The development of new educational and vocational opportunities for inmates, as well as correctional officers.
7. The creation of new roles and job definitions for correctional officers as guidance and teaching personnel for inmates.
8. Making the resources of community social service agencies available to inmates.
9. Using the jail as a site for basic adult education as a preparation for inmates who could then go on to outside colleges and schools.
10. Improving the overall quality of life in the jail through improved health care, recreation, and personal counseling programs.
11. Teaching skills in proposal conception, writing, funding, management, negotiation, etc., to enable inmates and officers to continue to make use of community, state, and federal resources.

First Year Operations

With the hiring of staff, the inception of the student inmate program and agreement on some initial objectives, the Model Education Program began to become an accepted presence in the jail. The open jail meetings, begun in the spring of 1973, became institutionalized as a regular "town meeting." Issues were

discussed, grievances were aired, and people considered what kind of changes might be possible in the jail. These Wednesday Night Meetings, as they came to be known, were also a means of bringing interested outsiders into the jail.

One ex-offender of the Berkshire Jail remembers:

These U-Mass people were presenting a whole different perspective to us than we had ever known before. They weren't just griping, they were making us really think about the dynamics of our situation so that we could figure out constructive ways to change it. It was something that involved everyone in the jail. Guards and inmates had to work together. It meant we had to learn to sit down and talk and trust each other. It gave inmates a great feeling of confidence to learn how to talk in order to work things out. A lot of us just didn't have those kinds of skills. We'd never been exposed to things like that.

Concurrent with the Wednesday Night Meeting came the introduction of a Governance Board. Made up of inmates, correctional officers, jail administrators and university staff, the board was charged with the responsibility of making policy decisions pertaining to all educational and programmatic issues in the jail. Early meetings of the Governance Board as well as endless informal discussions among inmates and program staff led to the decision to proceed with two adjunct, pilot projects -- the Belchertown-Berkshire Project and the Concord Reformatory Project.

In the Concord Reformatory Project, an inmate-officer training team created at the Berkshire Jail taught a seminar for

inmates at Concord Reformatory, a state facility more than a hundred miles away. The university project director used her own background in human relations to prepare this training team. The program had three aspects: (1) it met a need expressed by inmates at the Concord Reformatory; (2) it created an opportunity for Berkshire inmates and correctional officers to work together with shared goals; and (3) it gave Berkshire inmates and officers training skills that they could apply to the development of the Model Education Program. This project helped foster the trust that was very much needed in the early stages of the Model Education Program. At the same time, it provided leadership training for a small nucleus of inmates and officers who later came to head up the Model Education Program.

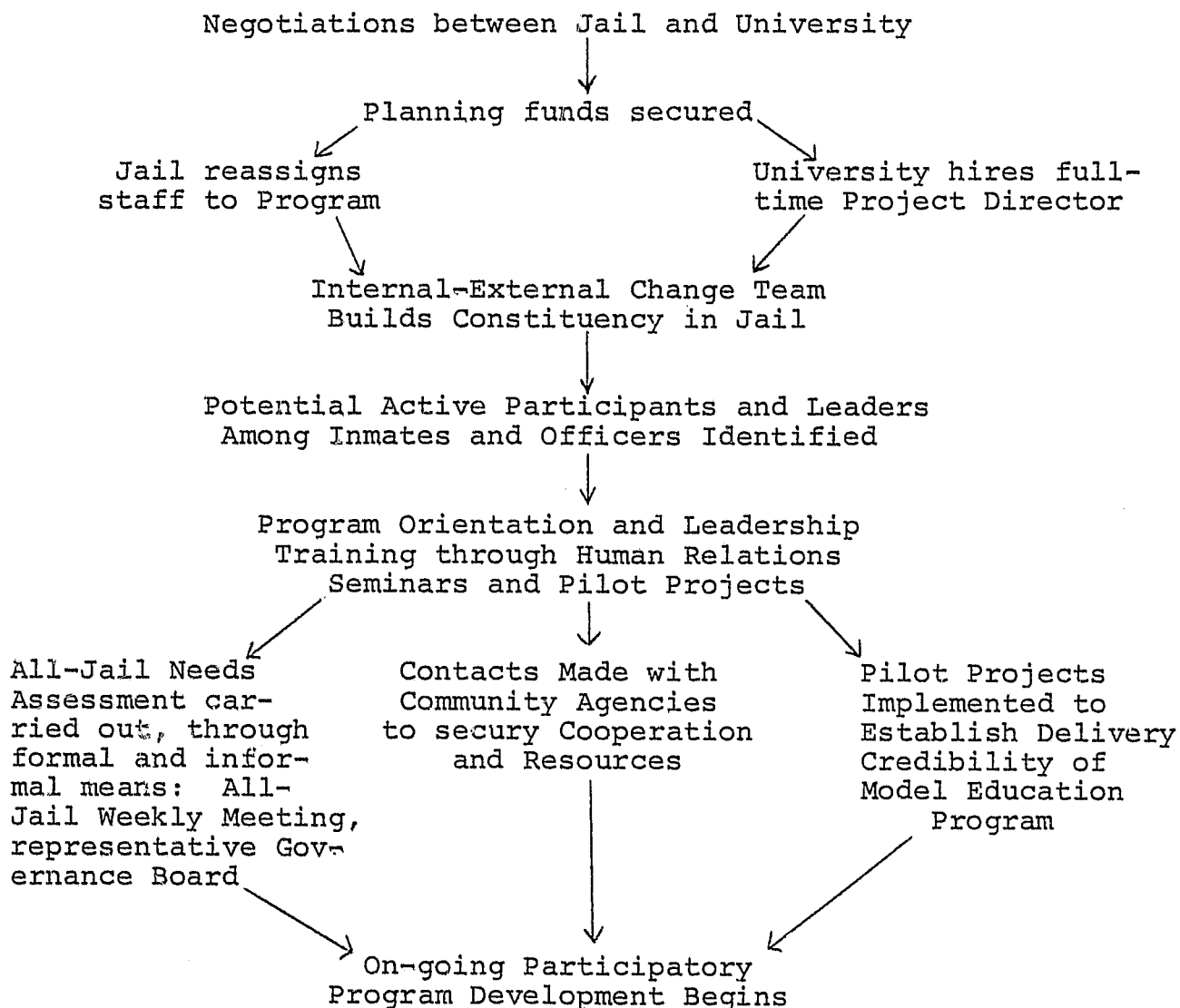
Also at this time, the Belchertown-Berkshire Project began. The Belchertown State School for the Retarded, located about a two-hour drive from Pittsfield, had expressed a need for volunteer personnel to work on a one-to-one basis with residents. The Model Education Program was looking for sites where jail inmates could get in-service training in fields that might lead to future careers. A program was initiated in which five Berkshire inmates and one correctional officer traveled daily to the Belchertown School where inmates worked as full-time counselors. The inmates and officer who traveled together to Belchertown built up a trust among themselves that spilled over into the jail. The correctional officer in charge of this group became an example to his fellow officers of the job satisfaction to be gained by expanding one's role beyond custodial duties. For inmates, he

provided an example of how a correctional officer could be helpful to them as a counselor and advisor.

During that first year, a number of other projects got underway which tested more ground before expansion into full-scale implementation of educational and vocational programs was begun. Two evening seminar courses were taught at the jail by University of Massachusetts professors, and the school's University Without Walls Program agreed to give college credit to participants. A drug self-help group was started by inmates and continued with regular weekly meetings. In the meantime, the "external-internal change team" and a few inmates, who were particularly active in the Model Education Program, began to contact community agencies they thought could provide services to the jail. They developed cooperative links with agencies like the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, CETA projects, the Division of Employment Security, and VISTA programs.

Chart I-1 is a diagram of the process by which the Model Education Program was implemented in the Berkshire Jail. It illustrates the staged approach by which the Model Education Program worked to establish credibility for itself while seeking to include as many people as possible in the change process.

Chart I-1: The Development of the
Model Education Program



In the first year, a National Advisory Board was created to provide guidance to the Model Education Program. They came together twice a year at the jail to participate in a two-day program of presentations, discussions and workshops that evaluated developments of the program. These meetings brought jail inmates and staff in close contact with a group of nationally known figures in the field of correctional reform. (See Appendix V for a listing of National Advisory Board members.) These meetings were valuable in a number of ways. First, they continued the slow process of opening the jail to involvement by outsiders. They also provided program participants with benchmarks to judge the progress that had been made toward their stated goals. For inmates and correctional officers, who hadn't had much opportunity for professional validation in their lives, this participation by nationally known figures gave a needed boost. Finally, each time the Board arrived at the jail for its biannual meeting, inmates and correctional officers closed ranks and demonstrated a strong and united front in presenting the work that they had done. In small and large ways, it could be seen that the old antagonisms between these two groups were breaking down, and by the end of the first year the collaborative style of operation that was essential for the success of the program appeared to be well underway.

THE SECOND YEAR

Program Development and Implementation, Using Participatory Program Development as a Change Strategy

During the second year, the focus was on two key concepts of the Model Education Program -- the utilization of program development as a learning tool and the use of educational processes as a format for needs assessment and implementation.

It was understood that people would not participate sincerely in programs in which they had no personal stake and that programs created by social service for a client group often missed the mark of what was really needed. In addition, the university staff, with their education orientation, saw that the process of program development could teach inmates some of the skills they would need in order to function successfully back in society. The process of participatory program development taught cooperation and compromise, self-observation and needs assessment; the process demands that participants look at goal setting, resource management, developing options, isolating workable solutions, writing proposals, negotiating with the keepers of community resources, and so forth.

Chart I-2 illustrates the steps this process usually took in the Model Education Program. For the inmates, the experience of following through on these steps and meeting success by receiving funding and implementing a program they had designed,

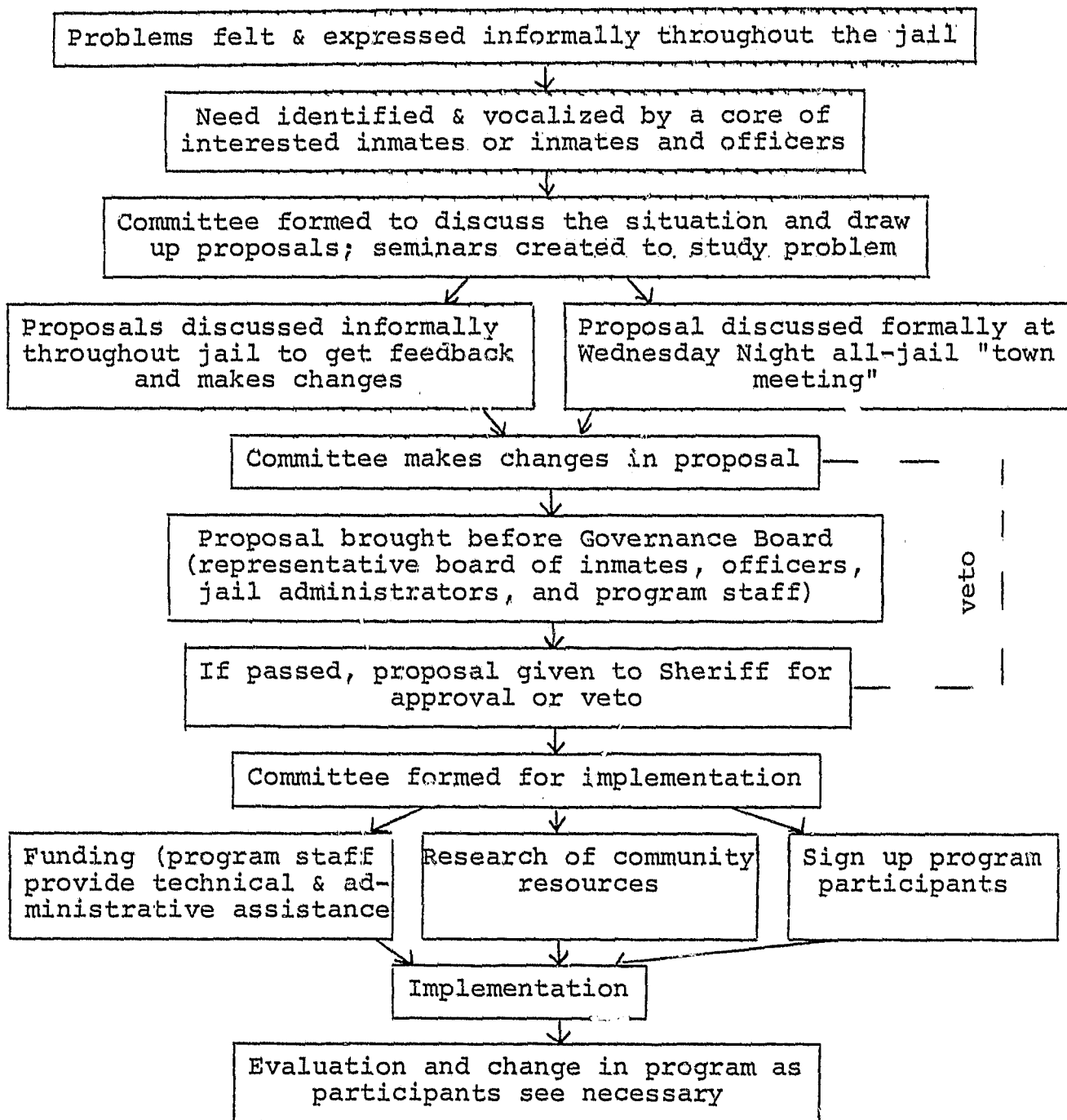
seemed to be a particularly valuable learning experience in preparation for a successful return to society.

Collaborative program development is also a self-renewing process. It provided a way of constantly bringing new people into the program and it also allowed continued identification of new inmate leadership. These aspects proved crucial because the inmate population at the Berkshire Jail was constantly changing.

Education, as a change vehicle, went hand in hand with this participatory approach to program development. The assessment of needs as well as decisions about how to best meet them required study. Informal seminars evaluated problems and proposed solutions that were presented to the Wednesday Night Meeting as well as to the Governance Board. This process appeared to teach inmates as well as correctional officers valuable lessons in the gains to be made in applying their own efforts and intelligence to the problems that they faced.

The second year of the Model Education Program also saw a proliferation of new projects. A grant was written and funded for a program of mini-courses on "survival" -- subjects like consumer education, financial management, and job interviewing. A Basic Education program was funded by the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) in which math and English courses were offered each afternoon in the jail to prepare inmates for high school equivalency exams. In line with the Model Education Program objective that there should be educational opportunities for

Chart I-2: The Model Education Program--
Participatory Process of Program Development



inmates and officers alike, a group of two officers and four inmates began commuting to the university campus twice a week to take regular courses as University Without Walls students. During this period and continuing into the next year, courses and seminars were offered at the jail on the following subjects:

Music	Auto Mechanics
Arts & Crafts	Drafting
Human Sexuality	Drugs
Law and the Individual	Universal Gym Program
Sociology	Visual Arts
Transactional Analysis	Public Speaking
Drama	Writing in the Sciences
Poetry	Logic
Photography	Philosophy
Audio-Visual Skills	Rhetoric
Family Dynamics	Transcendental Meditation
The Community and Its Resources	Basic Math
Health	Basic English
Consumer Law	Basic Science
Sculpture	Grant Writing and Funding
Yoga	Micro-Counseling
Bible Study	Computer Programming

Vocational programs were slower in developing than educational ones. Educational opportunities largely had specific, built-in rewards such as degrees, that provided a motivation for participation. Also, the need for the equipment for vocational programs made them much more costly to introduce. However, limited evening courses were offered in cooperation with the local trade high school and construction of shop facilities began within the jail. At the same time, planning began on a proposal to the Department of Education for an in-jail vocational education program which allow inmates to explore career choices by offering "on-hands" experience in a variety of trades. This was funded finally

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

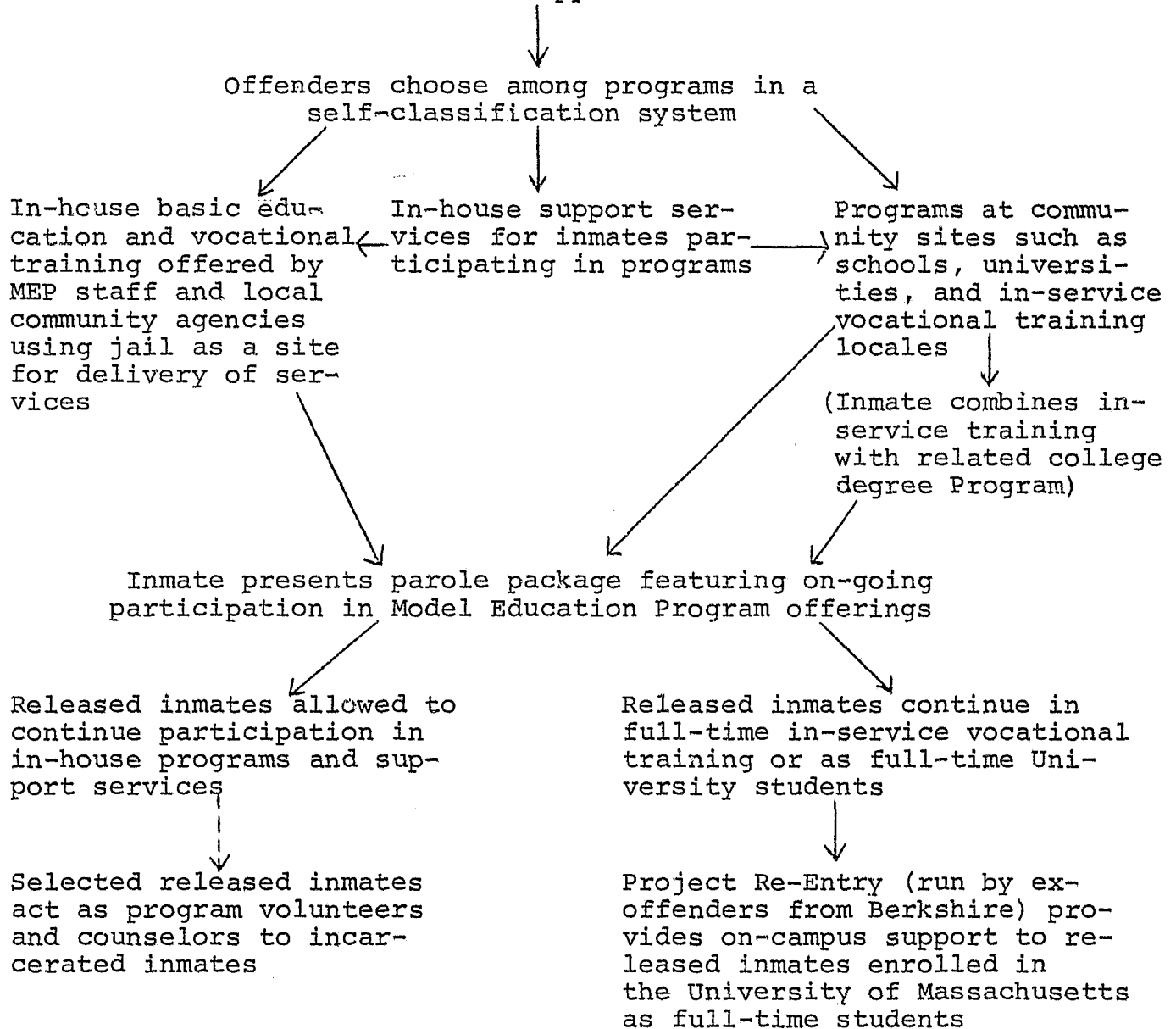
in the third year of the program.

It should be noted that throughout the course of the Model Education Program, a "self-classification" system was the basis on which inmates participated in program offerings. This was consistent with the Model Education Program premise which said that inmates would have greater success with career and educational choices that they made for themselves. In that way, they would have an investment in the outcome of their participation; additionally, they would have the learning experience of selecting and following through on their own choices. The program offerings were also structured so that an individual inmate could advance in levels of commitment, initially involving himself at a minimal level so that he could gain the self-confidence to continue and at the same time test the wisdom of his choice.

Chart I-3 illustrates the system by which these new vocational and educational opportunities were intended to prepare an inmate for re-integration back into society. The Model Education Program attempted to be one link in a larger system involving other community agencies and institutions. The key components of the Model Education Program's responsibility in this reintegration system were; (1) to provide support for individual inmates as they experimented with new programs, (2) to provide a site in which community agencies could present and deliver services to inmates, (3) to offer the introductory programs which would begin a progressive process of commitment and involvement by the inmate, and (4) to be an on-going support base where re-

Chart I-3; The Model Education Program:
One Link in a Reintegration System

Various programs instituted in and out of the jail to offer educational and vocational opportunities to offenders



leased inmates to return as they went through the difficult period of transition back into civilian life,

Another important aspect to this second year involved the "internal-external change agent team" which went through a significant development in the way it worked. In the first year, the project director from the university, the external change agent, provided most of the leadership of the program. By the second year, she and the assistant education director (who had become more active and vocal than the educational director worked as equal partners. In the first year, when the project director's human relations and organizational change skills had been paramount, she had used the opportunity to teach these skills to the jail's assistant director of education. He had received his B.A. from the University of Massachusetts through the Model Education Program, and that, along with his increasing visibility and responsibilities, appeared to have given him greater professional prestige inside the jail. From the outset of the second year, the two worked closely as a management team. Whereas in the first year their allegiances were split--the project director to her university associates and the jail administrator to other correctional officers and suspicion of the university--they had now formed a new and shared an allegiance to the Model Education Program and its success.

THE THIRD YEAR

Transfer and Transition--the Institutionalization of the Model Education Program into the Berkshire Jail

The third year of the Model Education Program was a crucial one and far-ranging. The Model Education Program had to be made ready to carry on without the continued intervention of university staff. This meant, a routinization of programming--programs that only several years back were viewed as impossible pipe-dreams already were carried on with comparative ease as part of the jail's regular operation. Some new and younger correctional officers were hired. Although the bulk of the correctional officers still did not participate actively in the program, the small group that did participate became steadier and more enthusiastic in their commitment. Renovations were undertaken on an old building on the jail grounds which became the site for vocational training in mechanics and related trades. Some of the first inmate participants in the MEP had gone on to become full-time on-campus students at the University of Massachusetts following their release or parole from jail. The first will graduate in January 1978 with a B.A. While at the university, this group of ex-offenders used the skills they learned in the program to develop and get funding for a program of their own, Project Re-Entry. It provides support to inmates on the campus once they are released from jail. Project Re-Entry also became the catalyst for a new program, similar to the MEP. It recently begun in another county jail in the area. These MEP graduates, now themselves based at the university

have, in effect, become "the outside change agent", introducing an educational program into the Franklin County Jail.

Back at Berkshire, a key step toward transition was the formation of an Educational Policy Committee. This Committee, made up of inmates and officers, was charged with the responsibilities of interviewing, hiring, and scheduling teachers and of developing new curricula for the jail. The project director participated in the creation of this committee, but she did not meet with it or serve as a member as she would have at an earlier stage of the program. Shortly thereafter, she reduced her work schedule to half-time; by January 1976, just six months before the scheduled end of the program, she acted only as a part-time consultant.

In the meantime, the assistant educational director had taken over full administrative duties of all the Model Education Program's projects and activities in the jail. He had been promoted to the position of educational director for the jail and he developed a new funding proposal for a pre-release center which would be a half-way house, enabling inmates to live outside of the jail in preparation for their return to society. This grant was funded July 1976 for \$136,000, and he was assigned as its administrator and principle investigator.

During this crucial transition period, there was concern that over time, without the presence of outsiders as advocates for change, the jail might slowly return to its former state. There was the fear that program goals, premises and methods might

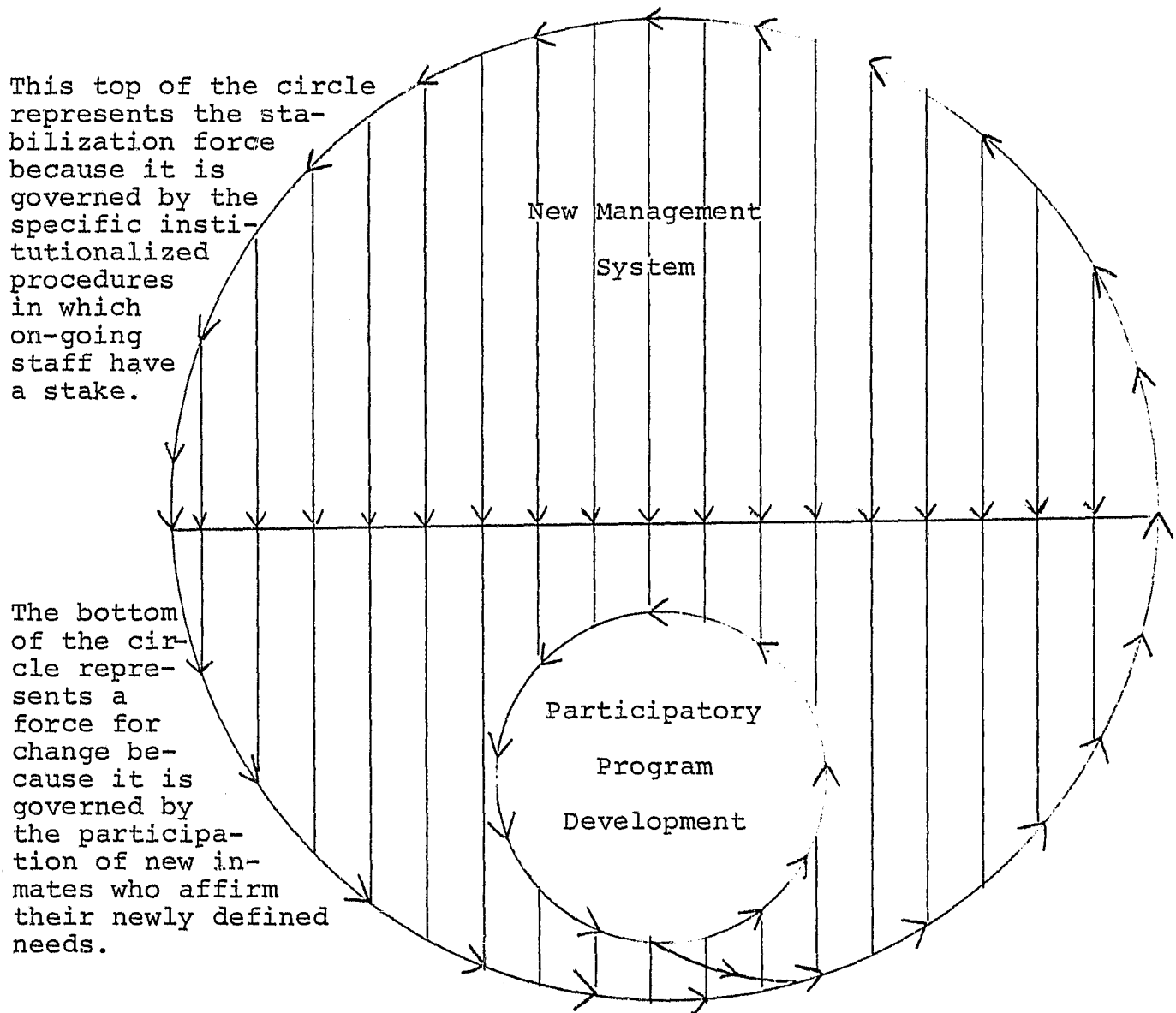
slowly fade, as old, rigid and authoritarian structures came back into play.

In order to address this problem, specific efforts had been made through the first two-and-a-half years to build in both stabilization and of self-renewal mechanisms. Inherent in any jail is the fact that the staff is long-term while the inmate population is constantly changing. This discrepancy had both liabilities and advantages for the problem of institutionalizing the Model Education Program. Inevitably the staff, sheriff and correctional officers would have to be keepers of the status quo, while the inmates would be vocal advocates constantly readdressing the program development process. Chart I-4 attempts to illustrate this situation. Two key aspects of the program--a new management system and participatory program development--provide, respectively, forces toward stabilization and toward continued change.

Overall, by the end of the third year of the Model Education Program, the jail had changed considerably from what it had been. Now people from the community and from community agencies were in and out of the jail on a regular basis and quite a number of these community agencies had set up systems for providing services to inmates. The atmosphere in the jail seemed to be more relaxed than it had been, and inmates were in and out of the front door of the jail on a regular basis throughout the day as they participated in a variety of programs designed to prepare them for re-entry into the community.

Chart I-4: The Model Education Program:

A Self-Renewing System



(NB: The circular vectors represent a force for continued change,

The verticle vectors represent a force for stabilization,

By the third year, some of the areas where the Model Education Program had fallen short of its initial objectives, began to show. For example, the failure to get a substantial commitment on the part of the majority of correctional officers was a serious handicap. Another example was the failure to gain acceptance in some of community. This proved to be a handicap in such areas as winning support for the placement of a pre-release center in a Pittsfield neighborhood. These and other problem areas will be described and discussed in the chapters of this report which focus specifically on program evaluation.

With the termination of FIPSE funding (which had provided two years of operational funds in addition to the initial planning grant, which itself had been extended to cover a full-year period) university personnel left the jail, at the same time, the National Institute of Corrections awarded a grant of \$48,000 for an evaluation study to commence October 1, 1976. The purpose of this grant was to develop a case study report demonstrating the change process that the jail had undergone as well as to indicate the potential for this kind of change being successful elsewhere. As for the transition, the evaluation seems to indicate that it took some months for the Model Education Program to stabilize itself after the departure of the university staff. But then as the same needs that had always existed for education, counseling, and vocational training began to be voiced once again, there was nothing to do but get back to work. Wednesday Night Meetings, the Adult Basic Education courses, on-going proposal development, the Belchertown Project, the Governance Board, the Educational Policy Committee,

the twice weekly trips to the university campus for incarcerated University Without Walls students, the vocational education training, the one-to-one counseling, discussions, negotiations, planning and proposal writing, continued on as before.

(See Appendix I for a chronological outline of the Model Education Program, which indicates the stages of implementation and the time schedule of agency participation, programs, and funding.)

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY OF THE EVALUATION OF
THE MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM



The most useful approach to the evaluation of the Model Education Program was seen to be a case study. A case study would offer a comprehensive way of describing and reviewing what had been a complex process of institutional change. It would also offer a format to look at change strategies, programs, participants and the institution itself. Thus, the evaluation focused on four central issues: (1) the effects of the program on the environment of the jail, (2) the effects of the program on the jail's relationship with the outside community and outside community agencies, (3) the change process itself, and (4) the replicability of such a program in other, similar situations. The objective of such an approach was to produce a report that would be of particular value to practitioners in the field of correctional reform. As such, it would serve both as an introduction to the Model Education Program and an evaluation of the program's methods and accomplishments.

A case study lends itself to a qualitative rather than quantitative written document. While a range of quantitative data was gathered in the course of the study, it was used primarily for descriptive information and only secondarily for statistical analysis. Throughout this report, a variety of sources of data are used to illustrate different aspects of the program. At the same time, information such as demographic data is woven into the report at various points where it has particular bearing on the topic under discussion.

A second key decision made in approaching the evaluation

was to have it follow an action research design. Action research typically requires a close collaboration between the evaluators and those involved in the program being evaluated. Allowing the program staff to give input into the research design and implementation increases the likelihood that that research will be topical and relevant. Those being evaluated can provide insight into the feasibility of certain approaches and offer suggestions for how to best carry them out. Final decisions must, of course, rest with the evaluators--they are the ones with particular expertise in data collection and analysis and should also be in a position to offer a more objective perspective than those intimately involved in a program on a day-to-day basis. Furthermore, in terms of implementing recommendations arising out of the research, it is commonly agreed that the greater the degree of participation in the process by those being evaluated, the greater the involvement and therefore the greater the utilization of its findings. According to Claire Sellitz, "...collaboration far outweighs its disadvantages,"¹

Since the action research model calls for significant input from the staff of the program being evaluated, the evaluation of the Model Education Program incorporated informal information sharing from the very outset. Once the research instruments had been designed, a two-day, pre-evaluation retreat was

¹Sellitz, Claire, et. al., Research Methods in Social Relations, New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1956, p. 457.

held with twenty-five people variously involved in the program. They included representatives from the jail, the Model Education Program, the University of Massachusetts, community agencies, and the National Institute of Corrections. This conference had a dual purpose: (1) to educate people about the process of evaluation--how it is conceived, implemented, and how data is analyzed; and (2) to receive input on the research instruments and plans for implementation. At the conclusion of the data collection period and after a preliminary analysis had been prepared, a post-evaluation retreat was held. Data was shared with participants and various interpretations of the data as well as their implications were discussed. The evaluators received valuable insights into the data through this discussion and retreat participants were provided with a preliminary report on findings that could presumably affect the Model Education Program work in which they were then engaged. To supplement these two formal meetings, many informal discussions were held throughout the course of the study between evaluators and program participants.

The initial impulse for the evaluation came from the Model Education Program and the jail itself. Toward the end of the second year of the program's operations, a group of outside evaluators were asked to develop possible research designs that could evaluate and document the change effort at the Berkshire Jail. Some months later, in the spring of 1976, Dr. Norma Gluckstern, who at this time had concluded her role as the project director of the Model Education Program, used the "Preliminary

Research/Evaluation Design Document"² that had been prepared as a basis for submitting an evaluation proposal to the National Institute of Corrections. Funding was secured and the study began in October 1976.

Due to her previous association with the jail, Dr. Gluckstern already had access to program and community agency staffs whose cooperation was needed for the study. Her own experience in working with the Model Education Program enabled her evaluation team to proceed with an understanding of what had been a relatively complex organizational change process. The problem of objectivity was addressed by including extensive interviews with other key participants in the change process.

Additionally, data from various sources were carefully compared in order to cross-check for consistency. Data for the evaluation was gathered from three major sources: (1) interviews and questionnaires administered to inmates, correctional officers, program staff, community agency representatives, and outside community members active in the program; (2) participant observation by a sociology graduate student who lived in the jail cell block for 52 days; and (3) a review of written materials related to the program and comparative data on similar county correctional institutions.

²Submitted by E. Barnes, Jr., R. Coates, and A. Elwiel on April 12, 1975.

Interviews and Questionnaires

Interviews or questionnaires, or both, were administered to the following individuals:

1. 80 incarcerated inmates
2. 14 correctional officers employed in the Berkshire Jail before the inception of the Model Education Program
3. 27 correctional officers currently employed in the Berkshire Jail
4. 48 program staff, community members, community agency personnel, and university staff
5. 7 University of Massachusetts graduates who had participated in the student-inmate program.

The questionnaire for interviewing inmates was adopted from materials developed in connection with the Harvard Center for Criminal Justice Study of the De-institutionalization of the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services.³ The questionnaire consisted of four major components: (1) background data, (2) open-ended and closed questions pertaining to daily operations within the Berkshire Jail and the Model Education Program, (3) a social climate scale, and (4) a semantic differential test. (All

³Coates, Robert B.; Miller, Alden, D.; and Ohlin, Lloyd E.; "Juvenile Correctional Reform in Massachusetts," A Preliminary Report of the Center for Criminal Justice of the Harvard Law School, p. 93.

evaluation questionnaires can be found in Appendix 2,) Although the population of the jail was averaging about one hundred at the time of these interviews in January 1977, some inmates were not included in the sample. Most of these were boundovers--non-sentenced inmates awaiting trial who, by law were not allowed to participate in MEP. (Current Massachusetts law also requires that bound-over inmates be kept separated from sentenced offenders.) On the first day of interviewing, a list was compiled of those inmates who were currently serving time. A total of 86 inmates fell into this category. Six of the total of 86 declined to participate, and so in the course of four days of interviewing, 80 inmates (nine female and 71 male) were interviewed. This response rate of 93 percent is considered quite high for such a study. Four specially trained graduate students from the sociology department of the University of Massachusetts were responsible for conducting these interviews. They asked a set of predetermined questions listed on the questionnaire, and then asked the inmate to self-administer the social climate scale and semantic differential test. On the average, an interview took 55 minutes.

The 14 correctional officers who were working in the jail before the inception of the Model Education Program were actually interviewed in a period that pre-dated the awarding of the evaluation grant. At that time, staff of the Model Education Program determined a need to establish some record of how correctional officers had perceived the jail and their work there before the intervention of the new program. Again, the interview questions were adapted from the Harvard Center Study. The interviewing was

done by a graduate student from the psychology department of the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., during July 1976. The interview questions focused on general background data as well as specific information about training, prior work experience, security, and discipline. A social climate scale was presented and self-administered; a semantic differential test was given. Interviews lasted an average of 30 minutes.

It should be noted that while this data did provide some useful information for comparing the pre- and post-Model Education Program jail, the sampling of 14 was probably too small, and the basis of comparison too general, to do anything but use the information for a general qualitative comparison. No attempt was made to have this data become the foundation of a strict comparative statistical analysis.

The second set of correctional officer interviews, covering all those currently employed full-time in the jail, was conducted six months later at the same time as the inmate interviews in January 1977. The decision to include only full-time employees excluded several who worked regularly but only a substitute basis and who were not considered full-time members of the staff. The total number of correctional staff interviewed was 27, including one matron and one secretary. Once again the Harvard Study provided the model for the questionnaire and was similar to the questionnaire given to the 80 incarcerated inmates. It included the same four major components: background data, open-ended and closed questions pertaining to the daily operations

within the jail and the program, a social climate scale, and a semantic differential test. These interviews were conducted by another graduate student from the Catholic University and took place between January 19 and 22, 1977. As with the inmates, the first half of the interview was administered orally while the social climate scale was self-administered unless the correctional officer himself requested it be done orally. These interviews took an average of 40 minutes each.

A fourth set of interviews was conducted with a wide range of Model Education Program staff, University of Massachusetts personnel, related participants, community agency personnel, and some ex-offenders who had previously participated in the Model Education Program. A special questionnaire, entitled "General Interview Form" was developed for this purpose. It was primarily of an open-ended nature due to the diversity of the population and included some questions that were appropriate for all respondents and others directed to a particular sub-group. The data gathered in this way fell into three main categories: (1) information pertaining to, and an evaluation of, the organizational change process; (2) evaluative descriptions of the jail itself; and (3) description and evaluation of the Model Education Program.

The method of determining who would be interviewed with the General Interview Form involved a complex process. A list was initially compiled which identified key people, groups, and organizations that had been involved in the Model Education Program.

This list was expanded at the pre-evaluation retreat, incorporating suggestions of retreat participants. The interviewing process itself in turn identified additional key people, and thus the list grew to number 48. None of the people who were identified declined to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted by a Catholic University graduate student and a research assistant. Depending on the degree of contact of the individual respondent with the Model Education Program, the interview varied in duration from 15 minutes to more than two hours.

Finally, a separate questionnaire was prepared and mailed out to all past participants of the student-inmate program who could be located at the time of the study. This solicitation by mail was conducted by one of the past student-inmates himself, presently a graduate student in the Criminal Justice Program at the State University of New York at Albany. The questionnaire was designed to address the uniqueness of the student-inmate program and asked a range of questions about the motivation for participation, the jail experience, and the educational impact of having participated in the program. Of the 12 questionnaires that were mailed, seven were returned.

All of the data collected through this formal interview and questionnaire process (except that of the student-inmates) was collated and analyzed by computer at the Catholic University. Though the collated data was used primarily in comparative charts, some corss-tabulation was also conducted. One key variable that was identified and used in the overall interpretation of data was

the "degree of involvement" of inmates and correctional staff respondents in the Model Education Program. For inmates respondents, "degree of involvement" was defined through the use of self-reported data which gave a list of areas of participation in the program. Those inmates who did not take part in any Model Education Program activities were categorized as "not involved." Seventeen inmates fit into this category. The remaining 63 inmates were distributed almost equally between the "minimally involved" (20), "moderately involved" (21), and "highly involved" (22). These categories were determined by the numbers of program activities in which an individual participated, that is, one to three activities represented minimal involvement; four to seven, moderate involvement; and eight or more, a high level of involvement.

The correctional staff sampling was also divided into "highly" and "minimally" involved. Working from the assumption that all staff are at least minimally involved because their duties in the jail were affected to some degree by the Model Education Program, it was only judged necessary to identify those officers who had participated more fully. Two questions on the Correctional Officer Interview Form were used to determine this variable: (1) "Have your job duties changed in any way since July 1973, and if yes, have these changes been due to the Model Education Program?" (2) "Have you participated in any of the educational opportunities made available through the Model Education Program?" If both questions were answered affirmatively, that officer was highly involved in the Model Education Program. There were four correctional officers in this category. Overall,

the introduction of the degree of involvement variable proved very useful in interpreting the collated interview data.

Participant Observation

A rather unique aspect of this evaluation study was the role of the participant-observer. For 52 days, he lived in the cell block and was housed and treated just like any other inmate. No special dispensations were accorded to him by line staff, Model Education Program staff, or the jail administration.

Before entering the jail the participant-observer (a sociology graduate student and research associate of the Model Education Program Evaluation) devised a system for tabulating and recording observations. By first identifying the groups within the jail and then accounting for various interactions that could occur between these groups, the participant-observer developed specific categories as a loose guide of observations of which to take note. He kept careful records of these interactions, focusing particularly on such social climate indicators as control, decision making, and fairness. By adhering to this outline, the participant-observer was able to focus his observations and thus provide a consistency in his field notes which provided a basis for comparison and cross checking of other components of the study. (See Appendix III for the outline used by the participant-observer).

The existence of a student-inmate program in the jail (see chapter one) meant that the presence of an outsider in the

cell block was not something extraordinary. Although no secret was made of his purpose--observing and maintaining field notes--there were inmates and staff who believed that he was actually a sentenced inmate. For example, the day before he completed his stay, an inmate who had lived two cells away from him for the previous 50 days, was surprised to learn that his "tier-mate" was actually a member of the evaluation team. At another time, while out in the yard, a correctional officer directed the participant-observer to move away from a gate that was in a state of disrepair. Presumably he was concerned about the possibility of escape.

Although some inmates knew nothing about the evaluation or the role of the participant-observer, most did. Several inmates introduced themselves to the participant-observer early in his stay because they had heard about what he was doing. The majority of inmates, however, considered him to be in much the same category as the student-inmates, and as such, he was openly accepted and often asked to join in the activities that were a regular part of cell block life. Separate data subsequently revealed that correctional officers and inmates had grown accustomed to the presence of outsiders observing and living in their previously private world.

In any participant-observation study there is the question of the degree to which the researcher should become involved in the day-to-day activities of the situation he is observing. The participant must be active enough to experience the circumstance he is trying to learn about, yet he must also refrain from

becoming overly involved and run the risk of losing his objectivity.

The period of participant-observation took place during a turbulent time in the jail. The inmate population had jumped from an average of about 80 to a daily count of 100. With this increase came a younger inmate population that was more unruly than the older "jail-wise" inmates of previous years. Just two days before the participant-observer's entry, three inmates had engineering an escape through the roof of the cell block. This caused a tightening of security and an increase in tension within the jail. In this unstable setting, it was difficult for the participant-observer to maintain a low profile. Stemming from his inclusion on a sheriff's committee organized to deal with these problems and his active participation in meetings of the Model Education Program, he was occasionally looked to for opinions and, in some instances, intervention. Due to this and scheduling considerations, it was decided to conclude the participant-observer role after fifty-two days rather than to continue on through the 90 days originally planned.

Review of Program Materials and Comparative Data on Other County Correctional Institutions

This third major source of data provided a wealth of historical information on the program as well as information enabling a comparison of the Berkshire Jail with other county correctional institutions. It also provided a basis on which to address the question of the replicability of the Model Education

Program.

The program materials reviewed included the various funding proposals generated in the three-year history of implementing of the Model Education Program and used to raise money for the wide range of projects that developed under the auspices of the program. Other materials included documents that had been prepared for the bi-annual National Advisory Board meetings in the jail and various other materials generated in the course of program development. Comparative data on other jails was obtained from correctional literature written by experts in the field, The Nation's Jails, a census of jails prepared by Department of Justice's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, and the National Criminal Justice Information Statistics Service, the Massachusetts State Department of Corrections research department, and informal telephone interviews with the sheriffs of both Hampshire and Plymouth County jails in Massachusetts.

The evaluation methodology described above is outlined in the timetable below that indicates the steps of data collection, review, analysis, and report preparation.

Chart II-1; Evaluation Time Schedule

Summer 1976	Interviewing of 14 correctional officers employed at jail prior to July 1, 1973
August - December 1976	Questionnaire developed
October 21-23, 1976	Pre-evaluation retreat
October - December 1976	Participant-observation by research associate living inside the jail block
December 1976 - February 1977	Interviewing of community members, community agency personnel, Model Education Program staff, and University of Massachusetts participants
January 19-22, 1977	Interviewing of inmate and correctional officer
February - June, 1977	Data analysis
June 27-28, 1977	Post-evaluation retreat
July - August, 1977	Data Review and rough draft of report prepared.
September 1977	Discussion draft of report prepared
November 1, 1977	Discussion draft submitted to the National Institute of Corrections

All of the data collected in the course of the evaluation was applied in considering four key questions identified earlier: (1) Can a hostile and indifferent jail environment be turned into one of support and advocacy for inmates? (2) Can a jail become an open institution facilitating the reintegration of offenders back into the community? (3) Can an outside change agency such as a university be instrumental in bringing change to a county jail? (4) Can the Model Education Program at the Berkshire Jail be replicated in other county correctional institutions? In addressing each of these questions, care was taken to use the various sources of data for corroboration and cross-checking. Each source could stand on its own, but the validity of any piece of information was increased when other sources served to substantiate it. By the same token, when data was contradictory, care was taken to determine the source of the discrepancy and judge whether the discrepancy could be understood in terms of a particular sub-group's special needs or experience. Sometimes this added information for evaluating the program. This style of analysis was especially useful within a case-study approach to evaluation because it meant that various points of view could be taken into account in a way that further served to present the complexities of institutional change.

In the four chapters, one of the research issues listed above will be examined in detail. In each case, appropriate data is presented, discussed, and in some cases used as a basis for comparison. Some redundancy in presenting data was inevitable in cases where specific information had bearing on more than one of

the research questions under consideration. It will be helpful to keep in mind that this report is meant to offer an evaluative overview of the Model Education Program. Accordingly, a narrative style of presentation is employed. We hope that this will make the data and analysis readily accessible and give the reader some useful information.



CHAPTER III

CAN A HOSTILE AND INDIFFERENT JAIL ENVIRONMENT BE TURNED
INTO ONE OF SUPPORT AND ADVOCACY FOR INMATES?



As was mentioned in the introduction jails have long been a neglected element of the criminal justice system. This neglect is evidenced not only in the archaic physical structures of many jails but also in widespread unsanitary and filthy interiors, lack of effective programs for inmates, and a general custodial orientation of jail administrators and staff. Numerous writers (Mattick, Flynn, Goldfarb, Singer, and Keating) have commented on the dismal state of the nation's jails. In this chapter, we will examine whether and to what degree a jail environment can be altered within the confines of an existing jail structure.

Although the University of Massachusetts joined forces with the Berkshire Jail to provide educational and vocational opportunities to inmates and staff, this was not the sole objective. The mere provision of such services is, in and of itself, a relatively easy task involving little imagination or insight into the particular problems confronting individuals confined within a jail. In addition to new programs, therefore, the Model Education Program addressed itself to the quality of life within the jail, how that could affect the development of ties with the outside community, and how it could facilitate the overall reintegration process of the offender back into society.

This then also addresses the issue of whether the Model Education Program did, in fact, make an impact on the environment of the Berkshire Jail. It asks two rather all-encompassing ques-

tions: (1) Does the Berkshire Jail now have a social climate that is one of support and advocacy for its members? and (2) Do the staff and administration at the jail function in a way that is supportive of that social climate?

In order to address the first question, the social climate of the jail will be analyzed in terms of the following three considerations: the flow and type of communication between and amongst the various individuals and groups within the jail, the participation of the various groups in the jail's decision making processes, and the style of security and discipline currently operating in the jail. Then, the question of how supportive the staff and administration are of the social climate will be discussed in a fourth section--the Management System.

Communication

Have lines of communication been opened up to allow for "meaningful" interactions between and amongst correctional staff, inmates, jail administrators, and Model Education Program staff?

The amount and quality of communication between and amongst groups is a tell-tale indicator of the social climate of any organization or institution. Communication indicates the degree to which groups have access to one another. It also indi-

cates such things as an overall sense of trust and openness. In an environment like a jail, access to information and its use in dissemination, can be a way that power is consolidated and used or abused. A free flow of open communication prevents this misuse of information. A number of correctional observers have noted that people protect themselves in prisons and jail by giving out as little information as possible, for fear that the information might be used against them. An authoritarian model of institutional control leads to this style of communication that is highly cautious and not helpful to the individual in dealing with the circumstances of his environment. The Model Education Program had hoped to change the Berkshire Jail from this authoritarian type environment to one that was more democratic and fair. If patterns of communication could be seen to be changing toward more ease and openness, then the case could be made that the Model Education Program had met some success in working toward this goal.

To describe the general mood that now exists within the block, it will be beneficial to first identify the types of activities in which inmates engage while they are in the cell block. The majority of things mentioned by most inmates seem to be activities directed primarily at trying to pass the time. These activities indicate that this is little movement or exercise and suggest the prolonged periods of idleness often associated with "doing time."

Table III-1: "How do you spend most of your time in the block?"

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Watching television or listening to radio	15
Playing cards	20
Hanging out	15
Getting high	7
Sleeping	2
Reading or Writing	25
Working in Kitchen	5
Other	<u>11</u>
	100

It is interesting to note that 25 percent of the Berkshire inmates mentioned reading or writing as one of their major activities (Table III-1). Comparative data from another institution would be of value in assessing the degree to which this reading and writing might be attributable to the Model Education Program's influence. For the usual image of an incarcerated person is not one of an individual sitting in his cell reading a book or writing in a diary. Besides that, the most predominant activities listed are ones that involve inmates interacting with each other.

Another indication of the general atmosphere in the block is the response rate to the statement, "Most of the inmates

here are friendly." Eighty percent of the inmates agreed with it. Furthermore, 83 percent of the inmates mentioned that they had developed a close friendship with at least one other inmate while at the jail. This friendly atmosphere could possibly be translated as a supportive atmosphere among inmates.

In general, responses to the social climate scale items seem to support the contention that communication has improved at the jail and that this has affected the quality of life within the block. There is a general consensus among the inmates that they help new inmates get familiar with the block (91 percent say at least some of the time). It also appears that the majority of the inmates believe that they are supportive of one another. Seventy-one percent thought that, "If an inmate screws up, other inmates will sit down and talk with him," and 70 percent felt that, at least some of the time, "If an inmate does well, other inmates will personally tell him so." Among the correctional staff, 48 percent agreed that inmates reward other inmates for good behavior. This response rate is supported by observational data. For example, two inmates made an agreement to provide support to each other to help stay off dope. On the other hand, while a person serves his time, the cell block becomes his community and due to the closed nature of this community, it is difficult for an inmate not to interact at least minimally with his fellow inmates. Participant observation confirmed that a certain camaraderie existed within the cell block. For instance, when an inmate had a birthday, he was thrown in the shower with everyone singing

Happy Birthday. And the night before an inmate's time was up, he was razed about how long he'd be able to stay out and was thrown in the shower after supper.

Concerning actual communication mechanisms within the block that allow for the dissemination of information, there are both formal (i.e. block meetings) and informal (grapevine) ones. When something urgent needs to be discussed, a block meeting is often called. During the period of participant observation, block meetings were called to discuss such issues as: (1) a list of grievances to present to the county commissioners during their inspection tour; (2) possible action to be taken to draw attention to the then deplorable quality of food and; (3) the communication of information from the administration, such as, the information that one inmate had been using a fraudulent credit card number while using the pay phone located in the block officer's office and the telephone company threatened its removal if any more phoney numbers were given. The inmate leadership spoke out on this, saying "Don't f___ up 'cuz phone is a privilege here in the block-- it's not a legal right."

Relationships between correctional officers and inmates are somewhat friendly and easy-going although there is evidence of the typical groupings and antagonisms. Eighty-one percent of the correctional officers agreed that the jail was essentially split into two camps, inmates and correctional officers. However, less than half of the inmates (47 percent) agreed that this divi-

sion existed. In addition, 48 percent of the inmates also stated that they had made at least one friend among the downstairs staff--the correctional staff not necessarily involved with the Model Education Program.

In line with the trend in which the officers saw more of a split between them and inmates than the inmates did, the data also show that although only 15 percent of the officers felt that they spent a lot of time talking with inmates, 59 percent of the inmates felt that there was a lot of interaction between correctional officers and inmates. However, only 38 percent of the inmates felt that the correctional officers dealt fairly and squarely with inmates, 29 percent felt that correctional officers and inmates could work together toward a common goal, and 64 percent stated that guards hardly ever inform inmates about what's going on. An illustration of this last point was observed one night when officers working the evening shift were decided whether or not to delay lock-up by half an hour to allow inmates to watch the end of a movie. Neither officer announced the decision but rather told inmates that at 8:30 p.m. (lock-up time) they'd find out. Table III-2 compares the guard and inmate assessment of whether or not the guards deal fairly with inmates.

Table III-2: "Guards deal fairly and squarely with everyone."

"The correctional officers deal fairly and
squarely with all of the inmates."

	<u>Inmates</u>	<u>Guards</u>
Agree	38%	70%
Disagree	<u>62%</u>	<u>30%</u>
Total	100%	100%

Correctional officers seem to feel that they deal quite fairly with inmates. In response to another statement, 80 percent of the correctional staff said that they reward an inmate if he does well but 44 percent of the inmates state that officers will hardly ever tell an inmate that he has done well. Could this disparity be the result of both the guards' and the inmates' refusal to share information openly with one another?

During the post-evaluation retreat in June, discussion centered around the use of information as a manipulative tool. Those who have knowledge of an upcoming event have an advantage over those unaware of the situation. In this manner, information or access to information can become a source of power. Consequently, if communication is opened up in the jail, a loss of power will be followed--not only for correctional officers but for inmates as well. But, as both groups lose power, each gains. As lines of communication improve, more information is shared and each group within the jail becomes more aware of what's going on.

This allows mechanisms for dialogue and a feeling of mutual trust,

To what extent has this model been realized at Berkshire Jail? The data presented here seems to suggest that the mechanisms have been actualized to some degree, particularly in the way in which the jail administration and inmates can now sit down and talk over problems together. For example, at one point, a zip gun was known to be in the block and the administration appealed to the inmates on the Sheriff's Committee (a later incarnation of the Governance Board) to get the gun out of the block in order to prevent the necessity for a major shakedown. By the next morning the zip gun was turned over to the administration. This is an example of trust between the jail administration and inmates. The trust level between the correctional officers and the inmates does not seem to have reached this same level as yet.

Just as we initially examined the way in which inmates spend their time in the block, we will now look at the same variable in relation to the "upstairs"--the top floor of the jail where the Model Education Program and its activities were headquartered. Recalling that the majority of time in the block was spent in passive activities, a considerable difference can be seen (Table III-3) in responses to how time was spent upstairs.

Table III-3: "How do you spend most of your time upstairs?"

<u>How Time Spent</u>	<u>Percent Reporting</u>
Working on projects	9
Attending classes	20
Meetings	15
Counseling	8
Weightroom	21
Hanging out	14
Rapping	5
Other	<u>8</u>
	100

Most of these activities require some kind of involvement or action on the participant's part. People are not just sitting around passing time. They seem instead to be involved in some constructive forms of behavior.

This involvement appears to include Model Education Program staff when considered with the inmate response that 76 percent felt there was a lot of interaction between MEP staff and inmates. Eighty-one percent felt that inmates and MEP staff will work together towards a common goal verifying that the collaborative model of program development has made an impact. There is reason to believe that the opening up of communication channels is partially responsible for this willingness to cooperate. Ninety-three percent of the inmates said that the MEP personnel

keep them informed at least some of the time, and 78 percent disagreed with the statement that, "The upstairs is split into two groups with staff in one and inmates in the other." Other data also revealed that inmates feel the Model Education Program staff treated them fairly and squarely, provided them with personal attention and generally was supportive of inmates.

As will be noted in subsequent sections, inmates are given considerable responsibility and decision making powers in the upstairs program and staff members have essentially conveyed the message, "We're here for you to use, if you don't use us, it's your own fault." Inmates are not coerced into participation but it is made clear during meetings that if inmates don't provide a certain degree of input, they could lose what they've gained in the past few years. Can this cooperative atmosphere of the upstairs program permeate the block more than it already has, or is there an inherent limit to the degree of communication that can exist in the cell block between correctional officers and inmates? Are the traditional concerns of security and control on the guards' part and the basic mistrust of guards by inmates too great to be changed any further than they already have been? As one inmate commented, "A screw is a screw is a screw," and another said, "When it come donw, there's not question that he (the guard) is going to be on the outside and we'll be in here." Although these are quite stereotypical statements without much specific content, the question remains, to what extent do they indicate some unbreachable barriers within a correctional facility?

With regard to this traditional separation of inmates and correctional staff into two campus, it is noteworthy that at the Berkshire Jail, there appears to be a new distinction that is blurring, if not actually replacing, the old alignment. In response to whether or not the jail was split into two groups with the "downstairs" being one and the "upstairs" another, 84 percent of the correctional officers thought so and 58 percent of the inmates agreed. What makes this particularly significant is the fact that the "upstairs" consists of inmates, Model Education Program staff, and correctional officers who have in the course of the past three-and-one-half years, taken on new job roles in the Model Education Program. The "downstairs", although referring primarily to the correctional staff and administration, also includes the inmate trustees. It is apparent that the issues don't always boil down to the keepers versus the kept. Clearly, in the Berkshire Jail, some new lines of communication have been opened to allow for more meaningful interactions. The social climate of the "upstairs" has definitely moved toward one of support and advocacy. The attitudes of the inmates are without doubt the most essential indicator of this trend although it is too early to call it a definitive success.

Decision Making

To what degree have inmates and correctional staff been incorporated into decision making processes at the jail?

As stated earlier, one of the primary goals of the Model Education Program was to change the social climate of the jail from a hostile and indifferent environment to one of support and advocacy for inmates. Providing inmates and correctional officers with a role in the decision making processes at the jail was seen as one means of changing the environment. Allowing inmates to exercise some control over their situation was believed to be a necessary step in reversing the standard correctional practice of disenfranchising inmates and treating them as if they were incapable of making decisions affecting their own lives.

Although most correctional facilities operate without input by the inmates into the formal decision making process, one author made the following observation: "...prisons can only run with consent of the inmates and the power of prison officials is less than it appears."¹ Given this situation, participatory management could possibly reduce some of the tension that normally exists between the keepers and the kept.

For participatory management to operate in a jail setting, it is essential that the chief administrator allow the necessary mechanisms to be established. Once established, these mechanisms must then be allowed to influence decisions concerning

¹Nicolau, Georg, "Grievance Arbitration in a Prison: The Dalton experiment" Resolution, Vol. 1, No. 3, Spring 1975, p. 11-16.

program development as well as some decisions relating directly to the daily operations of the jail. For example, inmates can be allowed input into the type of menu that is prepared; correctional officers can be consulted on discipline and security issues. Decisions relating to such issues do not need to be made by fiat. In the Model Education Program, participation took the form of such things as an Educational Policy Committee, made up of inmates and correctional officers who determine what courses are to be taught in the upstairs program.

New decision making processes within the overall jail, were not as easily instituted as they were in the Model Education Program. The very nature and history of corrections precluded total inmate participation in decision making procedures, but definite efforts were made by the administration to incorporate inmates and line staff into decisions that had previously been the exclusive domain of the sheriff and deputy master. The Governance Board, for example, consisting of three line staff, three inmates, administrators and Model Education Program staff, was devised as a mechanism for airing grievances, improving conditions at the jail and suggesting new policy procedures.

Regarding the extent of inmate input into "upstairs" decisions, several data sources provide a very positive picture. One official from the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission made this comment that has some bearing on the topic: "Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission had many of the same vocational

programs before, as the Model Education Program does now, but they are more successful now because the inmates choose what programs come in, not the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission; and that makes a big difference even though the programs are the same." This individual was referring to the Education Policy Committee--a group of inmates who make recommendations, subject to the director's approval, regarding what classes will be taught in the program. His assessment of inmate input into decisions within the Model Education Program is confirmed by responses to the inmate questionnaire described in Chapter Two. In response to the statement, "inmates can share in the decisions about how the upstairs program is run," 89 percent of those inmates responding agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. This finding is further supported by responses to the question of whether "inmates have any input into the types of programs and/or classes within the Model Education Program" to which 92 percent answered affirmatively. With respect to the kind of input, it appears that the "process" discussed in the preceding section has been internalized. That is, only a small minority of the inmates said that they would go directly to the Model Education Program director (nine percent) or to the sheriff (four percent) with their suggestions. Fully 78 percent of the inmates said they have input through formal meetings such as the EPC and staff meetings.

As mentioned above, decision making processes within the jail were not as easily affected, but it does appear that a change has occurred. Comparing response patterns of those cor-

rectional officers who had been employed at the jail prior to the Model Education Program to those responses given to the survey conducted in January 1977, one is led to conclude that the correctional officers working in the jail now seem to feel they have less input into decisions affecting the jail than those working in the jail felt they did in 1973. Sixty-seven percent of the 14 correctional officers who worked in the jail before the inception of the Model Education Program agreed that they had a say in changing rules and regulations at the jail. Only 54 percent of those working in the jail in 1977 felt they did. In response to the statement, "All decisions are made by the Sheriff," 58 percent or eight of the 14 correctional officers working in the jail before MEP, agreed. In response to the same statement, 42 percent of those working in the jail in 1977 agreed. At the same time, correctional officers' responses indicate that they feel inmates have increased their degree of influence in the jail in recent years. Twenty-two percent of the officers working prior to 1973 agreed that "Inmates have a say in changing rules and regulations at the jail," while 68 percent of those now working felt this was a true statement.

What are the implications of this data? Apparently the correctional officers feel that the inmates exercise a significant amount of control over the rules and regulations of the jail. Are their perceptions accurate? Is it possible that the changes that have occurred are overstated by the correctional officers? Comparison of inmate and correctional officer responses to the same

question provides some insight into this issue. In response to whether an inmate has any way to appeal a disciplinary action taken against him, 96 percent of the correctional staff said yes, but only 37 percent of the inmates said they did. These differing response patterns suggest that inmates may not have the degree of influence that the officers think they do. Observational data tends to support this contention. Several instances were recorded by the participant-observer that illustrate a lack of inmate input into decisions concerning rules and regulations rather than an over abundance. For example, in meetings of the Sheriff's Committee, requests were made by inmates to (1) establish set hours during which the telephone in the cell block would be open and (2) develop a more efficient system for the distribution of mail. Policy concerning the phone had not been clearly delineated, and it was left up to the officer on duty to decide when and for how long the phone would be open. As a rule, officers were lenient and aimed to comply with inmate needs, but the lack of set guidelines caused friction between inmates and officers at times, particularly in the evenings. For instance, sometimes the phone would be open from 6 to 7 p.m., other times from 6:30 to 8:00 p.m. and still other times from 6:30 to 7:30 p.m. Inmates never knew in advance what the hours would be. However, despite the request by inmates, no action was taken on this issue during the participant-observation period. With regard to mail, the issue was sloppy distribution. General practice at the jail was that all incoming mail was opened and inspected for contraband. Concerning mail distribution, the procedure was for the matron to place all mail (opened) in the main

gate where inmates could check to see if they had any. This practice allowed inmates to leaf through others' mail and very easily take someone else's letters or magazines. In fact, one time the participant-observer found his mail lying in the kitchen. Once again, the result of addressing this issue to the sheriff resulted in no action being taken. These examples serve to demonstrate that inmate input into decision making is perhaps not as great as believed by the correctional officers and not up to the level hoped for according to the objectives of the Model Education Program.

Returning to the process of institutionalizing participatory management, it appears that it is not only within Model Education Program that inmates have accepted the participatory process. When asked, "How would you go about changing a rule or regulation you felt needed to be changed?", 53 percent of the inmates mentioned they would bring up the issue at a formal meeting such as at the Governance Board, a block meeting of inmates, or the Sheriff's Committee. Thirty-two percent said they would go directly to the sheriff or the deputy master. In response to the same question, the correctional staff did not indicate the same acceptance of the process. Seventy-two percent of the line staff said they would talk to the sheriff or deputy and another 12 percent mentioned that they would go to their immediate supervisor. Not a single officer mentioned any of the councils or committees established for participatory management by the Model Education Program.

Table III-4: "How would you go about changing a rule or regulation you felt needed to be changed?"

<u>Process</u>	<u>Inmates</u>	<u>Correctional Staff</u>
Go to Sheriff	28%	24%
See Deputy Master	4%	48%
Formal Meeting	53%	--
See other Administrator	--	12%
Other	<u>15%</u>	<u>16%</u>
	100%	100%

The data in Table III-4 gives one the impression that the correctional officers do not feel they have the means to exert the kind of input they desire into the operational decisions of the jail. However, the mechanisms for correctional officer input were present in the Governance Board as well as in the form of a correctional officer union that provided an organized power base through which officers could voice their opinions. Aside from these formal means, there also existed informal mechanisms of officer solidarity and leadership through which their wishes could be aired. Responding to the statement that "There are no real leaders among the correctional officers here," 72 percent of the officers disagreed. This response pattern coupled with the fact that 81 percent of the officers agreed that fellow officers would support each other in disciplining an inmate, substantiates the contention that informal means for input do exist for officers.

The problem might well be a lack of understanding of the process of change and of the goals and objectives of the Model Education Program rather than a lack of desire to have input. In general, though, one does sense an attitude of apathy among much of the correctional staff as far as their involvement with the Model Education Program is concerned. This seemed especially to be the case when four officers were invited to attend the post-evaluation retreat with full pay, and only two attended, who then stayed only for the morning session. A very plausible explanation for this set of data might be simple that it is easier to complain about the state of affairs than to take action to change the things.

The role of the university staff in decision making processes during their three years of involvement might have hindered involvement by more correctional officers. Many staff and inmates saw the project director as wielding a lot of power in the institution. Statements to the effect that "she (the project director) would just go into the sheriff's office and tell him what he had to do" were heard occasionally among both staff and inmates. However, in the interview with the sheriff, he said, "People have the perception that she has a special influence over me, that she can walk into my office and get something of what she wants any time, but that is not true." This same sentiment was expressed by the project director in her interview. An example she cited was with regard to the transfer of one inmate to another institution. She did not intervene, and if she had, she

felt she would not have been successful. Although the impressions that decisions were made in the Sheriff's office by the university people were apparently not accurate, the fact that it was believed to be the case might have alienated correctional officers from participating in decision making processes and made them doubt their power to influence outcomes.

Input from community agency personnel into the decision making process is essentially limited to the "upstairs" programs because that is where their activities are focussed. Their input takes two forms: meetings and threat of withdrawal of services. Model Education Program staff meetings are open to community agency personnel. During the period of participant-observation, three members of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health attended meetings regularly. Educational Policy Committee meetings are also open to anyone wishing to attend as are the all-jail meetings on Wednesday nights and are frequently attended. As for the withdrawal of services option, one agency administrator used it as a means of gaining leverage that could be applied if the jail misused or abused the services being provided.

When the university staff left the Model Education Program in the hands of jail personnel and staff members hired new personnel through grants, the role of the Governance Board declined and it was finally disbanded. This left the jail with no formal means of participatory management. After several months without the Board, tensions and problems began to surface in the

jail. Without any means of finding the source of these problems, the sheriff called upon six inmates to meet with him to discuss the situation. This group began to meet somewhat regularly with some positive effects, particularly in regard to the food situation-- a major grievance of the inmates. The participant-observer noted that a food strike was only averted when one inmate on the Sheriff's Committee mentioned that negotiations were underway and asked inmates to wait one week before deciding whether or not to strike.

One oversight on the part of both the sheriff and the inmates was the exclusion of correctional staff from these meetings. It is possible that this type of inadvertent exclusion of line staff was the sort of thing that led to their perceptions that inmates have greater input into decisions than they do. Once the sheriff and inmates realized their oversight, however, correctional staff were asked to participate. This example shows that a program needs to be flexible. Although one board folds, this does not preclude the formation of a new one to take its place.

This incident quite clearly illustrates how the decision making process was opened to wider participation at the Berkshire Jail. And the agreement reached by the Sheriff and inmates to ask for the participation of the correctional staff is indicative of one facet of an improved social climate,

Security and Discipline

How have security and discipline within the jail been affected by the Model Education Program?

When people start talking about reform and about opening up correctional facilities to outsiders, the first reaction of administrators and correctional staff is, "How is thing going to affect security?" This concern is understandable given the fact that the correctional staff are charged not only with keeping inmates in custody, but they must also insure the safety of prisoners in their care as well as the safety of those individuals working at the jail. It is therefore essential to evaluate the degree to which a reform effort such as the Model Education Program affects both security and discipline.

In order to discuss the issue of security, it is important first to know something of the nature of the inmate population. The types of offenses for which inmates are sentenced fall into the following categories:

Table III-5: Offenses for which inmates are serving time in the
Berkshire Jail

1. Crimes against the person (rape, murder, manslaughter)	24%
2. Crimes against person and property (robbery)	4%
3. Property crimes (fraud, larceny)	43%
4. Drug offenses	9%
5. Morals and public disturbance crimes	10%
6. Other	<u>10%</u>
	100%

With regard to the sex and race ratio at the Berkshire Jail, nine percent of the sample were female and 91 percent male; 10 percent of the sentenced inmate population was black and 90 percent white. Fifty-six percent of the inmates were under 25 years of age.

Comparable data from two other county jails in Massachusetts, provided by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections, show that this demographic data are not atypical. Both Plymouth and Hampshire counties (the sites used for comparison) are large in area and consist largely of rural towns with one or two larger urban centers, similar to Berkshire County. At Hampshire, 65 percent of the inmates sentenced to the House of Corrections were 24 years of age or younger; at Plymouth 63 percent were under 25 years

of age. The types of offenses for which inmates were sentenced were similar to the distribution at the Berkshire Jail. At the Hampshire Jail, 99 percent of the inmates were men. While at Plymouth, 91 percent were male and nine percent, female. At Hampshire, the population was 15 percent black and 85 percent white. This brief comparative description plus similar data on other institutions suggest that the findings pertaining to security and discipline at the Berkshire Jail have validity in relation to other correctional institutions. This issue will be elaborated upon more fully in Chapter Six when we discuss the possibility of replicating the Model Education Program in other correctional institutions.

During the correctional officer and inmate interviews, respondents were asked to rank the three most important goals of the jail. The responses show little difference between what the correctional staff and the inmates thought the goals of the jail were. Surprisingly few mentioned security as the jail's main objective; only 15 percent of the inmates said the goal of the jail was to keep inmates off the streets and only 12 percent of the correctional staff mentioned this goal. Table III-6 reveals the similar response patterns between the two groups.

Table III-6: "In order of importance, tell me which of the following are the three most important goals of the jail."

<u>Goals</u>	<u>Correctional Officers</u>	<u>Inmates</u>
1. Provide educational and vocational opportunities	25%	20%
2. Punish offenders	9%	13%
3. Arrange for community support	9%	11%
4. Provide inmates with attitudes and values	31%	19%
5. Keep inmates off the streets	12%	15%
6. Be an easy place to do time	2%	10%
7. Promote good relations with community	12%	10%
8. Other	<u>--</u>	<u>2%</u>
	100%	100%

This table gives the impression that security is not an overriding concern, and that correctional officers see themselves as carrying out tasks quite different from what is typically associated with work in correctional facilities.

When asked if they thought the present security system was effective, 56 percent of the officers said it was. This response, however, did not mean that the correctional staff felt that improvements could not be made. Eighty-five percent said they

would like to see a change in the security system. The changes they wanted are outlined in Table III-7.

Table III-7: "Would you like to see any changes in the security system? If yes, what change would you like to see?"

Type of Change

More staff training	26%
Stricter supervision of outsiders	26%
Stricter rules	30%
New facility	9%
Other	<u>9%</u>
	100%

Similarly, when asked how they would improve security, 33 percent stated they'd like to see more supervision of inmates, and 24 percent mentioned having a system of supervision and identification of people from the community who were regularly coming into the jail.

Of most significance, though, is the fact that a majority of the officers felt confident about the present security system. This sentiment was echoed by several Model Education Program staff members. One staff member said, "Hostility is lessening now that the correctional officers have seen the commitment of the

Model Education Program staff and also seen that the Model Education Program has not undermined their authority." The hostility referred to was an early concern by correctional officers that the "upstairs" staff was not as security conscious as they would have liked them to be. The correctional staff felt their duties were being complicated and their expertise ignored by the newcomers. There are various indications that security at the jail has become "looser" in the traditional sense, but more geared to the individual inmates' own self-control.

Prior to the Model Education Program, no inmates, except the few work-release participants, left the cell block. By January 1977, the jail operated on a general clearance system. This meant that every inmate serving time was allowed to participate in the upstairs programs once he had been cleared (records checked for outstanding warrants, past record, and so forth). At the time of the evaluation interviews, 65 of the 80 sentenced inmates went upstairs regularly. This meant that in the course of the day inmates could be found all over the jail, including about 20 working outside on the jail grounds in vocational education classes. Inmates who attend these vocational education classes in the garage are let out the mail gate, unescorted, and go on their own to the garage, which is right next to the street, and has no fence surrounding it. One day, when a group from another county jail came to see the Model Education Program in operation, the group supervisor was astounded when he saw inmates being let out the front door and nobody paying any attention! This indicates

a remarkable change of attitude on the part of the correctional and administrative staff. During the two months of the participant-observation, there was only one incident of an inmate leaving the jail grounds, and he returned after going to a local store.

The meaning of security to inmates is different than it is to correctional officers. While staff are most concerned with preventing escapes, inmates tend to see security as a means of ensuring their safety within the cell block. When asked to compare Berkshire Jail to other institutions at which they had done time, the following comparative data (Table III-8) were obtained. Most of the other institutions mentioned were other county jails (56 percent) or state correctional facilities in Massachusetts (33 percent).

Table III-8: "In general how does Berkshire Jail compare to these other places that you have been at in terms of..."

	<u>Greater at Berkshire Jail</u>	<u>Greater at Other Institution</u>	<u>Same</u>
Physical violence	9%	65%	25%
Threat of sexual attack	14%	47%	40%
Need to have a weapon	14%	47%	39%

Comparatively speaking, this data suggest that inmates feel safer at Berkshire Jail than they do at other institutions. The data were further substantiated by responses given to the

statement, "Almost all of the inmates here try to take advantage of you." In response 55 percent of the inmates said, "hardly ever"; 29 percent said, "some of the time"; and only 17 percent said, "most of the time," or "almost always."

Discipline within a correctional facility is another major concern of administrators and line staff. To understand the disciplinary system at the jail, we will first examine the types of behaviors for which inmates are disciplined and secondly look at the form of action taken by guards to enforce conformity to the rules and regulations. Both inmates and correctional officers were asked to rank the three most common types of infractions which result in some form of action by correctional officers. Given the fact that no formal statement exists at the Berkshire Jail of what behaviors will be punished, there is a striking consistency in the responses given by correctional officers and inmates. There also appears to be close agreement as to the type of action correctional officers will take to discipline an inmate. The similarities of the responses by correctional officers and inmates are even more striking when one considers the open-ended nature of the question.

Table III-9: "What type of infractions commonly occur that inmates
get disciplined for?"

<u>Types of Infractions</u>	<u>Inmate Response</u>	<u>Correctional Officer Response</u>
Missed meals	24%	15%
Disrespect of negative encounter with guard	22%	22%
Fighting	14%	13%
Contraband	18%	22%
Being rowdy	15%	--
Stealing	--	11%
Other	<u>7%</u>	<u>17%</u>
	100%	100%

Table III-10: "What kinds of actions do guards commonly take to
discipline an inmate?"

<u>Types of Guard Action Taken</u>	<u>Inmates</u>	<u>Correctional Officers</u>
Lock up	55%	66%
Restriction to block or removal of privileges	18%	13%
Verbal reprimand	6%	11%
Padded cell or solitary	6%	--
Other	<u>15%</u>	<u>10%</u>
	100%	100%

These two tables indicate that there is some consensus concerning the actual disciplinary procedure. They do not, however, give any indication as to how people feel about the system.

To begin to understand the qualitative aspects of the discipline at the jail, we can return to findings discussed earlier. We saw in a preceding section that 96 percent of the officers believed that an inmate could appeal a disciplinary action taken against him, but only 37 percent of the inmates felt they could. This difference of opinion between the two groups may indicate some dissatisfaction by inmates with the system. Data which contrast the use of mass punishment as a form of discipline at Berkshire Jail to other institutions, show that 35 percent of those who responded felt there was more use of mass punishment at Berkshire Jail, while 36 percent felt there was greater use of mass punishment at other institutions. One community agency official commented on this by saying that prior to the Model Education Program, "...a minor infraction by one inmate would result in immediate lock up for everyone." Findings during the two month period of participant-observation, however, revealed an apparently conscious effort on the part of the staff and administration not to resort to mass punishment in the way that had been done in the past. One instance involved a minor disturbance after evening lock up. Some inmates on one tier were being rowdy, throwing objects at the windows, and succeeded in breaking several sections of windows and causing glass to shatter all over the floor below. The disturbance ended without correctional officers having to take

action, but in the morning, everyone on that tier was kept locked in his cell. Most of those locked up were outraged at this group lock up and displayed their discontentment by rattling their cell doors and yelling. By mid-morning, however, each inmate on the tier had been taken to the deputy master's office and given the opportunity to argue his case. The result was that one inmate was put in the "pads" (padded cell that is also used for isolation) and two others were left in lock up. Thus, although the whole tier was initially disciplined, administrative action to determine the extent of involvement of inmates was relatively quick, and according to most inmates, was also just. Another example of a time when mass lock up was avoided, occurred one Saturday night when the block was particularly noisy and several inmates had succeeded in getting out of their cells. This disturbance involved inmates throughout the block and continued until 2:30 Sunday morning. To the surprise of most inmates, cells were opened at the standard time of 6:30 a.m. on Sunday, with the exception of the cells of inmates who the correctional officers on duty felt they could identify positively as have been actively involved in the disturbance. These examples suggest that correctional staff and administrators have been influenced by the introduction of the Model Education Program into the jail to be more careful and fair in the use of their authority to discipline inmates.

Examination of data pertaining to problems caused by the introduction of the Model Education Program into the jail routine show that the major source of concern for correctional

staff was the adjustment they had to make to a new situation. One officer summed it up by stating that you "had to teach an old dog new tricks." Responses to the General Interview Form question concerning the problems faced by the jail when the university staff arrived also centered on the change in job duties faced by the correctional staff. Fifty percent of those responding to that question mentioned this adjustment as a specific problem incurred by the introduction of the Model Education Program. When the correctional staff was asked the question, "What problems did the jail staff experience when U-Mass and the Model Education Program came into the jail?", 32 percent shared the viewpoint that adjustment was a problem. However, none of them specifically mentioned disciplinary or security problems. However, when questioned about the changes that had occurred since July 1973, and specifically what changes they liked least, correctional staff seized the opportunity to say that they did not like the changes in security and disciplinary procedures at the jail. (Thirty-nine percent of the responses fell into this category.) It appears that there is dissatisfaction with some of the changes, but that there is no overt or organized effort to negate the changes that have taken place.

Other data from the correctional officer interviews further support a feeling of alienation among the line staff with regard to the "loosening up" of the rules and regulations. For example, only eight percent of the officers felt that discipline at the jail was very strict and less than one fourth (23 percent)

believed that the jail was a peaceful and orderly place. This latter finding contrasts sharply to the situation described prior to the Model Education Program, when a majority of the officers thought the jail was peaceful and orderly. In support of the correctional officer feeling of a lack of structure, one inmate made the statement, "I've been to parochial schools stricter than Berkshire Jail."

One possible explanation for the perceived lack of order at the jail could be a reluctance of inmates to punish other inmates. In the pre-Model Education Program data, almost half of the correctional officers reported that inmates would punish other inmates if they "screwed up." This compares to 19 percent saying this was the case in 1977. The correctional officer response pattern once again shows a perceived decline in willingness of guards to punish an inmate who "screws up." Pre-Model Education Program data show that nearly all of the correctional staff agreed that they punished inmates; this viewpoint was held by only 77 percent in the 1977 survey.

Data from the inmate interviews, however, do not fully support the correctional officers' impression about a lack of discipline at the jail. Nor do the data indicate that there is a lack of inmate peer pressure to conform. In response to the statement, "Guards are more concerned with maintaining discipline in the block than they are with helping inmates with their problems", 78 percent agreed. At this point, it is worthwhile to

mention a trend that is referred to throughout the report: apparently a more critical evaluation of correctional staff and of the jail is made by the inmates highly involved in MEP. (For a definition of this variable, consult Chapter II.) For example, of the highly involved inmates, 86 percent agreed with the discipline statement.

Table III-11: "Guards are more concerned with maintaining discipline in the block than they are with helping inmates with their problems."

<u>Inmate Degree of Involvement</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Total</u>
Not involved	20%	67%	13%	--	100%
Minimally involved	25%	45%	30%	--	100%
Moderately involved	10%	62%	24%	5%	101%
Highly involved	43%	43%	14%	--	100%

Negative responses to the statements, "Almost all the inmates here try to take advantage of you"; "A lot of inmates look down on other inmates here"; and "Most inmates here will physically fight you to get what they want," appear to indicate that inmates feel a group solidarity in the block. A majority of the inmates feel that inmates will not take advantage of another inmate, that inmates will look down on an inmate if he is different, and that inmates will rarely fight one another. This type of peer pressure, it can be argued, has a greater impact on the behavior of

inmates than any disciplining measures forced by the correctional staff. This is due largely to the fact that people are more apt to respond to pressures from someone with whom they have shared values. The fact that 81 percent of the inmates agreed that, "Inmates have their own set of rules on how to behave that are different from those of the guards," adds credence to the argument.

In the "upstairs" program security is a minimal concern. Inmates are allowed to mingle freely with one another in a variety of rooms; this includes male and female inmates. Model Education Program staff members do make occasional checks, but as one visiting teacher commented, the atmosphere is more like that of a study hall in high school than that of a jail. The concept of inmates accepting responsibility is readily noticeable within the program. Staff members wear clothes that, much to the chagrin of a few of the community agency people, often make them difficult to discern from inmates. But this de-emphasis on the issue of security has not resulted in more escapes not in endangering inmates or staff. In fact, inmates display an added sense of respect for the upstairs program. For example, one day, two inmates had a difference of opinion that led to serious arguing. Once the two realized they were beginning to lose control, they decided themselves to go downstairs to the block to settle their differences so as not to have a negative effect on the upstairs. Also, during every MEP orientation meeting of new inmates, one of the older inmates makes it very clear that the trust and openness found upstairs is

not to be violated. They are told under no circumstances will "screw ups be allowed to take place."

As mentioned previously, the "upstairs" presents quite a different environment than that generally found in jails, and also noticeably different from that found "downstairs" at the Berkshire Jail. The Model Education Program enjoys a certain degree of autonomy from the downstairs which allows inmates and staff to interact in an open and friendly atmosphere. Inmate responses to one of the social climate scale items illustrates this: only 16 percent of the inmates agreed with the statement, "The Model Education Program staff is more concerned with maintaining discipline than they are with helping inmates with their problems." This is in marked contrast to the 78 percent who felt that the correctional officers were more interested in maintaining discipline in the block than helping inmates.

What accounts for this difference? For one thing correctional officers are typically hired to be "turn keys," whereas program staff, like those working in the Model Education Program, are hired to "help" inmates. Such traditional role definitions are difficult to change. However, another explanation that could account for some of the variance can be found in inmates responses to two other social climate scale items: "Inmates have their own set of rules that are different from those of the Model Education Program staff," and "Inmates have their own set of rules on how to behave that are different from those of the guards." Forty-

three percent agreed with the first statement; 81 percent agreed with the second. Earlier, it was mentioned that it was often difficult to discern program staff from inmates by appearance. It appears that there is also a closer feeling of identity between the Model Education Program staff and inmates than between the correctional officers and inmates.

Although they are aware that the upstairs staff is responsible for maintaining discipline and security within the program, inmates do not view them as strict enforcers of rules. Twenty-seven percent of the inmates said that the Model Education Program staff hardly ever punish an inmate who "screws up." One could speculate that with this apparent lack of formal discipline within the program that inmate leadership plays an important role in keeping things orderly. Interestingly enough, though, the existence of an inmate leadership group is not widely acknowledged by inmates. Recall that forty-six percent said there are no inmate leaders. Also, 58 percent said that a few inmates run the upstairs program. Observational data, however, firmly suggests the existence of a core group of inmates who serve as informal leaders. During one block meeting, when one inmate, identified by the participant-observer as an informal leader, tried to say something but was not heard, another inmate yelled out for others to quiet down. Furthermore, the inmates chosen by the sheriff to attend the meetings that eventually developed into the sheriff's Committee were the same ones identified by the participant-observer as the informal inmate leaders. This same group of inmates also

regularly attended staff meetings, organized various activities in the Model Education Program, and called block meetings to discuss jail issues. However, even more than the operation of this informal inmate leadership, it seems that the general respect that inmates show toward the upstairs program is what is responsible for the self-disciplining that is in force there.

In summary, it can be concluded that by minimizing the negative aspects of incarceration--those things that serve only to demean inmates and deprive them of control over their daily lives--and by acknowledging and affirming the ability of inmates to act responsibly and maturely, the matter of strict control and censure of inmates becomes less of a concern. To some extent, such a new atmosphere of support and advocacy has been demonstrated in the MEP. This is not to say that one can do away with all security or disciplinary measures. Rather, it suggests that modifications can be made in the out-moded control orientation still adhered to in most correctional institutions, and that staff and administration as well as inmates will benefit by enhancing a more supportive atmosphere.

The Management System

Do the staff and administration of the jail function in a way that is supportive of the new social climate?

Before examining the data necessary to respond to this question, background characteristics of the correctional officers will be reviewed. All 27 members of the correctional staff were white and were residents of Berkshire County. Twenty-five were male, but neither of the two women worked in the cell block. The age distribution and educational level of the correctional staff are as follows:

Table III-12: Age of Officers

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>
21 - 30	3
31 - 40	4
41 - 50	11
51 - 60	7
over 60	<u>2</u>
	27

Table III-13: Educational Level of Officers

<u>Highest Grade Completed</u>	<u>Number</u>
less than 12	2
12	10
13 - 14	12
more than 14	<u>2</u>
	27

Sixteen staff members report having been at the jail for more than six years and 11 of these have been employed at the jail for over 12 years. The vast majority of the staff (25) were hired for the position of "correctional officer." At the time of the survey, however, 16 said they were "correctional officers." seven specified that they were "senior correctional officers" or "administrators," and four mentioned other positions. The job duties they reported having when they were first hired at the jail were limited primarily to positions as block officers (13) and floor officers (9). Answers were even more diversified to a question about current duties. Nine said they worked on the front desk or in some other administrative job, five were assigned primarily to the block, four were floor officers, five worked on transportation, in the kitchen, or on maintenance, and three on some other task. This diversity suggests that many staff members have moved up through the ranks or acquired new duties with the passage of time.

With regard to the preparation of the correctional staff for their work at the jail, we find that only 11 stated that they had had any prior experience in corrections before they took the job. The majority related experiences were obtained as police officers or as military police. In response to whether or not they had had training prior to their job assignment, only four responded affirmately. Fourteen staff members did mention, however, that they have received some form of on-the-job training (college courses, F.B.I, and Bureau of Prisons courses). Forty

percent of this on-the-job training took place prior to 1970; 38 percent has occurred since July 1973, when the Model Education Program came into the jail; 22 percent of it took place between 1970 and 1973. There appears to be no difference between the amount of on-the-job training received by the longer term employees and the more recently hired ones. Likewise, there appears to be no difference with respect to training received prior to employment between these two groups. Of the five correctional officers who have been hired within the past three years, only one has received on-the-job training.

It was possible to group into two categories the correctional officers working at the jail at the time of this evaluation. There were those who were highly involved (4) with the Model Education Program and those only peripherally involved (23). (The means of determining this variable was described in Chapter Two.) Separating the staff into these two different groups allows comparisons between those employees who become active in new programs and those who adhere to their traditional custodial roles. The four officers who were "highly involved" also took advantage of education programs offered in connection with the Model Education Program. Two of them finished B.A. degrees and went on to receive M.A. degrees in Criminal Justice. Additionally, the participation of these four "highly involved" officers in the Model Education Program led them into new job roles in the jail. Their new jobs ranged from an appointment to the position of education director of the Model Education Program to director of voca-

tional training and to Belchertown supervisor. Rarely do any of these four new work as turnkeys. Their new job roles have been integrated into the jail routine and they work full time in their jobs as advocates for inmates. This will be considered further in a discussion of job satisfaction below.

In understanding the attitudes of correctional officers toward the Model Education Program, it is helpful to consider what they viewed the objectives of the program and of the jail itself to be.

Table III-14; "In order of importance, which of the following are the most important goals of the jail, of the Model Education Program?"

<u>Goals</u>	<u>Correctional Officer Response by Degree of Involvement</u>			
	<u>Jail</u>		<u>Model Education Program</u>	
	<u>Highly Involved</u>	<u>Minimally Involved</u>	<u>Highly Involved</u>	<u>Minimally Involved</u>
1. Provide vocation and educational skills	--	22%	25%	64%
2. Punish offenders	--	4%	--	--
3. Arrange for community resources	--	--	--	9%
4. Provide inmates with attitudes	75%	48%	25%	14%
5. Keep inmate off the streets	--	22%	--	--
6. Make it easy to do time	25%	--	25%	9%
7. Promote good relations with inmates	--	4%	25%	--
8. Other	--	--	--	4%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table III-14 shows that the majority of the correctional officers feel that the primary objective of the jail is to "provide inmates with attitudes and values needed to make it on the outside." Although a higher percentage of the highly involved officers mentioned this as the goal, it is significant that almost half of the other correctional officers agreed. Only 26 percent of them mentioned traditional punitive-retributive goals, such as punishing offenders or keeping them off the streets.

There does not appear to be the same degree of consensus with respect to the goals of the Model Education Program. Sixty-four percent of the minimally involved officers believed that the provision of educational and vocational skills were the program objectives. Additionally, participant observation indicated that while minimally involved correctional officers were aware of the vocational and educational opportunities associated with the program, they did not seem to be aware of the underlying premises or what could be termed the "ideology" of the programs. That is, they did not understand that the new opportunities had to be offered in a supportive environment so that they could be used in such a way to bring about successful reintegration of the offender. Also, during the period of participant observation, interaction with a newly hired officer indicated that he and probably others received no orientation about what the "upstairs" was. For, after several weeks on the job, he questioned the participant-observer about the program in a manner that indicated little if any knowledge about the daily program activities, let alone MEP's guiding princi-

ples.

However, the participant-observer witnessed a situation that would seem to indicate an overall commitment of officers to the new programs. In April 1977, after the interviews were completed, a disturbance in the block precipitated the calling in of the state policy to settle the place down. Afterwards, the Sheriff ordered a 24-hour lock up and closed the program down. After several weeks of this, not only inmates but correctional staff as well, started to call for the reopening of the program. Meetings were held between the downstairs and upstairs staff with the result that their relationship was strengthened and the program opened again.

At various points throughout this chapter, a division between the upstairs and downstairs has been reported. This split seems to have stemmed to some degree from an initial lack of emphasis on orienting the correctional staff to the goals and objectives of the Model Education Program. Although all correctional officers were invited to meetings and represented on the Governance Board, the involvement of the inmates was the primary initial objective of the university team. Focusing attention on the inmates meant that the correctional officers were sometimes neglected, as when the Sheriff's Committee, described earlier in this chapter, was formed.

This type of antagonistic division within a jail can

present major obstacles to the successful attainment of more participatory management. An alienated group can withdraw and refuse to participate or it can attempt to undermine the system in general. At the Berkshire Jail, both of these reactions occurred.

However, as mentioned above, this schism does appear to be easing. The meeting that occurred in response to the closing down of the programs was the first time in several years that staff from the two different "camps" got together in an attempt to resolve a conflict within the jail. Individuals considering a similar reform program in another jail might do well to keep in mind what Nicolau wrote, that just as it is necessary to have the consent of the inmates to run a prison, you also need the consent and cooperation of those charged with carrying out the daily operations of the institution.

The issue of job satisfaction among correctional officers was considered a significant factor in assessing their place in the jail. To a large extent, the quality of work performed by an individual is determined by the degree to which he is satisfied with his job. It appears that the introduction of the Model Education Program affected job satisfaction in a positive way. In response to the statement, "My work is satisfying to me," there was general agreement among all the officers that they find their work satisfying. Only three of the officers (all minimally involved) disagreed with the statement. Other response patterns, however, indicate a significant difference

between the highly and minimally involved officers with regard to their feelings about their jobs.

Table III-15; Job Satisfaction

<u>Social Climate Scale Item</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Degree of Respondent Involvement in Model Education Program</u>	
		<u>High</u>	<u>Minimal</u>
"My work is satisfying to me."	Agree	100%	87%
	Disagree	--	14%
"I discuss my work with friends who are not correctional officers."	Agree	75%	32%
	Disagree	25%	69%
"Correctional officers don't get enough recognition for their work."	Agree	100%	68%
	Disagree	--	32%
"People from the community look up to correctional officers."	Agree	25%	39%
	Disagree	75%	61%

As can be seen in the responses presented in Table III-15, the highly involved officers indicated a greater willingness to discuss their work with friends than did the minimally involved ones. This might mean a greater pride in the work on the part of the highly involved officers. The highly involved are also more critical of the recognition they receive for their work. These

officers looked upon themselves as social service professionals deserving of recognition and it follows that they are more apt to be discontent with the low status traditionally accorded to correctional officers. On the other hand, individuals without these expectations are not as likely to be discontented with their low job status. This argument seems especially plausible since the highly involved officers incorporated a more professional outlook into their jobs, developed new skills, and attained higher educational levels after they became involved with the Model Education Program.

Although these new job roles create some discontentment, they also have rewarding elements. Aside from the general satisfaction of knowing they are assisting inmates and helping them in their reintegration, the officers who have been highly involved in the Model Education Program also have more interesting job responsibilities. Inmates also provide a source of satisfaction to these officers because they now relate to them as individuals rather than as role types. In fact, some reversal occurred when some of these highly involved correctional officers came to serve as role models for some of the inmates involved in the program. For example, when asked, "Is there any person (staff, inmate, outsider) involved with the Model Education Program who is the kind of person you would like to be?", 10 of the 17 inmates who responded mentioned one of the officers highly involved with the Model Education Program.

In addition to the role of correctional officers in supporting the new jail environment, it is also important to consider the extent to which jail administration supported the development and institutionalization of the program. Newman and Price² have noted the need for continued support of a program once it has been allowed to enter a jail, mentioning particularly the problem of resistance on the part of correctional officers. They quote administrators as saying, "There is resistance to change from long-time employees who don't help though they don't do anything directly to hinder things," and there is "hostility from a punitive, custody-minded staff" when it comes to instituting change. Judging from these statements and from the limited involvement of correctional officers at Berkshire in the Model Education Program, it becomes apparent that consistent support from the jail administration is a crucial ingredient for success in the change process.

At Berkshire, the sheriff was concerned with the reform of his jail and played a central part in the change process by allying himself with change agents from the university. Additionally, he appointed two of his senior officers to work jointly with the university team in implementing the program. Those officers commanded respect among their fellow officers and through their involvement and acceptance of their new roles, provided the

²Newman, C. L. and Price, B. R., Jails and Drug Treatment, Beverly Hills: Sage Library of Social Research, p. 180-181.

leadership that was necessary to counter some of the resistance to change that Newman and Price describe. Not only were these officers selected to work with the new program, but they were relieved of many of their custodial duties to allow them to pursue their new roles fully.

In addition, the sheriff also allowed other officers to pursue job alternatives. One officer who was an experienced carpenter began to teach carpentry and other vocational skills in addition to his regular custodial duties. When a position for a vocational educational officer was established, this officer was selected by the sheriff to take the job. This correctional officer now works full time teaching vocational skills to inmates and helping them secure jobs in the community when they are released. Another officer was originally assigned to accompany inmates to their work at the Belchertown State School for security reasons; after a short while he became active in helping inmates gain supplementary courses, in providing them with a forum to talk over difficulties they encountered on the job and in helping them negotiate for changes in the program. Again, the sheriff allowed him to devote his work time to this effort.

Some observers, however, said on the General Interview Form, that they would have liked the sheriff to play an even greater role by becoming personally involved himself and providing more active leadership and guidance to the program.

A number of people from the community and community agencies specifically mentioned that they would have benefited from more direct contact with the jail administration and the sheriff in particular.

Summary

In summary, it can be concluded overall that definite changes have taken place at the Berkshire Jail in making its environment one of greater support and advocacy for inmates. The Model Education Program has apparently had an impact on the overall jail, affecting particularly such factors as communication, decision making, security and control, and management.

Communication among inmates, between inmates and officers, and between inmates and the administration of the jail, have all apparently improved. The Model Education Program has succeeded in introducing more constructive activities for inmates to participate in jail and these activities have apparently allowed for the growth of friendliness and trust among inmates and between inmates and the correctional staff with whom they work in these projects. The cell block itself demonstrates a significant measure of inmate solidarity and apparently communication among inmates on issues of mutual interest takes place in both formal and informal meetings.

One significant finding was a realignment of subgroup-

ings within the jail. The old inmate-correctional officer hostility is now gradually fading in favor of a new division between people associated with the Model Education Program, inmates and correctional officers alike, and those choosing not to become involved and in some cases even being antagonistic. This "upstairs-downstairs" split caused communication problems in the jail, but recently, it too appears to be fading in importance somewhat as the two groups have been able to get together to work on shared concerns.

Overall, there are various discrepancies between the officers and the inmates' impression about each of their relative power in the jail to affect such things as disciplinary procedures and jail policy decisions. Inmates feel they have less power than the correctional officers feel the inmates have. Over and over again, the majority of correctional officers report that they feel like a disenfranchised group. This is apparently due in part to their refusal to participate fully in the Model Education Program and also due to the failure of the Model Education Program staff to give sufficient attention to the correctional officers and their needs or to encourage them to participate at the outset of the program. Correctional officers somewhat correctly identified the Model Education Program as attending to inmates, not to them.

A number of specific new participatory decision making processes have been set up in the jail through the Model Education

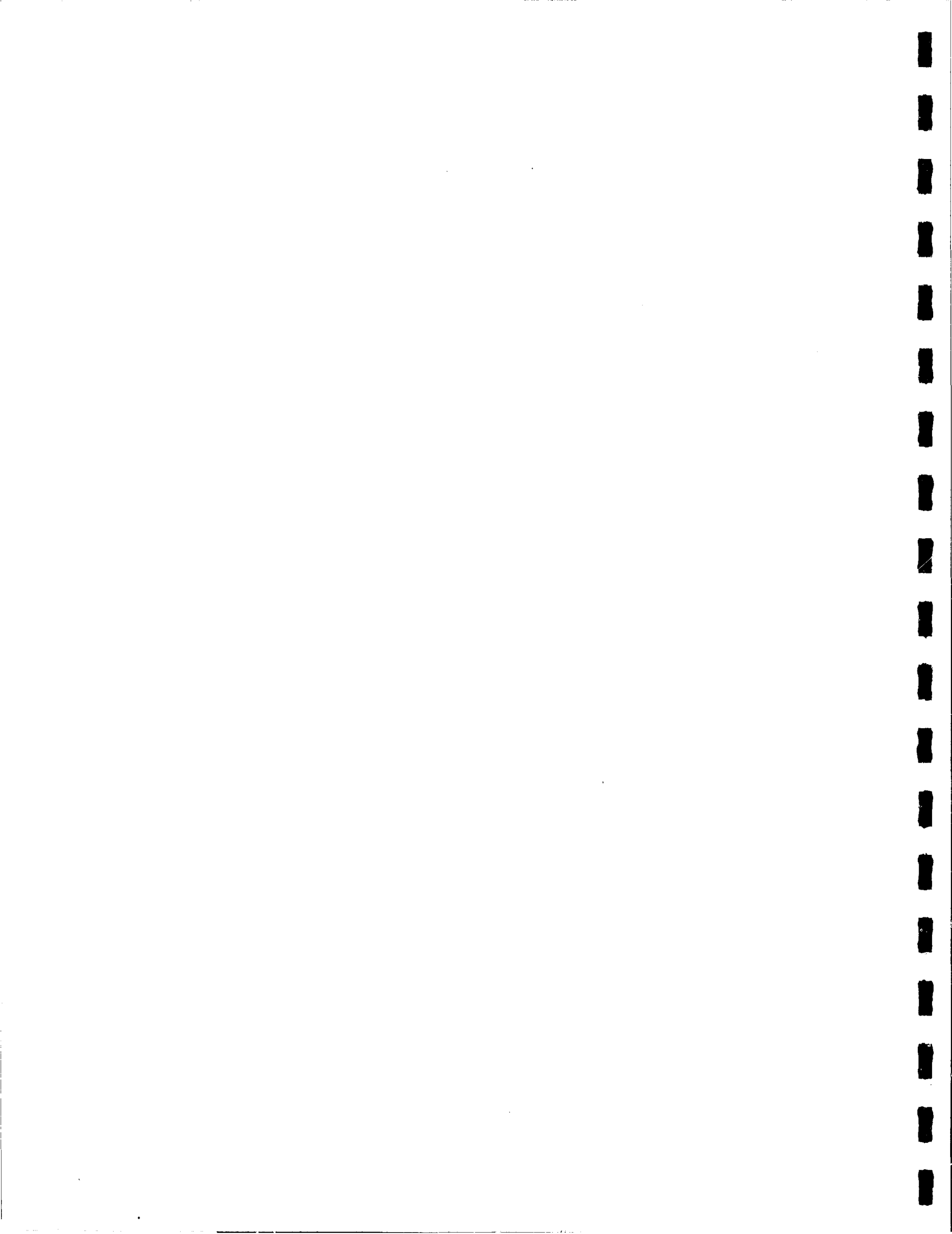
Program and these appear to be well and frequently used, particularly by the jail administration and the inmates.

Security and discipline have also been affected by the new program. The officers report an overall loosening of discipline and procedures in the jail. They express some dissatisfaction with this, and initially resented the complication of their security duties that came as a result of the introduction of the Model Education Program. Inmates, however, report that they feel safer in the Berkshire Jail than they have at other institutions, and, in fact, a number of self-policing mechanisms seem to have been instituted informally both "upstairs" and in the cell block. Inmates appear to have developed a stake in seeing that programs and the jail run smoothly so that they can continue to have the privileges, freedoms, and new programs they have gained over the previous three-and-one-half years. Though discipline and security are more lax and informal than previously, with inmates frequently outside both the cell block and the jail itself, actual infringements against rules have not reportedly escalated.

There is also evidence that despite their grumblings, correctional officers have begun to use their disciplinary authority in a more consistent and fair way. Indiscriminate lock ups have been replaced by more careful assessment of who was responsible for causing a particular disturbance.

The majority of correctional officers, 23 out of 27, did not become highly involved in the Model Education Program. Four that did, however, experienced great changes in their job roles and responsibilities to the extent that all of them now work virtually full time as social service professionals in the jail.

While the sheriff was instrumental in introducing the reform program to the jail and allowing correctional officers under his jurisdiction to develop new work roles for themselves, some participants in the Model Education Program indicated that they would have valued even greater participation and direct involvement on the part of the sheriff in the overall operations of the program.



CHAPTER IV

CAN A JAIL BECOME AN "OPEN" INSTITUTION AND ESTABLISH
COMMUNITY TIES THAT FACILITATE THE REINTEGRATION
OF INMATES BACK INTO THEIR COMMUNITIES?



Having examined the first major goal of the Model Education Program, to change the social climate of the jail, we can now concentrate on the degree to which the new environment has affected the quality of the jail's ties with the outside community. In opening the jail up to the community and community resources, it was hoped that a comprehensive program of educational and vocational opportunities could be developed such that the incarcerated offender could prepare himself for successful reintegration back into a productive and crime-free life in society. The Model Education Program was based on the premise that the jail should not duplicate or replace services that the community and community agencies were set up to provide. Instead its objective was to provide a site for bringing those services into the jail and whenever possible be a support and advocate system for inmates in going into the community to take advantage of opportunities available outside of jail.

What do we mean when we use the term "community" and how can one determine if the jail has become a community-based correctional facility? In addressing these issues, reference will be made to a conceptualization of community-based corrections developed by Robert Coates. By community we do not refer to the usual geographic area, or, a group of people sharing similar ideas or a "we" spirit. Rather, "community means the smallest local territory which incorporates a network of relationships providing most of the goods and services required by per-

sons living within the boundaries of the territory."¹ According to this definition, it is essential that the jail become a part of this network of relationships because, alone, the jail cannot provide for all the needs of its population. It is necessary to establish contact with other community agencies as well as with individual members of the community. This entails opening the jail to outsiders as well as allowing inmates outside into the larger community. Both components are essential if the inmates are to develop strong ties with the community. Those outsiders functioning in the jail as counselors, change agents, teachers, and so forth, serve as a support base for the inmates initially, but upon his eventual release, he will have to expand his circle of acquaintances and fend for himself. By going out into the community while still "doing time", the inmate can begin the difficult task of establishing or strengthening associations that will facilitate a successful reintegration into society. In addition to having the opportunity to develop more ties in the community, he will also be able to begin to readjust to the "free world" slowly rather than overwhelmed by new circumstances upon release, as is the usual situation.

Coates has developed the concept of a continuum from the least community-based to the most community-based facility. The factors considered in determining the degree to which a pro-

¹Coates, Robert B., Miller, Alden D., and Ohlin, Lloyd E., "Juvenile Correctional Reform in Massachusetts," A Preliminary Report of the Center for Criminal Justice of the Harvard Law School, p. 23.

gram is community-based are: frequency, duration, and quality of relationships with the community. This continuum draws distinctions among many so-called community programs. For example, a half-way house located in a residential neighborhood can be just as closed an institution as any large walled-in jail if relationships with the surrounding community are not established.

Two essential aspects of community-based programs--allowing outsiders into the jail and allowing inmates outside--inevitably complicate the traditional job of correctional staff. They face closer scrutiny and they have to deal with a new group of people who may not be familiar with the daily operational difficulties of maintaining the security and discipline of a jail. These outsiders also place new security burdens on the correctional staff. They must be searched when entering the building and kept track of while they interact with inmates. Goldfarb refers to this problem by writing that the "absence of programs in jails seem to derive less from a lack of resources than from a lack of imagination. Most jailors prefer to exclude outsiders from jails, citing the troublesome problems of guarding extra people and searching visitors for contraband. The easiest course is to keep inmates locked in their cells where they can be guarded with the least amount of effort."²

²Goldfarb, Ronald, Jails, Anchor Books, New York, 1976, p. 8.

Inmates going out into the community also presents a challenge to the traditional view of corrections. How can the correctional staff maintain security and protect society from inmates entrusted to their care if these very same inmates are allowed to go to work on their own, attend classes at universities and work on the jail grounds with only minimum surveillance? In addition to these job complications, another element of community-based corrections introduces a new twist to the correctional officers job role: it requires him to become an advocate for the inmate. It becomes necessary for jail staff to participate in the process of matching clients with existing community resources. It also becomes part of their job to work with the community to generate resources where they are lacking.³

Why, one might ask, has this concern for community-based corrections developed? Glaser provides a general maxim that addresses this issue: "never set apart from the community, any more than can possibly be avoided, those whom you wish someday to bring safely back into the community."⁴

In this chapter, we will examine the degree to which community relationships have been developed between the jail, the Model Education Program, individual community members and community agencies which provide many of the resources needed by in-

³Coates, op.cit., p. 8.

⁴Glaser, Daniel, "Corrections of Adult Offenders in the Community," in Lloyd E. Ohlin, Prisoners In America, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973, p. 116.

mates both upon release and during incarceration. We will first examine the issue of whether or not a jail can be opened in order to provide reintegration opportunities for its inmates. Further background data on inmates will be presented before we look at the extent of inmate participation in reintegration programs and the perceptions inmates have of these programs as legitimate goals of the jail and Model Education Program. We will also discuss the inmates perceptions of the effects of the reintegrative programs on their lives and then examine the quality of interactions and relationships between inmates and the outside community.

This chapter will also focus on the degrees of participation of individual community members and community agency personnel in jail programs. Discussion will be separated into the three following areas: the extent of outside involvement with jail programs, the impact of this outside involvement on the jail, and the impact of this involvement on the community agencies.

Before addressing these issues, it might be helpful first to summarize the types of reintegrative programs operating at the jail and also to describe the various community agencies that have been involved with the jail. It can be argued that all the programs at the jail have the overall objective of facilitating the eventual reintegration of the client population in that they are geared to providing inmates with skills (personal,

vocational, and educational) that will be of use when they return to their communities. We will, therefore, categorize the programs according to the type of skills being stressed and the degree to which the programs are directly linked to actual community contact.

Personal and interpersonal skills are developed through programs and committees within the Model Education Program that strive to provide the inmates with responsible roles in the daily operations of the upstairs program as well as in some decision sharing procedures effecting the overall jail operation.

In the Wednesday Night Meetings, inmates are urged to air grievances and problems that are pertinent to daily life in the jail. This form of open meeting stresses the validity of the individual inmate's point of view and helps to strengthen the self-image of those incarcerated as well as to provide an effective forum for problem solving and decision making. Along the same lines, attendance of inmates at Model Education Program staff meetings is encouraged and inmate representatives are elected to serve on the Educational Policy Committee, which determines the courses to be offered at the jail. Through participation in these components of the Model Education Program, inmates gain experience in exercising responsibility and expressing their points of view--skills that will, hopefully, help him in his post-release life. Other programs aimed at building inmate life skills and improving self-concept are: 1) Alcoholics Anonymous, 2) Self-help Drug

Group, 3) Counseling, offered by both the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission and the Department of Mental Health, 4) the Inmate Communication Center, 5) Governance Board, 6) the Sheriff's Committee (a later form of the original Governance Board), and 7) After-Care Group. These programs all function within the jail; however, various outsiders do come into the jail to participate in some of these programs. Two other activities specifically meant to build a positive self-image in inmates involve leaving the jail grounds to some extent. These are a chapter of the Jay Cees, which operate at the jail but sometimes has members participate in functions outside, and a sports program with a basketball and football team that compete in an intra-city league.

These programs are geared toward providing basic vocational skills and jobs for inmates. These are 1) vocational instruction, 2) work release, and 3) the Belchertown Program. Vocational instruction takes place in a renovated garage that is on jail grounds but apart from the main building. The vocational program offers instruction in mechanics, welding, carpentry, and electronics. Work release and the Belchertown Project allow inmates to establish contacts outside the jail in full-time, in-service training and regular employment.

The educational components of the Model Education program, like the vocational programs, can also be separated into in-house and out-of-jail programs. Adult Basic Educational classes prepare inmates for the General Equivalency Diploma. Mini-survival

CONTINUED

2 OF 4

courses and college courses are also taught at the jail and are open to the outside community as well. An individual can arrange college credit for these in-jail courses through the University Without Walls Program at the University of Massachusetts. Educational release programs allow the inmates to leave the jail to attend classes at one of the colleges which has a working relationship with the Model Education Program.

Table IV-1 shows the degree of inmates participating in programs. Inmates were asked to indicate the programs in which they had participated during their period of incarceration at the Berkshire Jail.

Table IV-1: Participation in Model Education Program

<u>Program</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent of Inmate Participation*</u>
Wednesday Night Meeting	34	43
Staff Meetings	18	23
Educational Policy Committee	25	31
A. A.	25	31
Drug Group	28	35
Counseling	26	33
Inmate Communication Center	12	15
Jay Cees	18	23
After-Care Group	13	16
Belchertown	12	15
Voc-Ed.	30	38
Work Release	12	15
Adult Basic Education	28	35
Survival	24	30
College	18	23
University Without Walls	4	5
Educational Release	18	23
Other	12	15

*Inmates often participate in more than one program.

The community agencies working with the inmates can be classified according to the degree of contact they have with inmates inside and outside the jail. For example, a counselor from the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission visits the jail three days a week to work with inmates. The agency provides some medical care, counseling, and training for inmates. In addition to this in-house component, the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission also provides outside support services for released inmates in the form of housing allowances and counseling. Other agencies such as Family Advocates, Berkshire Mental Health, the Division of Employment Security, and the Department of Education provide counseling and instruction at the jail. Representatives of these groups also continue to work with inmates after their release from the jail. CETA provides funds for the hiring of staff and for some instruction. As mentioned above, the University of Massachusetts and Berkshire Community College accept inmates for enrollment in classes at their respective campuses, thus allowing the educational release program to exist. A support base in the form of Project Re-Entry now exists on the University of Massachusetts campus. This program is run by former Berkshire inmates and helps inmates on educational release plan their schedules as well as assists them in coping with the problems encountered in the new academic life. The traditional criminal justice agencies, the County Probation Department and State Parole also interact with inmates at the jail. Their roles are fairly well defined but, as will be seen, representatives from these agencies are also engaged in some innovative programming in cooperation with the Model Education Pro-

gram.

In determining the type of programs that are most beneficial to a particular inmate population, it is important to look again at some background data of the inmates. The age, skills, and educational levels of the population will, to a large degree, dictate the general areas in which the jail personnel should focus their energies. Tables IV-2 and IV-3 summarize pertinent variables.

Table IV-2: Inmate Age Distribution

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
17 - 19	19	24
20 - 24	26	33
25 - 29	17	21
over 30	<u>18</u>	<u>22</u>
	80	101

Table IV-3: Prior Record

<u>Previous Record</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
yes	64	80
no	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>
	80	100

Table IV-4: Inmate Educational Level

<u>Years of School*</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
less than 8	11	14
9 - 11	37	46
12	21	26
13 - 14	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>
	80	100

*Twelve years of school does not necessarily imply graduation or the receipt of a high school diploma.

Table IV-5: Length of Sentence

<u>Number of Months</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 - 3	8	11
4 - 6	17	22
7 - 12	23	31
13 - 24	14	18
over 24	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>
	76*	100

*Data missing for four subjects.

With an inmate population as young as this one, with previous police records and with low levels of education, it is safe to assume that they would be severely disadvantaged in competing in the job market. Without intervention and assistance,

there is a high probability that many of these individuals would become recidivists. However, their young age is also an asset because it makes them eligible for entry-level job positions. The Model Education Program hoped to build on this particular asset by improving their educational levels, exposing them to different vocational options, or both.

The following table offers data that also has bearing on the attempt to make the Model Education Program facilitate reintegration of offenders. It identifies inmates' perceived goals of their incarceration experience.

Table IV-6: Inmate Identification of Goals of the Jail
and the Model Education Program

<u>Goals</u>	<u>Jail</u>	<u>MEP</u>
Rehabilitative/Reintegrative	50%	85%
Retributive/Punitive	31%	2%
Other	<u>19%</u>	<u>13%</u>
Total	100%	100%

Table IV-6 shows, that while inmates make a distinction between the goals of the jail and of the Model Education Program, the great majority do acknowledge a rehabilitative or reintegrative goal in their situation.

In Chapter III, which considered the change in the social climate within the jail, some discussion focused on the difference in how inmates spent their time in the block and how they spent it "upstairs." It was also noted in that chapter that before the Model Education Program, inmates generally spent their days idling their time away. At the time of this evaluation, though, several sources indicated that inmates were frequently and actively involved in meetings, classes, and workshops. Inmates now had the choice of whether to "hang around" in the block or engage in some MEP activity. They were no longer "forced" to spend their time doing nothing. Programs and activities existed in the jail that could, presumably, help inmates realize the reintegrative-rehabilitative goals they had identified as being part of the jail and the Model Education Program. Sixty-four percent of the inmates highly involved in MEP said that they spent their time working on projects or in classes. Six percent of the "minimally involved" said they spent their time this way. Clearly, it was up to the individual inmate to take advantage of program offerings or not.

A brief review of several case histories will indicate the types of changes that some inmates have undergone at least in part because of their involvement with the program.

One inmate came to the Berkshire Jail just as the Model Education Program was beginning. He did not have his high school diploma and had no established skill. Rather than playing cards all day he got involved in the Model Education Program and began

taking courses. After several months he became a member of the first group of inmates and correctional staff to attend classes at the University of Massachusetts. At the time of the evaluation, he had been parolled for 2 years, was still enrolled at the University and needed only two semesters to graduate. He was actively working for Project Re-Entry. (See Chapter I.)

Another inmate was transferred from the Massachusetts Correctional Institute at Concord to the Berkshire Jail after participating in the Berkshire-Concord Program. (See Chapter I.) He, too, became involved in classes in the program, became very much involved in the drug group, and learned the skill of grant writing. While still an inmate, he was quite successful in procuring grants to implement new programs as well as keep others going. Upon parole, he was hired as a full-time employee by the Model Education Program. He is now employed by the Berkshire Mental Health Department.

A third example is of an inmate who spent relatively little time at the jail, but from early in his sentence worked in the Belchertown program (See Chapter I.) and became very interested in working with retarded children. He began independent reading in the field, and was hired upon release to work full time at the Belchertown State School. He subsequently enrolled at the University of Massachusetts as a full-time student to pursue a degree in special education while continuing to work part time at Belchertown.

These cases illustrate the type of impact that the availability of positive alternatives can have on an individual inmate. Not all who participated were influenced to this extent, but the majority of those participating were apparently affected to some degree. The way in which inmates feel they have been affected by their involvement in the Model Education Program is illustrated in the following tables:

Table IV-7: "Has the Model Education Program provided you with a useful, legitimate skill which will help you in the community?"

<u>Skill</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
yes	30	46
no	<u>35</u>	<u>54</u>
Total	65	100

Table IV-8: "If yes, what sort of skill has the Model Education Program provided you?"

<u>Type of Skill</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Vocational	17	57
Educational	5	17
Other	<u>8</u>	<u>26</u>
	30	100

Table IV-9: (Inmates) "How much do you feel that the program will help you in not returning to jail?"

(Correctional Offices) "How much to you feel the program helps inmates not to return to jail?"

	<u>Inmate</u>		<u>Correctional Staff</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A lot	24	37	1	4
Some	15	23	10	37
Very little	10	15	11	41
None	<u>16</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>18</u>
Totals	65	100	27	100

Another factor has bearing on the extent to which inmates are helped to develop reintegration ties to the community. It is the extent to which new relationships with Model Education Program staff and community agency personnel work to provide a support base for the inmate when he is released. We find that more than half of the inmates have developed at least one friendship with a Model Education Program staff member; over a fourth have formed a relationship with a community agency representative. It seems likely that these relationships affect the possibility of successful reintegration.

Table IV-10: "Have you developed any close friends while you have been here?" With which group?"

<u>Type of Friendship</u>	<u>Number of Inmates Establishing One or More Friendship</u>	<u>Percent of 80 Inmates Establishing One or More Friendship</u>
Model Education Program staff	43	55
Correctional staff	38	48
Community agency staff	23	29

During the period of participant observation, one individual who had established close ties with the Model Education Program staff and several community agency personnel returned to the jail almost daily for one week after his release. This individual had no family or friends in the community and consequently, people associated with the jail were the only people he knew he could depend on. Had he not formed these relationships, the problems and self-doubts encountered in the first week after release could very easily have overwhelmed him. Instead, the freedom to return to the familiar surroundings of the jail and interact with his friends provided him with the support base he otherwise would have lacked. This support base may very well have been a crucial factor in keeping him from returning to crime at that crucial and difficult time of transition. It also points up the value of the Model Education Program's provision that allowed released inmates to return to the jail to continue to participate in program activities. Typically, correctional facilities do not allow released inmates back in as visitors, presumably for fear that they will

bring in contraband or somehow be a negative influence on incarcerated inmates. Breaking with this correctional tradition appears, from observational data, to be a highly significant factor in the success of reintegration programs and it draws attention to the benefits to be derived from making a jail a more "open" institution. A certain portion of inmates have been in correctional facilities as long that they hardly know any other home. The freedom to return periodically may well be the deciding factor in enabling them to make a successful transition to civilian life. In addition to assisting in the individual inmate's reintegrative process, allowing ex-inmates to come back, visit and participate in programs, also apparently has the further benefit of making positive role models to those still incarcerated.

Beyond examining the degree to which inmates participate in reintegrative programs, it is also vital to review the extent to which the outside community is involved in these same programs. Without outside participation, reintegrative components of the jail will not be as effective. To what extent are outsiders, both individuals and community agency personnel involved with inmates and programs in the Berkshire Jail?

The original Model Education Program staff set as one of the high priority program objectives, the opening up of the jail to outside groups, including individual members of the community, community service agencies (Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, CETA, Department of Mental Health, and so on), commu-

nity organizations, (such as church groups and the Jay Cees), and former inmates.

Before the Model Education Program began, outside contact with the community was limited primarily to visits by families and friends of some inmates. Other than that, state and county parole people, a few community agency groups (Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, Berkshire Community College) and representatives from church groups were essentially the only outsiders who ever came into the jail. During the period of MEP participant observation, a wide variety of new people began to come into the jail--teachers, more community agency representatives; community people attending classes; a college class from Southern Vermont College, who visited as a part of course work and were allowed to interact freely with the inmates; a local high school group; and representatives from another jail who wished to inspect the Model Education Program. In fact, on any given weekday, the participant observer consistently saw several outside groups or representatives at the jail. For instance, a Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission counselor was present three days a week, a representative from Family Advocates was there two days a week, various church groups visited throughout the week, and meetings with various community agency groups were held at the jail.

One method that was used to achieve this degree of outside participation was the offering of college credited courses at the jail. Another was to invite individual community members

as well as agency personnel to attend the Wednesday Night Meetings.

Data in the inmate interviews also confirm this outside participation in the jail. Forty percent of the inmates stated that they had been involved in a class or program in which a member of the community had also been in attendance.

Data collected on the General Interview Form also revealed that outsiders spent a considerable amount of time at the jail and had a lot of interaction with the inmates. Table IV-11 presents the degree of contact these outsiders had with the various groupings within the jail. When asked about the history of the interaction between the community agencies and the jail, the respondents generally mentioned that either there had been no contact before the Model Education Program or the amount of contact had increased and caseloads had become larger after the Model Education Program began in 1973.

Table IV-11: How often do you have contact with the various groups in the jail?

<u>Frequency of Contact</u>	<u>Inmates</u>	<u>Correctional Officers</u>	<u>Model Education Staff</u>	<u>Jail Administration</u>	<u>Other Community Agency Personnel</u>
Daily	11%	6%	14%	3%	3%
Frequently	70%	42%	50%	30%	61%
Sometimes	5%	30%	14%	3%	12%
Infrequently	11%	16%	22%	39%	18%
None	<u>3%</u>	<u>6%</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>25%</u>	<u>6%</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table IV-11 shows that the correctional staff and administrators have less contact with outsiders than inmates. Other data reveals that correctional staff generally agree that "community groups are willing to interact with inmates." Seventy-six percent of them agreed with that statement. Though the correctional officers do not have as much contact with the outsiders, they are still aware that people in the community are advocating for and helping the inmates.

The inmates, it seems did not feel that community members actually spent a lot of time at the jail. However, time is relative, and to someone who is essentially confined to the inside of the jail, every bit of contact with the outside world is valued. Even when this outside contact consists of eight hours of educational release a day, the remainder of the day in which one is locked up may still take on a disproportionate quality. This might help to explain why 63 percent of the inmates disagreed with the statement that "members of the outside community spend a lot of time at the jail" when other data indicate that they do.

One aspect of the Model Education Program that involved the public was the creation of a national advisory board made up of local and national members. Quite a number of those who served on this Board were nationally known figures in the criminal justice field. (See Appendix V for a listing of advisory board members.) As mentioned in Chapter I, the role of the board was to provide critical feedback concerning the progress of the program.

Additionally, it was to hold the program, the program staff, the jail staff and inmates accountable for their actions.

A general consensus among identified observers agreed on the value of having this group of people involved on a regular basis. Their regular meetings, in the jail, held semi-annually, were seen by these observers as providing greater leverage to the program in relation to the overall jail and as giving inmates and "highly involved" correctional officers self-confidence and a boost in their enthusiasm about the progress of the program.

However, it was also stated that this emphasis on a national board tended to distract attention from the necessity of developing a local community board that could presumably have had a longer term effect. The national advisory board had relatively few local citizens. Consequently, the national advisory board was dependent on rather large sums for travel expenses to convene a meeting at the jail. Obviously, this was an aspect of the Model Education Program that could not be on-going. Presumably a local advisory board, if it had been formed, could have become an on-going and stable facet of the program. This might have proved a great asset in developing greater community support and acceptance of the innovative projects being developed in relation to the Model Education Program. One community agency representative specifically mentioned the liability of having no community board and also mentioned the "lack of a program of public information."

Another way in which the jail was open to outsiders was through the "student-inmate" program in which students from the University of Massachusetts received credit for "serving 90-day jail sentences" at Berkshire. This program is described at length in Chapter V. Briefly, this program helped generate an acceptance of the presence of outsiders in the jail during the early stages of the Model Education Program when this presence was seen as an annoyance and threat by most correctional officers.

What has been the impact on the jail of these various changes in the degree of openness and accessibility of the jail to members of the outside community? For one thing, correctional officers' job duties have been affected. Not only were more outsiders coming into the jail, more inmates were going out, and more inmates were free to move about the building. The increase in the sheer volume of traffic in and around the jail necessitated more locking and unlocking of doors. There was also a greater concern about security. Another major change in the duties of the correctional staff was the expectation that they now become an advocate for the inmates. Officers were expected to provide a supportive environment for inmates and assist in locating community resources. (Along with inmates, correctional staff were shown how to look for program grants from the government, local agencies, and foundations.) Inmate responses to a question asking whether or not the Model Education Program staff and the correctional staff help inmates get jobs on the outside indicate that both groups are perceived as advocating for the inmates. Eighty-four percent

say the Model Education Program staff help at least some of the time; 40 percent say correctional staff do. The officers seem a bit more positive about their role. Sixty-two percent of them agree with the statement that they help inmates get jobs on the outside. This represents a small increase from the time before the Model Education Program when half of the officers felt that as officers they helped inmates get jobs on the outside.

Inherent in the nature of the Model Education Program is the fact that it should also have some impact on the local community agencies and their representatives as well as changing the jail. The community people interviewed for this study were asked what personal benefits they had derived from working at the jail. Seventy-seven percent responded that their understanding of corrections and criminal justice had increased, or that they had experienced personal growth or satisfaction in their association with the jail. One community agency representative said that his role at the jail was one of the most interesting aspects of his job. It is a fair assumption that these people perform their job duties better now that they find it more personally satisfying. This apparent raised level of employee satisfaction must in itself be considered a benefit for the agencies.

One frequently mentioned consideration in response to the General Interview Form was the fact that community agency personnel felt that the Model Education Program had enabled them to do their job better. They identified four ways in which it did this--by

providing them a site to deliver services, by providing access to the client population, by allowing cooperation with other community agencies whose shared goals now allowed more efficient delivery of services, and by allowing them to develop and broaden the level of their services to inmates, including the opportunity to introduce experimental programs in a cooperative and energetic environment. Other added benefits mentioned were that the existence of the Model Education Program helped community agency staff by being a mechanism by which inmate needs could be identified and expressed. Also, the MEP was a mechanism by which potential inmate participants could be, in effect, preselected and prescreened by the program staff. It should be noted here that all program participation in Model Education Program activities was according to a self-select system by inmates. However, informal processes by which participation evolved helped to insure that those inmates who self-selected themselves had a sincere interest and the capability to make a success of a specific program.

The existence of supportive personnel at the jail also helped to facilitate the carrying out of services. The result was that community agency representatives also began to interact better both within the jail and with each other. Several people commented on this, saying they'd never before seen agency staffs work as collaborately as they were at the Berkshire Jail. The organization of an "after-care group" in the fall of 1976 is an example of this collaboration. Representatives from the inmates, Model Education Program staff, the County Parole Department,

Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, State Parole, Division of Employment Security, and Family Advocates all attended weekly meetings to organize a systematic after-care plan that would, ultimately, begin the first day of incarceration and continue in the community as long after release as necessary. By the end of the participant observation period, a pilot group of twelve inmates and caseworkers had been selected to implement the new after-care plan. One community agency representative said, "The way agencies have been able to work together in this program is unlike anything I've seen before." A representative of the Family Advocacy Project said, "My agency is a small one and it is most effective when it can align itself with other agencies like it is able to do in the Model Education Program." Family Advocates offered a service geared particularly to helping the families of incarcerated inmates.

A State Parole officer mentioned that an inmate's participation in the Model Education Program provided a measuring rod to assess sincerity. However, other interviews with State Parole representatives indicated that they had some disagreements with the methodology and philosophy of the Model Education Program. This may have stemmed in part from opposing views about the use of correctional reform programs. The Model Education Program held to the premise that program offerings should not be used as "carrot and stick" mechanisms to control behavior. They felt that if program opportunities were offered as a means of rewarding good behavior and as a way of punishing bad behavior by withdrawing

them, then the original assumption on which the entire reintegration process was based--that of self-motivation and responsibility of the individual inmate--would be compromised. Some parole representatives apparently did not see eye to eye with this correctional philosophy. However, one local county parole officer mentioned in the interview that, as a result of working in cooperation with the Model Education Program, he now "sees inmates in a different light," and is "less negative about their potential."

A Department of Education representative commented that his agency had not had any contact with the jail that he knew of before the Model Education Program, and that the Program "allowed the Department of Education to do something for an agency (the jail), that they hadn't been serving." He dated the beginning of his agency's involvement back to the time when the staff of Model Education Program approached him and asked to have one of its staff members certified to give GED High School equivalency tests.

The Director of the Adult Clinic of the local Mental Health office said, "The mandate of Berkshire Mental Health is to serve the adults and children of Berkshire County. The jail is part of that community and as such they should be served." The Director of the Pittsfield Office of the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission explained:

Our office was providing services to the jail before the Model Education Program, but the

difference was that when the Model Education Program became involved, the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission's services became more solidified. The Model Education Program could provide services that Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission couldn't and they helped the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission services to bear fruit. Vocational-educational services are most helpful when 'the whole person' is being dealt with. In this way the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission relies on the Model Education Program as much as the Model Education Program relies on the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission.

Summary

The Model Education Program had as one of its goals the "opening" of the jail to enable community ties which would further the possibility of successful reintegration of inmates back into society. Allowing community representatives and community agencies into the jail to deliver services in cooperation with the Model Education Program and allowing inmates to go out into the community to participate in programs offered there was seen as an important means of preparing an inmate to return to a productive role in society and reduce the likelihood of recidivism.

The Model Education Program introduced a wide variety of programs and mechanisms for inmate and correctional officer involvement in the reintegration process. Overall, it was assumed that reintegration programs would have a much greater chance of success if they were offered as part of a comprehensive effort and given the back up of the Model Education Program which could pro-

vide guidance, coordination and support. Internal programmatic mechanisms of the Model Education Program, such as the Wednesday Night Meetings, the Governance Board and a drug group were seen as helping inmates with "life skills" and as a way of improving their self-image. Programs of educational opportunity and vocational training were seen as means of giving inmates access into careers and the job market. The Model Education Program was based on the premise that as much as possible these programs should be offered to inmates by existing community agencies already set up with the systems and resources to provide them. The Model Education Program would act as an advocate in developing such programs in relation to expressed inmate needs and helping with effective delivery of these services.

Data, reported by the inmates, indicated a high degree of participation in these programs, ranging from a low of five percent of the inmates participating in the University of Massachusetts' University Without Walls college credit program to 43 percent participating in the regular Wednesday Night, all-jail "town meeting." Data also show that the majority of inmates identify "rehabilitative-reintegration" goals as the primary purpose of their incarceration experience. Forty-six percent felt the Model Education Program had given them a skill that would help them in the community and 37 percent felt that the program would help them "a lot" in not returning to jail.

A particularly interesting component of this "open" jail

policy allows released inmates to return to the jail to visit friends (staff or inmates) and to continue to participate in specific programs. This is contrary to traditional corrections policy. In the Berkshire Jail, however, it has apparently been very important in allowing ex-offenders to make a gradual adjustment to "free society." Many apparently do not have relationships on the outside any where near as positive and supportive of them as the ones they developed in jail and in connection with their participation in the Model Education Program.

The Berkshire Jail is apparently also much more open to a range of outside participation now, including everything from visits by school groups, who are allowed to interact freely with inmates, to regular service visits by a variety of community social service agency representatives.

A National Advisory Board was created of well known figures in corrections to provide guidance and encouragement to program participants through biannual meetings. While this was seen as a valued asset, it was also considered of less value than what could have been accomplished by the creation of a local community board. A local community board would have strengthened ties between the jail and the community and conducted a much needed information dissemination program, educating the local citizens about correctional issues.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this new openness

of the jail carried a specific set of new problems for the jail's correctional staff, who not only faced complications in their custodial and security responsibilities, but were also expected to act as advocates for inmates, providing support and helping them make use of local community resources.

This new openness also apparently had a significant impact on the various community service agencies who got involved, and generally enabled them to better provide the specific services they had been mandated to offer. These agencies included such groups as the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, the Department of Education, the Parole Board, CETA, the Department of Labor, Berkshire Community College, Jay Cees, and so on. The Model Education Program offered them: 1) a site to provide services, 2) access to inmates, 3) an opportunity to cooperate with other community agencies in the delivery of services, and 4) an opportunity to try out new and experimental programs within a cooperative and energetic environment. The delivery of services was also improved because of a preselection of participants, which evolved through close relationships between individual inmates and Model Education Program staff. Overall, community agencies affirmed the benefits of working in cooperation with a jail-based, comprehensive program that emphasized making services meet the needs of the "whole person."

CHAPTER V

CAN AN EXTERNAL CHANGE AGENT SUCH AS A UNIVERSITY FUNCTION AS A
CHANGE AGENT IN ASSISTING REFORM IN A JAIL?

Before evaluating the participation of the University of Massachusetts in the change effort at the Berkshire Jail, two basic questions need to be addressed. First, what is the role of corrections, and second, what is the role of the university in relation to corrections?

Glaser has identified the task of corrections as being the reduction or termination of the behavior that was presumed to have justified the labelling of a person as delinquent or criminal by a judicial system.¹ Furthermore, "...the ideal is that the criminal should not only be punished, but also helped or improved."² This objective of helping or improving inmates was addressed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1972 with the passage of Chapter 777 of the Massachusetts General Laws. This legislation called for the introduction of work and educational release as well as furlough programs into correctional facilities within the state. In some respects, then, correctional institutions might be considered social service agencies that exist, at least partially, to provide support and services not only to inmates but also indirectly to the community at large.

What is or should be the role of a university in rela-

¹Glaser, Daniel, "Corrections of Adult Offenders in the Community" in Lloyd E. Ohlin, Prisoners In America, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1973.

²Irwin, John, "Adaptation to Being Corrected: Corrections from the Convict's Perspective", Handbook of Criminology, Daniel Glaser, ed., Rand McNally, Chicago, 1974, p. 971-993.

tion to this concept of correctional institutions? The history of higher education is largely one of elitism, traditionalism and the pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge. In the more recent years, however, various movements have sought to make universities more accountable to the surrounding communities and have them respond to pressing social needs. In 1862, the Land Grant College Act was passed with the intent of helping to "support at least one college in each state where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific or classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."³ This notion of involving universities in instruction of a vocational nature received further elaboration in 1932 when a college administrator wrote,

"...the great responsibility resting on our institutions of higher education is that of assisting the American people to understand the shifting currents of the times and to organize an educational program which will best serve humanity, ...It is understanding life, and in the light of that understand, organizing a curriculum which will orient the students into that life and train them to be citizens as well as workers in a republic."⁴

After a period of much student unrest in the late 60's, a study of the future of the University of Massachusetts was undertaken. The paper that resulted called for "a coherent public service policy, including efforts to assure that public service activities

³Polk, Kenneth, The University and Corrections: Potential for Collaborative Relationships, Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Washington, D.C., 1969, p. 14-16.

⁴Ibid.

serve a University purpose as well as a public purpose."

It would appear, that at least to a certain extent, universities and corrections have similar goals and objectives, though they traditionally serve different populations.

Additionally, there appears to have been a slow but steadily increasing movement towards more contact with the community on the part of both types of institutions. Acknowledging this similarity in objectives provides a basis for evaluating the role of the University of Massachusetts in developing an innovative correctional reform program in the Berkshire Jail. It is important to determine the quality of the relationship between these two agencies because "...the extent to which knowledge can be effectively utilized by practitioners and clients--especially knowledge provided for social change--depends to a great extent on the nature of the relationship between the client and change agent."⁵

One of the first questions that any jail administrator is likely to ask himself before contemplating collaboration with an outside agency in a reform project, is, "How is this going to effect the daily operations of my jail?" A sheriff naturally wants to know not only the procedural changes he should antici-

⁵Bennis, W. G., Bennis, K. K., and Chin, R., "Collaboration and Conflict," The Planning of Change, New York, Holt, Rinehard and Winston, Inc., p. 5.

pate, but also how his staff will be affected by the presence of outsiders working in the jail. The introduction of outside change agents can bring with it personality problems, tensions and misunderstandings. The change agents in the Model Education Program, coming as they had from a university, had a certain image that preceded them. University professionals often have the reputation of being liberal do-gooders who stir up trouble and then leave when the going gets rough, when they get bored, or no longer have personal professional motivations to stay. In retrospect, participants recalled that this was a major problem at the outset of the program in 1973. Of those responding to a question on the General Interview Form which asked, "What do you see were the major problems for U-Mass when the project began?" Twenty-four percent mentioned the problems were attributable to the university team being from a university. Another 24 percent referred to problems stemming from a lack of support or understanding on the jail's part toward the new program.

A significant number of correctional officers said that nothing was done originally to resolve the problems and differences caused by the University. Forty-three percent mentioned that it was only through informal means that resolution to problems were attempted. It appears as if in their eagerness, the U-Mass team forgot a basic tenet of change: "Even at the very best--when change is mutually desirable and rational--a basic risk factor remains. For clients to take risks, to take new,

even radical steps, support, help, trust are required."⁶ As a consequence, it took more than three-and-a-half years for a show of support and trust to be displayed by the correctional officers. Interestingly, this began to happen only after the U-Mass team had terminated their change agent role at the jail. This correctional officer participation could perhaps have come earlier had more of an effort been made to establish a level of trust between the staff and the university change team at the outset.

Resistance on the jail's part came primarily from correctional officers who saw the possibility that their jobs would become more difficult to perform. Questionnaire respondents said, "the jail staff thought it would be a breach of security," and, "the program antagonized the officers because when they asked the inmates to do work, they would say they had to study." Others felt that a major problem for the jail was the misunderstanding of the program by the correctional officers. They commented, "the correctional officers felt that U-Mass was coddling the inmates"; "the jail staff felt threatened by U-Mass"; and "the jail people didn't see the value of the program."

Although the Model Educational Program was set up to incorporate correctional staff and to work collaboratively with them, in interviews, correctional officers mentioned frequently

⁶Bennis, W. G., Benne, K. D., and Chin, R., "Collaboration and Conflict, in Bennis et al, The Planning of Change, New York, Hold, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., p. 148

that they felt the inmates were being coddled and given everything while they, the guards, were being ignored. Data from the community interviews support the contention that not enough work was done initially to inform the correctional staff about the program and the possible consequences of its implementation. In response to what could have been done differently to avoid problems, most suggestions concerned working more closely with jail staff.

On a more positive note, such things as the grant proposal and the funding that enabled the initial implementation of the Model Education Program were greatly facilitated by the participation of the university. It was a School of Education assistant professor who conceptualized the program and a university graduate student who wrote the grant proposal. Their skills and contacts were probably essential in getting the program off the ground. Once the funding period began, university resources in the way of people, facilities, and contacts were also important. Data from the General Interview Form support this statement: 42 percent of the respondents stated that the university's resources, both academic and financial, were a major advantage contributing to the success of the Model Education Program. Another 26 percent of the respondents made special reference to the "creative thinking" provided by the university people. Additionally, in the initial stages of the program, the possibility of getting a college degree served as a catalyst in motivating participation by inmates, correctional officers, and jail administrators to be involved in the program. It helped counteract some of the initial

suspensions toward the university as an external change agent. The ability of the university team to deliver on what they promised as far as concrete resources apparently made a difference in building credibility in the jail.

The student-inmate program was perhaps one of the most novel aspects of the University of Massachusetts' involvement in the Berkshire Jail. It was a program in which undergraduate students lived for a semester each in the Berkshire County Jail under the same conditions and restrictions as the sentenced inmates. The staff and inmates of the jail were aware that the students were there under the auspices of U-Mass and in connection with the Model Education Program. No attempt was made to hide their identity, but by the same token, they were given no special privileges. They lived in the cell block like regular inmates, went to meals, participated in Model Education Programs, and were supervised by correctional officers in the same manner as everyone else in the jail. Prior to entering the program, they were individually screened by the MEP staff. They each received 15 credits for their internship. They were asked to keep a daily log of their experiences and observations. Other than that, the Model Education Program's expectations of them were relatively unstructured. Students were encouraged to participate in all programs that were available to sentenced inmates in the hopes that their participation might prove an incentive and role model for other inmates in the block. From June 1973 through March 1976, a total of 18 students, 12 males and six females, lived in the jail during six, 90-

day periods.

The student-inmate program was designed to be of benefit both to the students and to the Model Education Program. For the students it would be an experiential educational period possibly in preparation for careers in social service fields. For the Model Education Program, it was to be a way of building a strong link of trust and communications with the inmates. It should be noted that in sponsoring student-inmates to live in the cell block, the Model Education Program was demonstrating its commitment to an "open" institution. Also, it was hoped that the commitment the students were demonstrating by voluntarily incarcerating themselves would be an indication of the sincerity of the overall Model Education Program.

In evaluating the student-inmate program, it will be helpful to consider the following set of questions: Were the inmates able to gain the trust of inmates as was hoped, or were they viewed suspiciously in the cell block? What was the nature of the relationship between the student-inmate and the correctional officers? Did it create more problems than good in giving an already resistant correctional staff one more innovation to deal with? How did the student-inmate program benefit the Model Education Program? Were there the benefits that had been anticipated? And finally, did it prove to be of educational value to participants?

In order to address these questions, past participants in the student-inmate program were asked to fill out an interview-questionnaire. Twelve inmates, both male and female were personally contacted; seven returned replies. Coincidentally, these seven replies included a representative of each of the six different groups who served three-month "sentences" in the jail. As such, they are helpful in assessing some changes that developed over the three years of the program. Unfortunately, there were no female responses in the sampling, and the data gathered represents only the male participant point of view.

One initial concern in placing student-inmates in the cell block was whether or not they could gain the inmates' trust. The student would conceivably be observing infractions against rules; inmates might be concerned that students were in a position to "rat" on them. The fact that students were to keep daily journals was an additional source of concern. Possibly what the student inmates wrote could be used to the detriment of inmates. These were important issues since the student inmates hoped to have close interaction with inmates for a relatively long period of time.

The questionnaire responses revealed that trust was not as much of a problem as expected. Almost all the respondents reported a period of "testing." One said, "I was tested quite often, initially by inmate 'games,' but after my first few weeks, I was tested by them only as much as I could see they tested each other."

All seven of the respondents indicated they were trusted, and the source of this trust was attributed to the roles the student-inmates adopted while living in the cell block, and the association of the student-inmates with the Model Education Program.

From the very beginning the Model Education Program had established itself as an advocate for inmates. Even in introducing the possibility of the student-inmate program the university staff convened the inmates to get their input and approval. One student-inmate wrote, "The staff of the Model Education Program went to extraordinary lengths to see that each and every aspect of the program had as much inmate input as possible." The trust that inmates felt toward the student-inmates was apparently enhanced by the trust inmates felt toward the overall Model Education Program itself.

An additional factor creating trust was the fact that student inmates slept in the same cells, ate the same meals, and were subjected to the same restrictions as others in the cell block. Each of the student-inmates referred to spending most of his time in the cell block, "hanging around" or "talking with inmates," which is similar to how the inmates report their time is spent in the cell block.

None of the seven respondents indicated that their journals adversely affected their relationships with inmates. This was true regardless of how open or secretive the students were with

regard to their journal entries. Some students said they tried to keep the fact that they were keeping a journal a secret; others referred to their journals as "an open book." The journals characteristically focused on day-to-day life in the institution, on the writer's own process of adapting to jail life, and on an assessment of the Model Education Program. Some students said that they explicitly excluded from their journals any entries that could incriminate inmates.

The presence of student inmates in the jail created a particular set of concerns for correctional officers. For one, officers would not come under daily scrutiny and any abuses by them of their authority could presumably be reported by the students, who might be more believable than an ordinary inmate. Additionally, the presence of the student inmates strengthened the hand of the inmates in what had traditionally been an adversarial relationship with the correctional officers. Furthermore, student-inmates were an unknown and there was the concern that they might create additional security or administration problems. Correctional officers knew that they had no binding legal sanction over student inmates and initially they were concerned that they'd turn out to be trouble makers.

In fact, since student inmates were treated like inmates, their association with correctional officers turned out to be very similar to those of the inmates. Aside from those officers who worked as staff members with the Model Education Program, the stu-

dents' contact with correctional officers generally revolved around the officers' custodial duties. Students were likely to have individual contact with officers only at lock up, in making special requests, or when being let out of the cell block in order to go upstairs to participate in the Model Education Program. None of the students who answered the questionnaire felt that keeping a journal adversely affected their relationships with correctional officers. They reported that most officers were indifferent to or unaware that journals were being kept.

An interesting issue about the correctional officers' trust of inmates shows up in comparing the experience of the early student inmates with those who went in later. The early students reported that the officers did not trust them and tended to be as uncooperative as possible. The later groups did not refer to themselves as being mistrusted by officers. This compares with data that showed that earlier student inmates saw themselves as playing "change roles," while the later groups did not. The later groups of student inmates came into the jail after the Model Education Program had become well established; the earlier ones were more directly involved in the actual change process.

Student-inmate participation in the Model Education Program varied. Some students merely participated in educational and community meetings while others referred to themselves as "institutional change advocates" or "role models." Collectively the students participated in classes and meetings, tutored and

counseled inmates, provided help and training in grant and proposal writing, and generally served as advocates for inmate concerns. Perhaps their largest contribution to the Model Education Program was in less quantifiable terms. They provided an attitude of positivism; they added to inmate self-confidence by respecting them and being friends. They provided role models of what it could be like to succeed in society.

In terms of program development and particularly in the initial stages of the Model Education Program, the marginal status of the students in the cell block was utilized as a communications bridge between the program staff and inmates. Students were helpful in recruiting inmate participation. They were also helpful in vocalizing inmate grievances until inmates learned and trusted in the mechanisms of doing this for themselves.

Thirteen of the 18 students who participated in the student-inmate program were working toward college majors in fields related to criminal justice. Their fields of study included juvenile justice, sociology, legal studies, and psychology. When asked why they participated in the student-inmate program, five of the seven respondents referred to an interest in corrections, institutions, or both. One said, "Having done a number of activities within the field of juvenile corrections, ...I decided that the opportunity to experience (incarceration) first hand would give me a most valuable insight into how and why the juveniles I worked with acted the way they did." Another said,

"I intended to work in the corrections field and wanted to see the inside working of incarceration." A third student inmate explained, "I had been planning a career in corrections and felt that it would give me some valuable insights into what prisoners go through."

The educational aspect of the student-inmate program should not be underestimated in terms of its long-term effect of preparing sensitive and compassionate workers in the criminal justice fields. The student inmate was given a rare opportunity to compare theory with experience. Ideas he may have read about in institutional literature such as Sykes' "pains of imprisonment" or Goffman's "secondary adjustments" are made directly and personally accessible. Many student inmates reported a temporary difficulty readjusting to "free society." Hopefully, when these students go on to become change agents in their respective fields, this sort of personal experience will enlighten their strategies and programs for change. One student explained, "My jail experience has given me valuable insight into the general problem of institutionalization, even as it relates to my present work in the state mental health system." Another wrote, "My experience in the Berkshire Jail....confirmed my interest in criminal justice and stimulated a desire to learn more about the problem of crime." And finally, "... (the program) has inspired me to work in the system to change it...I became aware of 'the end of the line' in the criminal justice system, which is an important thing for people in all parts of the system to experience."

At this point, it might be useful to stand back and evaluate the university's involvement in the jail in terms of two major topics already mentioned--the problem of the lack of correctional officer support and the success of the student-inmate program. Considerable time and money was devoted to developing and carrying out the student-inmate program; considerably less went into the effort to recruit and orient the correction officers to the Model Education Program. This disparity points up some relative priorities of the U-Mass team and indicates perhaps one significant weakness in their style of intervention in the jail. It may also serve to illustrate some of the inherent difficulties of trying to bring about institutional change in a setting where adversarial groups are so clearly defined.

When the U-Mass team first came into the jail, two correctional officers were assigned by the sheriff to work full time with them. The team apparently relied too heavily on these two men to represent the larger group of correctional officers. Over time, as these two began to identify more and more with the values and objectives of the Model Education Program, a schism developed between them and the other correctional officers, and, in fact, one of the two of them eventually terminated his working relationship with the Model Education Program, perhaps in part because of the pressures caused by this situation.

There are a number of reasons the U-Mass team may have chosen to put its priorities towards the inmates in favor of the

correctional officers. (The student-inmate program, in terms of its objectives as outlined above can be seen as a program geared toward stimulating inmate participation, not that of correctional officers.) For one thing, the traditional notion of correctional reform involves thinking of inmates as "the client group." When the sheriff invited the U-Mass team into the jail, there was an implicit understanding that they would have access to the inmates and direct their energies there. Correctional officers also apparently accepted the logic of this and, as a result, also identified the U-Mass team as being on the inmates' side and, therefore, against them.

This points to the additional problem of the precarious nature of power alliances in the jail. Since inmates and correctional officers had an adversarial relationship at the time MEP arrived, identifying themselves with either group would have inevitably had the affect of causing suspicion by the other side. Gaining inmate trust may have seemed to these outside professionals as a more pressing problem when they began working in the jail. They may have been over concerned that inmates would distrust them and not support the program, particularly the U-Mass people looked as if they were associated too closely with the correctional officers. This kind of strategy appears very understandable in retrospect, however, it does not account for the fact that in changing an environment, the stable population, perhaps even more than the transient one, are essential participants. The experience of the U-Mass team as an external change agent offers a clear lesson in

the need to carefully assess antagonistic sub-grouping in an institution and discover ways to tread a delicate line in not alienating needed participants. It also suggests that over concern about gaining the trust of inmates may be a reflection of change agents' discomfort with a new environment and client group. In the end, they might do better to rely more on the delivery of resources as a way of establishing trust and less on developing an exclusive alliance with one of the sub-groupings.

Respondents to the General Interview Forms were asked the question, "The development of the Model Education Program included a team of university based people coming into the jail and working with jail staff, administration and community groups. What do you see as the major advantage of this procedure? The major disadvantage?" Their answers covered a wide range of thoughts and impressions. Some of the replies are listed in the tables below:

Table V-1: Advantages of the External Change Agent Role.

1. A source of energy and organization
2. A different perspective
3. As outsiders, they were more objective
4. They brought expertise
5. Grant writing skills
6. Provided prestige to the new programs
7. Could offer career development opportunities
8. Could offer education to inmates
9. Gave the jail a school atmosphere
10. Provided an educational model which wasn't as threatening as a therapeutic model
11. Had ties to funding agencies
12. Exposed inmates to new points of view.

Table V-2: Disadvantages of the External Change Agent Role

1. Money went through university instead of directly to jail
2. Guards' fear and distrust of academics
3. Confusion of university-type jargon
4. Were naive about jail procedures
5. Didn't know what to expect at jail
6. Elitist attitude among some university people
7. U-Mass' coming in severed relationship jail had with Berkshire Community College.

Table V-3 ranks advantages of the external change agent role by most frequently mentioned categories.

Table V-3: Advantages of the External Change Agent Role

1. Resources
2. Creative thinking and objectivity
3. Catalyst for change
4. Other.

Overall, it seems that the use of an outside team of change agents can be beneficial in attempting to reform a county jail. The fact that the change agent team in the case of the Model Education Program was university-based apparently had significant advantages in terms of its educational orientation and resources. The respondent who mentioned the advantage of the educational versus therapeutic orientation of the change team points up one particular advantage in the university-jail alliance. The educational orientation apparently, in and of itself, mitigates against the negative associations that have come to be attached to correctional reform programs which wish to "rehabilitate" inmates.

A final consideration is assessing the role of U-Mass as an external change agent is an evaluation of the period of transition when university personnel left the jail and the programs continued under the administration of permanent staff. The success of any change effort inevitably has to be measured by the extent to which the reforms are maintained after those who acted as catalysts have left. To what extent have new programs and their objectives been incorporated and instituted as on-going operations of the jail? Did the Model Education Program staff experience a diminishment in their overall leverage in the jail?

It should be recalled that the Model Education Program was originally designed as a demonstration model. From the outset it was understood that U-Mass' participation would continue over a limited period of time, that they were primarily catalysts and trainers and would not ultimately be responsible for the on-going operation of the program. Thus, the three years of U-Mass involvement in the Berkshire Jail covered three distinct phases of change: (1) entry into the jail and the creation of a new environment, (2) program implementation, and (3) transfer and transition.

Throughout the three year, U-Mass personnel were oriented to transferring skills to local staff. The transfer of such skills as proposal writing, human relations training, leadership development, management, and negotiation was seen as a high priority goal. For example, from the very first days of the program, rather than

the external change agent going alone to negotiate with community agencies for the provision of services and resources, this was always done by a team, including correctional officers, inmates and U-Mass staff. In this way negotiation skills were learned, and also, local staff soon developed direct, personal relations with the various community people with whom they would need to maintain on-going working relationships.

In a similar vein, an early objective of the U-Mass team was to help local staff and inmates learn to develop their own funding grants and proposals. The Model Education Program seed money from FIPSE was not to be relied on as an on-going source of support. Thus, for the first year of the program inmates and officers began working together to generate other federal, state and local sources of support.

The evaluation data reveal that many people in the jail were not even aware that U-Mass had left and hadn't noticed significant change since the cut off date of July 1976. This is the clearest indication of the smoothness of the transition. One community agency representative commented, "The U-Mass team had succeeded in changing the environment of the institution and that's how the programs that were instituted would survive." There is also some sentiment voiced in the interviews that local staff were just as happy to see U-Mass leave because they wanted to run the program on their own now. U-Mass, as any change agent team inevitably must do, had alienated a number of people in the change pro-

cess, and at the time of U-Mass' departure, they were apparently just as happy to be left to work things out among themselves. In that same line, one person said, (now chief administrator of the Model Education Program) "has assumed more control and authority since U-Mass left."

One significant change that happened when U-Mass left was the disbanding of the Governance Board that had been created in relation to the program. The jail proceeded without any such representative, policy making group for some time. Then a jail disturbance caused the sheriff to convene a group of inmates to deal with the situation with him. This group began meeting regularly and was known as "the Sheriff's Committee". Soon the inmates on the committee and the sheriff himself realized that correctional officer representatives also needed to attend as members. The oversight was corrected and the committee effectively became a reconstituted Governance Board. This example suggests something of the overall process of transition. Most of the same innovations were maintained, but in some cases the jail apparently had to recreate them in new clothing in order to institutionalize them and formalize a sense of ownership. Overall, there is general consensus among those interviewed that, in the end, the Model Education Program turned out to be less dependent on U-Mass than they thought it would prove to be.

The real evaluation of this transition objective will only be told over time. As a few more years pass, the time test

will be the extent to which the changes brought about by the U-Mass intervention have lasting effect at the jail.

Summary

The Model Education Program at the Berkshire Jail evolved out of a joining commitment of Berkshire's sheriff and faculty at the University of Massachusetts. They found that they had compatible goals. The sheriff wanted to institute reform in the Berkshire Jail; the university wanted to find ways to make good on its commitment to apply some of its vast resources to pressing social problems. The result was that a partnership was formed in which the University functioned as an "external change agent" hoping to bring significant institutional change to the Berkshire Jail.

The existence of this external change team solved some change problems and created others. Many people in the jail, the correctional officers in particular, were suspicious of outside "do-gooders." Their university base and orientation didn't help matters because they were viewed as being somewhat elitist and theoretically oriented. However, because they were able to deliver on resources like college degrees, courses, and so forth, trust in them slowly developed.

The majority of correctional officers, however, did not develop a strong and positive association with the U-Mass team. They felt ignored by them and, perhaps rightly, they felt U-Mass

staff favored the inmates, sometimes naively, and ignored the needs and concerns of the correctional officers. Over time this developed into a marked schism between the "upstairs" and the "downstairs"--the Model Education Program and the few correctional officers associated with it, and the line officers, and cell block officers, who handled most of the day-to-day workings of the jail.

In the meantime, the Model Education Program supported a student-inmate project in which University of Massachusetts undergraduates did three-month internships to experience incarceration in a situation as close to that of a regularly sentenced inmate as could be arranged. These student inmates, a total of 18 in six separate groups, played a significant role in developing close relationships with inmates and encouraging their participation in the Model Education Program. The student-inmate experience also proved to be a valuable educational opportunity for those who participated in it, most of whom were interested in pursuing human service careers.

The emphasis on the student-inmate program, designed as it was to develop inmate participation in the Model Education Program, and the relative lack of emphasis on any means to develop correctional officer participation illustrates a set of priorities followed by the U-Mass change team which may have served to weaken the overall program. They faced a tricky problem of trying to build up credibility for themselves in an environment in which the

two largest subgroups had a traditionally antagonist relationship. In order not to loose the trust of inmates by appearing too closely associated with jail administration and staffs, the U-Mass team appears to have inadvertently alienated a group of people they needed for the change effort. Correctional officers must be partially faulted for this because of their initial (and continued) suspicions toward the program and a general hesitancy to participate. However, U-Mass would have met with greater success at realizing its objectives if it had made provisions for the outset at building strong alliances with both groups--the inmates and correctional officers--rather than minimizing an alliance with one group in order to try to get the trust of the other. A well thought out program of correctional officer orientation and training is apparently a crucial ingredient in attempting a comprehensive institutional change in a county jail.

The major advantages of U-Mass' involvement in the jail were seen by observers to be resources, the creative thinking and objectivity brought to the situation, and the way it functioned as a catalyst for change. Disadvantages were seen as the university's naivety about jail life and procedures, the elitism, use of intellectual jargon and academic image, and the fact that as an educational institution it overpowered the local community college, which gradually terminated a relationship with the jail that had, in fact, predated U-Mass' involvement.

The transition period, when U-Mass left the jail and local staff stepped in to the program on its own, appears to have been carried out with remarkable ease. Many people apparently didn't even realize that U-Mass had left. U-Mass had, in effect, been preparing its departure from the first day of the program by transferring skills and contacts to local staff and correctional officers and inmates, who had learned to generate their own funds for various Model Education Program projects. By the time FIPSE funding, which had been funneled through U-Mass, was over, the Model Education Program was able to sustain itself financially. Generally programs continued as before after U-Mass left. The Governance Board, however, was disbanded, but later reconstituted as the "Sheriff's Committee." This provides an example of how the jail retained the original goals of the the program, but needed in various situations to restate them and make them their own.

CHAPTER VI

CAN THE MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM
BE REPLICATED IN OTHER JAILS?

One of the goals of the Model Education Program, as its name suggests, was that it be developed as a demonstration model of what could be done elsewhere. It was created to address a county jail potential, typical across the country, and it was intended to use a change process and a system of resources that would be available and applicable in similar situations.

In order to evaluate the Model Education Program in terms of its replicability, two sets of questions were considered: (1) Was anything so unique about the given situation (the jail before intervention) that would make it unlike situations elsewhere? Was the jail unusual in any way? Are the majority of the nation's jails like it or unlike it? (2) Were there aspects of the change process--people, resources, or circumstances--that would make it difficult to replicate? Were the individuals who brought about the change unusual either in terms of skills, backgrounds or personalities? Was the process of change or programming so costly that comparable funds could not be found? Was the change process such a difficult one to carry out that it would not succeed again?

First of all, we will consider whether there is anything remarkably atypical about the size, physical structure, inmate population, staff or administration, or location of the Berkshire Jail. Data to answer this were taken from the evaluation interviews, Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections files, information provided by the Massachusetts State Department of Cor-

rections, and from a booklet entitled The Nation's Jails which contains information taken from a survey of jails conducted under the auspices of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

The size of the Berkshire Jail is a factor of some bearing on the replicability of the program. The Berkshire Jail population ranges from approximately 50 to just over 100 inmates. At the time of the inception of the Model Education Program, the inmate population was 41. This compares with the following national statistics:*

Total number of U.S. jails	3,921
Jails with fewer than 21 inmates	2,901
Jails with 21-249 inmates	907
Jails with more than 250 inmates	113

Size is an important factor in replicating the Model Education Program because it is fair to assume that creating a supportive, cooperative and positive environment might be easier to accomplish in an institution small enough to insure ease of communication and interpersonal accountability. The chart above shows that jails larger than Berkshire are the smallest part of the total number of U.S. jails. Most jails are smaller than Berkshire. It is impossible to evaluate whether there is a size too

*The Nation's Jails, U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, May 1975.

small to make a Model Education type program work. On one hand, presumably the task would be easier in small jails, because of the possibility for greater individual attention; but their small size might raise the per-inmate program costs prohibitively.

The location of a jail is also a factor for consideration. The Berkshire Jail is located in a city of population 56,000. The city has the unusual characteristic in the urban Northeast of existing as a complete community unto itself and not on the periphery of some larger urban complex. The town is almost entirely white, and the jail population reflects this. There is an ethnic homogeneity that might not be found in jails in the larger cities. The homogeneity of the inmate population, and a consistent homogeneity among the correctional officers was certainly an advantage to the Model Education Program in diminishing the potential disruption of ethnic or racial in-fighting.

Another consideration about location is the proximity of the necessary supportive education institutions. Since the Model Education Program was predicated on the intervention of a university as an external change agency, it would seem essential that some similar educational institution exist near the jail in question. It should be noted, however, that the University of Massachusetts was 60 miles from the Berkshire jail; furthermore, a local community college, or a private small college would serve as well. It is not elaborate facilities or pretigious graduate departments that facilitate this jail-university alliance, but

rather the commitment of dedicated university based change agents as well as the decision on the part of the university administration to make the delivery of its resources flexible to accommodate a different client group.

The physical structure of a jail also has some bearing. Basically the Berkshire Jail typifies the physical plant of most county jails across the country. It is old, poorly lighted and heated, and generally consistent with a negative and repressive environment. But there are two features of the jail that might be considered unusual, one causing a significant handicap and the other a significant advantage. The fact that there was no way to maintain a physical separation between sentenced inmates and bound-overs, who by law and custom, require maximum security custody, presented a liability to the Model Education Program. Ordinarily sentenced inmates, with the support of something like the Model Education Program, should be expected to function under minimum security precautions. The presence of bound-overs, however, even though they were not program participants meant that certain security precautions had to be maintained that the Model Education Program presumably would have done better without.

On the other side of the coin, the Model Education Program was helped by the fact that facilities already existed within the Berkshire Jail where it could establish its offices, hold meetings, and carry on classes. The "upstairs," as it was called, a second story above the visitors room and separate from the cell

block, was where the program made its home. This was an advantage for a number of reasons. Being away from the cell block, being a place with bookshelves and books and quieter than the rest of the jail, it was an atmosphere conducive to an attitude of seriousness and study. It also provided a clear opportunity for distinction: either an inmate was spending time there or he wasn't. This provided some incentive and curiosity to inmates sitting around in the cell block--"What are those other guys doing up there all day long and can I get in on it too?" However, there was also a disadvantage to this physical separation. It created or underscored the schism that developed between the correctional officers, who were supportive of the Model Education Program and worked with it, and those who didn't. Over time the "upstairs" and the "downstairs" became another way of saying "the new way" and "the old way."

Age is also an important factor. Presumably the younger an inmate is, the shorter his criminal history, and the easier it might be for him to establish a new lifestyle. Additionally, younger inmates are more suited to fit into educational and vocational training opportunities which already exist in the community to prepare young people to enter the job market. The disadvantages these inmates may have as far as poor educational or vocational training can presumably be remedied more easily and with less of a stigma.

The length of sentences is another significant consideration in the replicability of the Model Education Program. The Berkshire Jail's maximum sentence is three years and this is relatively high compared to maximum sentences set across the country. This fits a pattern among northeastern jails, which tend to hold inmates for longer sentences than in some other parts of the country. One reason reform programs have not been adequately developed in county jails, is because of the assumption that inmates are incarcerated for too short a term. It does mean logically that an inmate with a year or more to spend in jail is more likely to participate in a program. However, it should be noted that the Model Education Program was set up as one link to a larger community based reintegration effort. The jail, even in the short run, could be of benefit to an inmate by introducing him into a program based in the community, one he could then continue after his release. However, a jail with a very short average sentence would probably have to make specific program modifications. This might mean, for example, a strong aftercare program with such things as a community based learning facility in which inmates could continue basic education and high school equivalency preparation.

A comparison of the Berkshire Jail with other Massachusetts county facilities is given in Table VI-1.

Table VI-1: Comparison of the Berkshire Jail with Two Other
Massachusetts County Correctional Institutions

(Data from 1970 Jail Census)

	<u>Berkshire</u>	<u>Hampshire</u>	<u>Plymouth</u>
Average Population	51	83	66
Ratio: Sentenced to Bound- overs on 3/15/70	50/11	83/14	14/52
Maximum Sentence	3 years	3 years	3 years
Capacity	132	88	200
Year Built	1870	1852	1908
Recreation	yes	yes	no
Education	yes	yes	no
Medical	yes	yes	no
Visitation	yes	yes	yes
Toilet	yes	no	yes
Operating Cost for Fiscal '69	217,000	239,000	--

Table VI-2: Comparative Inmate Demographics, Berkshire, Hampshire,
Plymouth County Jails

(1976 Data, Massachusetts Department of Corrections)

	<u>Berkshire</u>	<u>Hampshire</u>	<u>Plymouth</u>
	N = 140	N = 192	N = 192
	<u>N</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>N</u> <u>(%)</u>
1. <u>Age</u>			
12 or younger	46 (32.8)	58 (30.0)	57 (30.0)
20 - 24	51 (36.4)	64 (33.0)	63 (33.0)
25 - 29	21 (15.0)	33 (17.0)	36 (19.0)
30 or older	22 (15.7)	37 (19.0)	36 (19.0)
2. <u>Sex</u>			
Male	133 (95.0)	190 (99.0)	174 (90.6)
Female	7 (5.0)	2 (1.0)	18 (9.4)
3. <u>Offense</u>			
<u>Vs. Person</u>	19 (13.5)	33 (17.2)	23 (12.0)
Manslaughter	2 (1.4)	3 (1.6)	-- --
Robbery (Armed & Unarmed)	-- --	6 (3.1)	-- --
Assaults	14 (10.0)	23 (12.0)	23 (12.0)
Other Person	3 (2.1)	1 (0.5)	-- --
<u>Sex Offenses</u>	3 (2.1)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.0)
Rape	2 (1.4)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
Other Sex Offenses	1 (0.7)	2 (1.0)	1 (0.5)
<u>Vs. Property</u>	92 (65.7)	105 (54.7)	116 (60.4)
Burglary	35 (25.0)	53 (27.6)	55 (28.6)
Larceny	23 (16.4)	19 (9.9)	25 (13.0)
Theft of a M.V.	2 (1.4)	6 (3.1)	18 (9.4)
Other Property	32 (22.8)	27 (14.1)	18 (9.4)
<u>Motor Vehicle Offenses</u>	11 (7.8)	14 (7.3)	22 (11.5)
<u>Drug Offenses</u>	5 (3.6)	12 (6.3)	10 (5.2)
<u>Other Offenses</u>	10 (7.1)	24 (12.5)	19 (9.9)
4. <u>Sentence</u>			
less than 6 months	39 (27.8)	72 (37.5)	60 (31.2)
6 - 11 months	57 (40.7)	74 (38.5)	60 (31.2)
12 - 17 months	14 (10.0)	10 (5.2)	41 (21.4)
18 months or more	16 (11.4)	25 (13.0)	18 (9.4)
Paid Fine	14 (10.0)	11 (5.7)	13 (6.8)

Table VI-3: Comparison of Correctional Staffs, Berkshire, Hampshire and Plymouth County Jails

(1976 Data collected from the sheriff or administration of the respective institutions)

	<u>Berkshire</u>	<u>Hampshire</u>	<u>Plymouth</u>
Number of correctional officers	27	32	No information available
Average educational level	high school	high school	
Salary range	\$11,078-- 13,605	\$11,078-- \$13,605	\$11,078 13,605
Average age	40 years	35 years	

Table VI-1 reflects data collected in 1970, three years prior to the inception of the Model Education Program. At that time, the only significant difference among these jails was the extent of services reported. While both Berkshire and Hampshire reported having recreational, medical, and educational programs, Plymouth reported having none. This is a significant factor to note. A number of people responding to the General Interview Form said they felt the Model Education Program was able to succeed because some form of programming for inmates in the jail already existed.

Before the Model Education Program, the following programs were in operation at Berkshire: (1) work release in which a small group of inmates worked at jobs in the community during the days; (2) educational release in which a select group of in-

mates were allowed to take courses on-campus at the local community college and the college also provided some courses at the jail itself; (3) counseling and vocational training programs for the severely disabled provided by the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission; (4) Alcoholics Anonymous meetings; and (5) entertainment and holiday visits by religious groups and the Salvation Army.

Table VI-4 shows the number of jails nationally which have some form of non-federally funded programming for inmates. Locally sponsored programs would most likely be similar to the kind of programming offered at Berkshire.

Table VI-4: Number of Jails with (non-federally funded) Rehabilitative Programs or Services
by Type of Program or Service and Size of Jail¹

<u>Type of Program or Service</u>	<u>All Jails</u>	<u>Jails with fewer than 21 inmates</u>	<u>Jails with 21-249 inmates</u>	<u>Jails with 250 or more inmates</u>
Total	3,921	2,901	907	113
Jails with programs	2,646	1,722	816	108
Group Counseling	678	313	295	70
Assessment of vocational potentials	348	148	156	44
Remedial education	419	136	209	75
Vocational training	542	288	205	49
Prevocational training	266	101	127	38
Job development and placement	491	234	205	52
Alcoholic treatment	1,385	864	446	75
Drug Addiction treatment	1,028	585	366	77
Religious Services	2,294	1,420	773	101
Other	101	40	44	17
Work Release	1,665	1,182	454	49
Jails without programs	1,276	1,179	91	5

NOTE: Detail may not add to total shown because of rounding. The aggregate number of jails offering specific locally sponsored programs exceeds the total number of jails with programs because a jail may offer more than one type of program.

¹The Nation's Jails, U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, May 1975, p. 41.

Sixty-seven percent of the nation's jails have some sort of non-federally funded programming for inmates. In jails similar in size to Berkshire, as many as 90 percent offer some form of programming. If pre-existence of some programming was indeed a contributory factor to the success of the Model Education Program, then this statistic pointing to the widespread existence of at least minimal programming is a positive indication on the side of replicability.

In addition to these demographic factors, it is important to determine whether the social climate at the Berkshire Jail was different from other county institutions previous to the inception of the Model Education Program. Was the social climate so good or so bad that the sort of change brought about through the Model Education Program was inevitable? For example, if there had been a violent inmate disturbance at the Berkshire Jail just previous to the Model Education Program, the changes brought about with the new program might have been due as much to the accentuated need for conciliatory programs and due to specific features of the Model Education Program itself. By the same token, if conditions within the jail as far as attitudes of trust, positivism, and cooperation were remarkably strong as compared to other county correctional institutions, this would also have indicated a special case in which the success of the Model Education Program might be guaranteed independent of its own goals or methods. Since the Model Education Program accentuates the importance of environmental change, these are two important consid-

erations in judging whether or not the Model Education Program is replicable elsewhere.

Berkshire correctional officers were interviewed in the summer of 1976, in an effort to get from them a picture of what the jail was like before the Model Education Program began. Fourteen correctional officers were interviewed, all of whom had worked in the jail before July 1973. Their responses indicated that previous to the Model Education Program discipline at the jail was very strict. The rules and regulations of the jail were clear and concise and strictly enforced. The inmates were confined to the cell block and remained on their own tiers. Several of the officers stated that they had tight control over inmates, and that the jail was essentially a well managed and military-like place. The only inmates allowed outside of the cell block were those few who went out on work-release. The only major disturbance recalled by the correctional officers was what was termed by some of them as "mini-riot" in which alcohol was smuggled into the cell block and a melee of trouble making and property damage ensued. This was quickly and easily quelled when additional officers were brought into the cell block to re-establish control. That took place in 1972, and there was no other outstanding incident involving a large group of inmates.

Inmates who were at the Berkshire Jail before the Model Education Program also recall a jail atmosphere of mistrust, both toward inmates and correctional officers. They describe endless

boredom, with days passed in front of the television set from morning until night. The first group of Model Education Program student inmates lived in the jail before any significant change had taken place and they confirm this description. They described a loud and tense cell block in which an individual inmate would have only one or two close friends if any, in which the guards were mistrusted and disliked, and in which inmates felt they had no redress for the arbitrary enforcement of rules. They described medical care as poor. One student inmate mentioned waiting three days to get emergency attention for severe allergies. They described fights erupting among inmates for no apparent reason, the use of mass "lock-up" as a means of indiscriminant punishing, poor sanitary conditions, intimidation of certain inmates by others and a free flow of drugs that seemed to get into the jail with little regulation. This impression of the pre-Model Education Program Berkshire Jail is substantially the same as how correctional experts like Glaser, Mattick, and Goldfarb describe jails across the country. There is no indication, therefore, that the social climate of the Berkshire Jail differed significantly from other county correctional institutions in any way that would suggest that successful replication of the Model Education Program would be unlikely elsewhere.

A second set of factors bearing on replicability of the Model Education Program had to do with the change process that brought it about. Was there anything about the relationship between the jail and the University of Massachusetts that could not

be developed elsewhere? Are the costs of developing and operating a project such as this prohibitive? Was the staff that brought the project into being one with qualities, qualifications or access that could not be found elsewhere? These questions are somewhat difficult to address since oftentimes the factors, people and institutions, brought together in a change process have unknown or unquantifiable effects. The special confluence of events that enables change often amounts to a "management by opportunity." People present themselves, resources become available, and needs become vocalized in an unpredictable way that is part of the mystery of any successful change effort.

Despite this, however, key factors can be identified, and though any one of them may not be necessary for replication, certainly some similar configuration of people and resources stands a good chance at meeting similar goals. In the General Interview Form, people were asked to identify the single most important factor contributing to whatever success the Model Education Program had. They were then asked to pick out the groups and individuals who made a major contribution. Finally, they were asked to identify the specific personal characteristic that helped these individuals be effective. The answers that were given to these three questions should offer some insight into the people, agencies and resources that might be crucial for replication. They are illustrated in the three tables that follow.

Table VI-5: "What has been the single most important factor contributing to any success the Model Education Program had?" (Replies listed in random order.)

1. "The dedication of the staff and their concern for inmates"
2. "The existence of a small, but talented and highly committed staff"
3. "The right people involved"
4. "The support of community agencies"
5. "A sheriff willing to take risks"
6. "Staff members with counseling training"
7. "Sensitivity of staff"
8. "Helping inmates to gain self-confidence"
9. "Staff development of people in the jail"
10. "A core of dedicated staff and inmates"
11. "Giving people hope"
12. "Ralph Packard" (correctional officer assigned full time to program from the beginning)
13. "Teachers"
14. "Giving inmates a certain amount of control in the program"
15. "Right people involved"
16. "Norma Gluckstern" (the project director and UMass staff member first assigned to full-time work with the program)
17. "Providing opportunity for guys with motivation to improve themselves"
18. "Doors opened to further education for inmates"
19. "Changing inmates attitudes so that they think they can do things legitimately"
20. "Access to college degrees"

21. "Larry Dye's background as an ex-offender" (Dr. Dye was on the U-Mass faculty and initially worked with Sheriff Courtney to get the program off the ground; he continued meeting regularly at jail with inmates at "Wednesday Night Meetings")
22. "Diversity and freedom within the program"
23. "The sheriff originally allowing the program"
24. "Support for change from outside the jail"
25. "Getting inmates involved"
26. "People buying into the concept and supporting it."

Table VI-6: "If you were to pick a group of people or groups of people, who have been the most instrumental in whatever success the Model Education Program has had, who would these be?" (Replies listed in random order.)

1. Ralph Packard--correctional officer assigned to work full time with the Model Education Program.
2. Norma Gluckstern--U-Mass staff, full time with Model Education Program, human relations training skills.
3. Larry Dye--ex-offender, U-Mass faculty, originally negotiated introduction of the program into the jail and continued to attend Wednesday Night Meetings for discussion of program and program goals, principle investigator on FIPSE grant and U-Mass based administrator of the Model Education Program.
4. U-Mass graduate students--functioned as Model Education Program staff, teachers, etc.
5. Inmates and former inmates--certain individuals, mentioned by name, worked in varying ways with the program, from grant proposal writing to informal inmate leadership, to lay guidance counseling.

6. Correctional officers and jail personnel.
7. Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission--provides counselors, funding for reintegration programs, and a variety of supportive services to inmates.
8. Sheriff Courtney.
9. Jim Sansouci--U-Mass, university based MEP staff, particularly involved in the development of funding proposals and transfer of grant writing skills to program staff and inmates.
10. Student inmates--certain individuals mentioned by name.
11. Community people.
12. VISTA volunteer--provided legal skills and overall program assistance.
13. Richard Smith--along with Packard, correctional officer assigned to work full time with Model Education Program.
14. Comprehensive Employment Training Act--provided funding for community members to work as full-time, jail-based Model Education Program staff; provided stipends for inmates participating in educational and vocational programs.
15. Model Education Program staff.
16. National Advisory Board--a group of nationally known people in corrections who met twice a year at jail to provide guidance and support for the program.
17. Ray Lucas--Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission counselor and administrator, instrumental in bring sheriff and university together to initiate program; active in developing ways in which Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission provided services to inmates in cooperation with Model Education Program.

Table VI-7: "What personal characteristics, if any, enabled them
to be effective?" (Replies listed in random order.)

1. Creative imagination
2. Sensitivity
3. Ability to write
4. Leadership
5. Commitment
6. Sincerity
7. Radicalism
8. Liaison between teachers and inmates
9. Ability to bring ideas into reality
10. Being "in-house" and being convinced program goals were important
11. Being liberal and open-minded
12. Access to funding
13. Knowing how to be political and how to use the system
14. High energy person
15. Skills in human relations
16. Good role model
17. Willingness to take a risk
18. Mother figure for inmates
19. Grant writing ability
20. Dedication
21. Father figure for inmates
22. Good educational consultant

The responses to these three questions offer a composite picture of what were seen as important factors in making the Model Education Program work. They point to the roles played by certain key people as well as the value of the resources that those people brought. Sincerity, dedication, and energy were all considered significant. The willingness of key people to accept the contribution and ideas of others involved in the change process, particularly the contribution by inmates, was seen as an important factor for success.

Another significant factor was the existence of a neutral third party who brought the two institutions--the jail and the university--together to begin the change process. A Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission counselor had been active in the jail and also had professional and personal contacts at the university. Neither institution had to take the initiative on its own, which means that neither institution could be seen as an unequal partner. When conflicts arose between the two institutions about the direction of the program, neither could make a case for having greater say. By the same token, and perhaps equally important, neither institution had to create conflict in order to challenge an unequal balance of power. A further aspect of this alliance was the part played by a university faculty member who was in the perhaps unusual situation of being an ex-offender functioning as a faculty member with considerable prestige at a university. This made him singularly situated to gain both the university and the inmates' trust. The university needed people

like him who could work as social change practitioners functioning from an academic base. The Berkshire inmates, for their part, were much more willing to listen to someone who "spoke their language." There was a liability, though, in that a number of correctional officers mentioned not trusting him because he was an "ex-con." Additionally, the human relations training background of the project director was important to a program which set as its first operational goal the establishment of a new environment. The ability to get people to sit down and talk together, as well as the expertise to teach them how to make those talks constructive, indicates one specific set of skills that may be particularly important for replication.

Funding, of course, also inevitably has bearing on the prospects for replicability of a program. A complete list of funding sources and grants given for the operation of the Model Education Program and related projects can be found in Appendix VI. Five factors affect this funding issue: (1) the reality that most jails do not have budgets that can sustain large expenditures beyond the already existing operational costs they bear; (2) the problem inherent in depending on a single, large federal grant that inevitably terminates; (3) the fact that local agencies are often already set up to provide services, personnel, and resources; (4) the fact that a local university or college can offer resources in a mutually beneficial arrangement; and (5) the fact that jails already have untapped resources in the talents and potential of its existing personnel. The crucial factor in all of

this relates to the training of staff, inmates, and correctional officers so they can find, and then use the available resources.

The Model Education Program was able to get off the ground initially because of planning and operational money from the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE). The major portion of funds that went to the operation of the Model Education Program, however, actually came from a variety of other local and state sources. In fact, it was a basic premise of the Model Education Program to develop and use local resources. This included resources available through the university, through the jail itself, and through the variety of state, federal and local agencies designed to provide services to the community. One particular advantage of the involvement of the university in the program was that it could provide a number of resources for free. Students looking for ways to gain practice in teaching, counseling, and criminal justice studies contributed their time in exchange for the opportunity to get practical experience in their fields. Inmates preparing to attend college following release from jail could apply for such things as Basic Education Opportunity Grants. Agencies like the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, CETA, VISTA, the Labor Department, the Department of Education were all approached to provide services, generally through existing programs. Some small grants from private foundations were helpful, particularly in initiating unusual projects like the student-inmate program. Small grants from local community groups were helpful in funding particular classes or

events for inmates. Additionally, the jail was expected to provide some resources by reassigning correctional personnel.

Summary

One of the objectives of the Model Education Program was that it serve as a demonstration project of a correctional reform strategy for other county jails. To evaluate whether it met this particular objective, it was necessary to assess whether or not the Berkshire Jail was typical of other county institutions. Secondly, it was necessary to try to determine whether the factors that went into bringing about the change are readily available to people interested in putting together a similar program.

Overall, the Berkshire Jail is quite typical of county correctional facilities across the country in regard to its size, population, staff and physical structure. Three possible areas of departure are: (1) the racial and ethnic homogeneity of both the inmate population and the correctional staff; (2) the availability, within the jail, of a separate physical space in which the Model Education Program was able to locate its offices, classrooms apart from the cell block and the area of daily jail operations; and (3) longer inmate sentences than the national average. Any of these three factors might have bearing on the replicability of the program. Each could be seen as offering a particular asset to the success of the Model Education Program. However, none of them would be considered essential. The only possible exception

might be in the length of sentences. A jail with inmates incarcerated for very short periods of time would presumably have to make significant alterations in the Model Education Program design.

A number of people interviewed in connection with the Model Education Program said they thought it was able to succeed because of the fact that other programs for inmates (an educational release and work release program) already existed in the jail. Data from other jails shows that 67 percent of the nation's jails do have some such programming. Ninety percent of jails the same general size as Berkshire offer some programs for inmates.

Correctional officers, inmates, student inmates and outside observers all corroborate a description of the social climate and environment of the Berkshire Jail before the introduction of the Model Education Program that typifies what has been reported by various correctional experts on what they found overall in the nation's jails. This suggests that the conditions under which the Model Education Program were brought into being were not unusual or atypical.

In attempting to isolate important factors leading to the success of the Model Education Program, respondents offered replies that also serve to indicate needed components for replicability. They listed various skills, resources, individuals, agencies and values or attitudes that they felt contributed to whatever success the Model Education Program did achieve. (See

Tables VI-5, VI-6, and VI-7.) Skills ranged from "grant writing ability" to "human relations training" to the "ability to bring ideas into reality". Attitudes ranged from "sensitivity" to "giving people hope" to "the dedication of the staff and their concern for inmates."

One significant factor in success was seen as the existence of a third party who initially brought the jail and the university together. Another was the participation of an ex-offender in the initial stages of creating and introducing the program. A third factor was the importance of human relations skills in fulfilling the objective of changing a jail environment.

Finally, the issue of funding has bearing on the goal of replicability. The Model Education Program developed a specific policy in regard to funding that involved a diversification of funding sources and the reliance on a variety of state, federal and local agencies, as well as schools, community groups, individuals and the jail itself to provide needed resources for the program. These resources sometimes took the form of direct funding; but they also were in the form of personnel, skills, and services. It would seem that this funding policy points toward a greater possibility of replicability because it uses a variety of resources available in a broad spectrum of communities.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION
AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

Each of the preceeding four chapters addressed one of the primary objectives of the Model Education Program--developing a new supportive environment, "opening" the jail to aid in the reintegration of offenders, using an outside agency to bring about change, and developing a model appropriate for replication. In summary, it will be helpful to review the findings discussed in the previous chapters in order to evaluate the extent to which the program met its stated goals. Did the Model Education Program meet each of these objectives as described or did it fall short. If it fell short, were there valuable lessons learned that could help others from making similar mistakes? Did the process of trying to achieve the stated goals suggest further issues to be taken into consideration? We will address these questions in this chapter.

First, however, it should be pointed out that the Model Education Program was not based on unique or original ideas. Considerations such as the negative re-enforcement of jail culture, the value of participatory management, the need to open a jail to a spectrum of reintegration programs, have all been well discussed by experts in the correctional field. The only thing unique about the Model Education Program was that it attempted to integrate many of these valuable observations and operationalize those facets of them that had direct bearing on the process of bringing about change. The Model Education Program attempted to take one very typical county jail, apply a number of ideas and strategies presented in correctional literature, and discover in a real-world way if substantial

change in a correctional institution could really be made to work. The Model Education Program did not invent new strategies; it attempted to integrate and operationalize a set of existing correctional theories.

In general, the success of the Model Education Program can be detected in responses to the one interview question: "What specific things have changed in the jail since the introduction of the Model Education Program?" The answers fell into nine major groupings, the most frequently mentioned being "the atmosphere has improved and there are more program" (20 percent); "the jail is more open to outsiders" (14 percent); "increased inmate involvement" (11 percent); and "an adapting and upgrading of the staff" (11 percent). These encouraging, affirmative responses take on an even greater significance when we realize that the respondents were all people well experienced in the field of social change. They were not easy critics; they had seen many failed attempts at correctional reform. At the same time, it must also be remembered that this was a program based on collaboration and almost all those interviewed had at least a minimal sense of participation. These people were largely unaccustomed to programs that truly merited praise and felt a participatory ownership in the program itself, so the Model Education Program often generated a highly enthusiastic response. These two factors are important to keep in mind in interpreting the level of enthusiasm generated by the Model Education Program. Fred Cohen, Professor of Law and Criminal Justice at the State University of New York at Albany

wrote,

"It is not often that anyone can write responsibly and optimistically about any program in corrections. Moreover, to bring optimism and even a measure of enthusiasm, to a description of a program in an adult jail marks the writer either as a fool, as at least slightly deranged, or perhaps--and just perhaps--as one who has discovered a rara avis. With no wish to play the fool or to admit to any known derangement, yet about to describe an innovation and successful jail program, I ask the reader to indulge me in the rara avis theory and otherwise withhold judgment for the time being.... What the Model Education Program has accomplished, and what its continuation at the House of Corrections promises, is a story worth telling since I believe this is a program worth repeating elsewhere...."¹

This level of enthusiasm, however rewarding to the program's initiators, should not distract from the need for thorough observation. The importance of the evaluation study, was that it looked to discover where weaknesses lay while, at the same time,

¹Cohen, Fred, "Comment, Jail Reform: An Experiment that Worked?", Criminal Law Bulletin, Vol. 12, No. 6, November-December, 1976, p. 758.

it attempted to uncover essential components that made the program work. We will look at the results in four primary areas.

First, can a House of Corrections be changed from a traditionally hostile and negative environment to one of support and advocacy for inmates?

The time that inmates spend in most of the country's local county correctional institutions can be seen to have a detrimental effect on them. Instead of helping to get out of a life of crime, incarceration usually worsens their chances of succeeding in the "free world" through the largely negative influences of institutionalization. Far from creating self-reliance or resourcefulness--qualities necessary to function well in a free society--jails re-enforce dependency, a sense of inferiority, negativism, and failure.

The Model Education Program was based on the premise that helping inmates make a successful return to society required offering them new opportunities as well as creating the kind of supportive environment that would make real use of these opportunities possible. Thus, the first object of the Model Education Program was to change the environment of the jail.

This environmental change was aimed at both the quality of interaction among people and at the style of institutional management. By breaking down old antagonisms between sub-groups,

particularly between the inmates and officers, the program hoped to build the sort of supportive alliances that could make cooperation on shared goals possible. By setting up new administrative procedures that allowed for wider participation, it was hoped that people would have a stake in the institution and its programs and have the experience of constructive involvement rather than negative alienation.

The evaluation study revealed that the environment of the Berkshire Jail did change from what it had been before the inception of the Model Education Program. Investigation into the areas of communication, decision making, and security and discipline, showed that the social climate of the jail, as well as the administrative procedures that run it have taken on a new quality of openness and reason. Disputes are now channelled through mechanisms set up to allow for mediation of grievances and to uncover solutions to problems. Inmates are more outspoken now than they were before, but rather than making trouble for trouble-making's sake, there is a new constructive attitude that solutions can be found. The result is a heightened self-confidence on the part of inmates; they have learned that it is within their grasp to identify their needs, design programs, and gain support to get specific needs met. New patterns of leadership have emerged in the jail as well. Inmate leaders have become those who are most adept at instrumenting change in contrast to the old style of inmate leadership which was based primarily on intimidation.

Additionally, there appear to be a significant number of new friendships within the jail now, among inmates, between some inmates and some correctional officers, between inmates and Model Education Program staff. At the same time the nature of security within the jail has changed. The old style of military-like supervision no longer exists. There is also a great deal more daily activity. Inmates are in and out of the jail with greater frequency as are outside members of the community. Many officers find this activity disconcerting. They report that their job is more difficult now that they have more activities and many more outsiders to monitor. However, there is no evidence that infringements of discipline and security have worsened. The variety of new programs designed by inmates themselves create a self-disciplining function because of the individual inmate's commitment to the outcome of what he's doing. Additionally, it seems that the newly systematized forms of participation in jail administration means that there is less need for inmates to take grievances in their own hands. This may give the appearance of there being more problems than before, not because there are actually more discipline or security problems, but because inmates are more active and more vocal. This indicates that previous to the Model Education Program, things were quiet and more orderly not because mechanisms of control were any better than they are now, but because there was less going on, less interest and less involvement.

This discomfort of correctional officers, however, signals one of the most serious weaknesses of the Model Education

Program: the failure of get significant support of participation from the correctional officers. Of the 27 full-time correctional officers, only four became highly involved in the Model Education Program. Two of these were correctional officers who had been assigned to work full time with the program since its inception. The others became involved in a particular project such as vocational education or the Belchertown Project which appealed to their particular skills, interests, or both. The rest of the correctional officers remained "downstairs" and often seemed to know of or care little about what was going on in the educational programs. Additionally, a certain level of mistrust and resentment developed that had the effect of dividing the jail into a new subgroup--"the upstairs" and "the downstairs." The "upstairs" being those officers, inmates and staff associated with the Model Education Program, the "downstairs" being those correctional officers and certain inmate trustees involved more in the typical daily operation of the jail.

The failure to involve more correctional officers in the Model Education Program can be attributed to several things: to the lack of sufficient orientation of correctional officers by Model Education Program staff; to the resistance of correctional officers because of perceived threats to their base of power in relation to the inmates; to confusion or fear about the new role job duties, and attitudes that were expected of them; to a general perception that people coming from the outside (particularly the U-Mass staff) were doing so on behalf of the inmates, and as such

were not interested in the situation of correctional officers or would side with inmates against them in an historic antagonism between the two groups. Whatever the underlying reasons, correctional officers who did participate in the Model Education Program faced ostracism by their colleagues. Try as they might to encourage participation by other correctional officers, the Model Education Program staff did not succeed as much as they perhaps should have or could have.

The importance of participation by correctional officers cannot be overstated. Any one hoping to replicate the Model Education Program would be well advised to take this into account. It signals a crucial difference between an old style of introducing rehabilitative programs for inmates, and the Model Education Program approach, which involves a total systems change of the jail. Isolated rehabilitation programs do not necessarily require the participation or support of correctional officers. Outsiders come in and provide limited and insulated programs for inmates who are seen as the "client population." In contrast, an attempt to change a whole environment in order to make the jail itself a link in a comprehensive reintegration process requires the involvement of everyone in the institution. One problem is that unlike inmates, correctional officers do not easily see a self-interest in bringing the changes about. A few correctional officers can be expected to quickly see the opportunity to gain more job satisfaction through new, more challenging and more professional job roles. Most, however, are likely to focus on a fear that their

already trying job of security is going to be made more difficult. The Model Education Program tried to offer incentives to officers by making all educational programs open to them. Some officers took advantage of this and received B.A. degrees. More incentives along this line might be one way of encouraging participation. Another solution might be a very well-conceived and executed pre-training program for officers. This could educate them to the change goals, identify new roles for them, educate them to the personal benefits they might derive from those new roles as counselors, advocates, and teachers, and most significantly, perhaps, build a working alliance between the officers and the change agents.

Second, can a jail become an "open" institution facilitating the reintegration of inmates back into their communities?

A second goal of the Model Education Program was to open up what had traditionally been a closed institution in order to make the jail one link in a reintegration effort for offenders. Isolating an offender from society often worsens the very problems that may have caused him to commit a crime in the first place. Poor educational and vocational histories are exacerbated by the stigma of having done time and by a prolonged isolation from job and school opportunities. Additionally, an offender's old community ties may be ones that reinforce a lifestyle of crime. The Model Education Program was based on the premise that the incarcerated experience could be used to build alternative and hopefully more positive community ties through new friendship and new work

relationships.

The Model Education Program designed to develop mechanisms by which the jail could make use of already existing resources in the community that could benefit the offender in preparing him to make a successful re-entry into society. Rather than attempting to provide those services itself, the jail's responsibility would be to enable existing community agencies to deliver services more effectively to inmates. This meant a variety of things. It meant offering the jail as a site for community agencies to make contact with inmates and provide services; setting up mechanisms for inmates to go out into the community to take advantage of educational and vocational improvement opportunities offered there; teaching inmates and correctional officers the skills to find and use existing community resources; educating existing agencies and schools to the particular needs of inmates; and providing a support base for inmates so as they took advantage of new opportunities, and get help and guidance along the way.

An additional objective in "opening" up the jail was to break down the negative stereotypes about jail and inmates in the wider community in hopes that when the inmate tried to make his adjustment back into society, he would not be hindered by the old prejudices. By the same token opening the jail to outsiders was expected to generate community concern about the jail itself, and establish a community interest in seeing that the Model Education Program was maintained.

The evaluation showed that inmates and officers alike agreed that it was an appropriate goal of both the jail and the Model Education Program to try to help offenders to reward reintegration into society. A wide variety of reintegration programs were developed for inmates; these programs were developed through a participatory program development model so that participants would have a personal stake in them. Additionally, collaborative program development was meant to teach reintegrative, life management skills such as interpersonal communication, needs assessment, negotiation, compromise, and proposal writing. Eighty-one percent of the inmates interviewed reported participating in some aspect of the Model Education Program. This included everything from in-house high school equivalency test courses to full-time study in degree programs at the University of Massachusetts. On the vocational side it covered everything from in-house vocational education workshops in sculpture and car mechanics to an in-service training program working with the mentally retarded. Each participant in the Model Education Program designed his or her own plan of development. This self-classification system was seen as a key factor in establishing the kind of commitment necessary to make participation a success. All inmates knew that program participation could be a great help in presenting one's case to the parole board; but within the jail itself, most observers concurred that program participation was not used as a form of inmate coercion.

Quite a number of community agencies became active in the jail on a regular basis as the Model Education Program developed.

They provided counseling, services, and also specific funds. Inmates went out into the community with Model Education Program staff and correctional officers to solicit this agency participation. The evaluation revealed that community agencies felt their access to the jail much improved as a result of the Model Education Program. They also commented that the changed jail environment enabled them to provide services in a more effective manner. Additionally, they pointed out that the Model Education Program made it possible for them to cooperate with each other. Thus, they initiated their own coordinated aftercare effort through regular weekly meetings at the jail. Overall, participants and observers described a more "open" jail with inmates regularly out of the cell block during the day to participate in a range of programs and community agency representatives in and out of the jail on a frequent and regular basis to manage the delivery of services to inmates.

The particular areas of weakness in the goal of opening the jail for reintegration surfaced in the course of this study. For one, the Model Education Program's National Advisory Board, while seen to be of great benefit, was judged less effective because it did not have enough local community members. The failure to create a local community board to assist and support the program was also a problem. This became particularly noticeable when the Model Education Program tried to find a location in the community to put the newly funded pre-release center. Community opposition was strong. Presumably, if more community leaders had been involved in the development of the Model Education Program, they might have

been able to educate the wider community as to the importance of the pre-release center. On a more positive note, at the University of Massachusetts campus, inmates and ex-offenders found themselves welcomed and accepted by students with virtually no stigma or ostracism experienced.

In a wider sense, the failure to change local community attitudes toward the jail was another weakness of the program. (It should be noted, however, that the Model Education Program was brought into being at the very time that public opinion nationally regarding corrections seemed to make a dramatic swing to the conservative side, favoring punitive rather than reintegration programs. Some people attribute this conservatism to the economic problems of the country. If this is true, Pittsfield, which was particularly hard hit by unemployment could have been expected to react quite unfavorably to new correctional reform programs.) Citizen attitudes are of tremendous importance in making reintegration programs work. They have to be encouraged to accept the sometimes difficult logic of spending money and offering special opportunities to people who can be seen to have hurt their community and society at large. It is often difficult for the lay person to accept the argument that not providing programs will, in effect, increase the chance for more crime. Thus any project like the Model Education Program needs to give serious attention to the problem of community re-education.

Thirdly, can an external agency such as a university function as a change agent in assisting reform in a jail?

The Model Education Program was based on an alliance between two institutions, one identified as needing change and the other charged with the responsibility of functioning as the change agent. The university wanted to meet new demands that it become more socially responsible in the community; the jail wanted to respond to an increasing call for meaningful correctional reform. This partnership was valuable for a variety of reasons. For instance, outsiders could presumably have more leverage in changing an institution with entrenched interest groups. Also, the University of Massachusetts, as the change agent institution, had many resources necessary for the change effort--people with specific change skills, educational opportunities, teachers, professional and funding contacts--that the jail itself did not.

The evaluation showed that this alliance between two institutions proved to be an effective strategy for bringing about change. It was not without its rough spots and conflicts, but overall, the two institutions were able to maintain a shared commitment to a similar set of goals. The university benefited by the experiential learning provided to its students; the jail benefited by the dedicated commitment of staff and resources. A student-inmate program with undergraduates living in the jail with inmates proved to be a particularly helpful aspect of the overall program, particularly at the beginning of the project when getting

inmate participation was a prerequisite to success.

A weakness in this change strategy showed up again in connection with the failure to get significant correctional officer involvement in the program. As outsiders coming into an institution with very sharply drawn antagonisms between sub-grouping, the U-Mass change team was in a difficult position. They had to develop working alliances under circumstances that could easily lead to the alienation of one or the other of the sub-groups. That is, if the outsiders appeared to ally too closely with correctional officers, they might never gain the trust of inmates, and vice versa. In the end, the U-Mass team found themselves closely allied with inmates and therefore in a position of having alienated correctional officers. Had the external change team been more cognizant of this particular problem inherent in an institution like a county jail, they might have been able to be more careful in maintaining their neutrality, relying on their skills and resource delivery to build trust, rather than making philosophical alliances with either of the two groups.

A crucial period of this change partnership was its final stage when it was necessary for the U-Mass team to leave and test whether the program could carry on independently. There was the fear that once the university staff left, the conservative inclination of many of the correctional officers would mean a gradual return to the old jail and the tapering off of programs.

Of course, it takes time to evaluate the results of this sort of transition. For now, however, the evaluation revealed that overall, when U-Mass finally left, the change was hardly noticed. Programs had become so much a part of the daily life of the Berkshire Jail, that the university's presence no longer was significant. At first, abandonment of a few things that U-Mass had initiated began. The Governance Board, for example, was disbanded. However, shortly afterwards, when grievances erupted in the jail, it was the sheriff himself who reconvened the Governance Board, reconstituting it as "the Sheriff's Committee." At first, it consisted only of inmates and jail administrators, until both groups realized the oversight and asked correctional officer representatives to join.

Fourth, can the Model Education Program be replicated in other county correctional institutions?

The Model Education Program was designed as a demonstration project. As such, one of its objectives was that it provide a model for future efforts.

Comparative data reveals that, for the most part, the Berkshire Jail is typical of county jails across the country (that is, before the Model Education Program began) and could not be seen to be unusual in any way that would prevent replication of the program. There are a few differences. For one, northeastern jails like Berkshire tend to have inmates on longer sentences.

Some stability, even if limited, of the inmate population might be considered necessary for such things as collaborative program development to succeed. When an inmate is in and out of jail in thirty days, it is unlikely he will be motivated to participate in a meaningful way in reintegration programs. Replication in a jail where the majority of inmates are in on very short sentences would require substantial modifications of the program.

Another area where the Berkshire Jail may be atypical is in the ethnic and racial homogeneity of its inmates and correctional officers. This homogeneity may have served to diminish one potential area of conflict that could possibly present problems to a program based on collaboration. However, it could also be argued that only a program based on collaboration could address ethnic and racial in-fighting. This is a hypothesis that merits testing in an appropriate institution.

As to the particular cast of characters and resources that went into creating the Model Education Program, it is very difficult to tell whether or not they were unusual. The staff exhibited a high level of commitment and dedication and had skills in human relations training and proposal development and writing that were crucial to the program. Additionally, the fact that an ex-offender was instrumental in getting the program started was an unusual feature. His presence helped to open communication between the inmates and the outside change agents. This suggests the value of including ex-offenders as change agents in correctional

CONTINUED

3 OF 4

reform efforts.

The issue of replication is really much wider than these few points about conditions and people that might be or not be available again. Replication is a broader consideration of the premises, instruments, and strategies that were used in creating the program. Below is a listing of some of those components that went into the creation of the Model Education Program.

Table VII-1: Key Components in the Development of the Model Education Program

1. The cooperation of an outside change agent, the University of Massachusetts, to provide staff, resources, ideas and commitment to the change process.
2. The commitment of the jail's chief administrator to the program and its goals.
3. The assignment of full-time staff to the change effort by both the jail and the outside change agency.
4. The creation of a supportive jail environment.
5. The use of human relations training methodology to teach inter-personal skills and break down old antagonisms among sub-groups.
- 5a. Weekly, all-jail meetings as a forum for discussion and airing of grievances.
6. The use of collaborative program development in order to a) teach life survival skills to inmates, (management, negotiation, writing, cooperation, finances, resource development, etc.); b) continually reintroduce a changing inmate population to the reintegration process; c) give inmates a personal stake in the success of reintegration programs; and d) establish a model of cooperative management procedures that

can be applied to the jail as well.

7. The establishment of participatory management of the jail wherever possible.
8. The creation of new roles for correctional officers--as teachers, counselors, program supervisors, etc.
9. Training inmates and correctional officers to find, develop, and make use of existing community resources.
10. The introduction of a wide variety of educational and vocational reintegration programs, both jail and community based.
11. The use of a self-classification system in which inmates choose their own reintegration program. (Not using reintegration programs as a means of behavioral control.)
12. The jail as a site for community agencies to offer services to inmates.
13. The jail as one link in a reintegration process that also involves schools, group homes, pre-release centers, etc.
14. The creation of a Governance Board with representatives of inmates, correctional officers, the jail administration, and program staff.
15. An advisory board of outside experts and interested persons.
16. A comprehensive aftercare program which allows released inmates to return to the jail for informal support and to continue to participate in programs as long as the need to do so is felt.

Also, it may be useful to review and list the programmatic weakness of the Model Education Program so that any effort at replication can avoid repeating them. Each of the specific weak areas has been translated into a possible programmatic strategy:

1. The need for orientation, training, and specific incentives for correctional officers in order to encourage their participation in both the change effort and the new programs;
2. The need for the external change agent to maintain a balance and as much neutrality as possible in allying with antagonist sub-groups within the jail;
3. The need for an on-going, community advisory board so that community leaders take an active role in the overall progress of the jail and the program; and
4. The need for an effective community education effort so that local citizens will be more receptive to inmates who try to make their way back into new roles in society.

In conclusion, it should be reiterated that change is often a troubled and mysterious process. This report demonstrates that such an effort can prove to be worthwhile and affect both an institution and the lives of some of the individuals who pass through it. However, none of the changes described in this report occurred as easily or as simply as the narrative might sometimes suggest. Changes in self-concepts, in traditional ways of behaving, the relinquishing of power, the readjustment of personal and insti-

tutional goals--none of this occurs without emotion, personal costs, and conflict. Quite often the end product that makes it all worthwhile looks like an unattainable abstraction during the confusion of the change process. As a result, we can offer no definitive blueprint for those wishing to emulate the Model Education Program. It was a program that took many twists and turns in response to events as they unfolded. However, what does seem necessary is an honest commitment to change; a broad base of support and resources, giving inmates and staff alike a stake and a voice in the program; and opening the correctional institution to participation and scrutiny of the outside community. Speaking on behalf of the Model Education Program staff, participants and evaluators, we stand ready to advise or assist those who wish to make a serious commitment to changing correctional institutions.

Recommendations to the Berkshire Jail

The original premise of the evaluation was that it be an action research model and give feedback to those involved in continued operations of the program. As such, the following three recommendations are offered.

1. The Formation of A Community Board

Repeatedly participants and observers commented on the need for some sort of advisory board for the Model Education Program to be made up primarily of local citizens and community leaders.

This board could provide a link to the wider community and help develop community support for both the program and the jail itself. It could also serve as a mechanism for insuring that the jail remain an "open" institution and accountable to the wider community.

2. A Program of Community Education

The need to get greater support from the local community was a sentiment echoed over and over again in the course of the evaluation. Though the Model Education Program has tried to gain community support through such things as staff speaking appearances at community associations, dissemination of information through local media, and efforts to bring more community members into the jail, distrust and disinterest in the Model Education Program remains the general attitude. This scepticism toward correctional reform is typical of attitudes across the country, but it has been aggravated in the Pittsfield area because of a series of highly publicized escapes from a local state work camp.

In order to address this problem, a program of community education is recommended in which inmate families would be enlisted to hold small discussion groups in their homes. An individual family with a son, daughter, or relative in the Berkshire Jail would invite neighbors, friends and relatives to participate in an evening discussion in which one or two inmates (including the family member serving time) and correctional officers from the jail, would give a presentation of the Model Education Program, its ob-

jectives and their personal participation in it. Participants would be free to ask questions and air opinions. They would also be given concrete ways in which they could offer their own volunteer help to the Model Education Program through such things as vocational skill training courses and assistance in looking for job opportunities. An agency such as the Family Advocates Program, which is already active in the jail, might serve as the link between the Model Education Programs and these inmate families. Over time, this small scale and personalized approach to community education might also have the added benefit of providing a means for inmate families to involve themselves in a more positive way in the incarceration experience of their child or relative in jail.

3. Breaking Down the "Upstairs-Downstairs" Split

The tension in the jail between those working in the Model Education Program (upstairs) and those choosing not to (downstairs) was mentioned repeatedly in the evaluation. This problem could be addressed in several ways; a) by increasing the flow of information between the two groups by a deliberate effort to see that both groups be represented on all jail committees and boards; b) through a program of orientation for the downstairs staff to the projects and objectives of the Model Education Program; c) through a concerted effort to assess the concerns and needs of the downstairs staff and develop programs to meet those needs; and d) through an effort to develop specific incentives for participation in the Model Education Program by correctional officers, such as

pay advantages, promotions, or school credits that could translate into pay increases.

Additionally, it is important to recognize that the "upstairs" staff needs periodic program orientation as well. It is essential that everyone working in connection with the Model Education Program have a thorough understanding of the program methods and objectives. Such things as participatory program development and participatory management are as important in preparing an inmate for reintegration as any specific educational or vocational opportunity. Both the "upstairs" and the "downstairs" staffs need to be thoroughly acquainted with the underlying correctional strategy on which the program is based.

Recommendations to the National Institute of Corrections

The hope of any evaluation is that its findings form the basis of further innovative action. The Model Education Program was created in order to address problems of county jails in general. It is hoped that the present report can be helpful to a wide range of correctional innovators and administrators who are concerned with the potential as well as the situation of the nation's county jails.

The National Institute of Corrections (NIC) has a special interest in county jails because of its commitment to the area of state and local corrections. It is, therefore, in a unique

position to address the needs of county jails from a nationwide perspective. It can become the hub of a national reform program that enables local county jail sheriffs to work together on problems that concern them all.

Based on the findings of the present report, it is recommended that the National Institute of Corrections be a convening agency to bring together a group of interested sheriffs with the purpose of introducing them to the concept and operations of the Model Education Program. Hopefully, a significant number of these sheriffs would consider introducing a similar program in their own jails.

Although NIC would have to provide initial seed money for this project, all operating funds could be secured from state, local, and federal agencies already set up for that purpose. The NIC seed money would be used for two specific purposes:

- The cost of convening a nationally representative group of county jail administrators, and
- The cost of supporting a small training team to work with those jails wishing to initiate a program based on the Model Education Program.

NIC might consider the five steps described below in creating such a national program.

First, the creation of a training team is necessary.

This team would use the information gathered in the Evaluation of the Model Education Program at the Berkshire Jail to determine how to assist sheriffs wishing to replicate the Model Education Program in their jails. The team would develop whatever specific training materials that were needed for this purpose. It might pay particular attention to developing training materials for work with correctional officers in order to prepare them to be participants and leaders in county jail reform programs.

Second, an initial meeting of interested county jail administrators from across the country should be convened. In this meeting, county jail administrators would be given an intensive introduction to the Model Education Program by the training team. A series of presentations, discussions, and so on, would serve to introduce this group of county jail administrators to the overall operations, objectives, and methods of the Model Education Program. Past participants in the Berkshire Model Education Program might be enlisted to describe their own experiences and answer questions.

Thirdly, a second meeting of selected county jail administrators would be called, in which a group of not more than 10 sheriffs who attended the initial meeting and expressed interest in creating a similar program in their jails would be brought together for a second training session. They would be expected to bring members of their jail staff, particularly middle level managers, to this nuts and bolts session in which the first steps of initiat-

ing the new program would be set into motion.

The fourth step would involve visits by the training team to each of the participating jails. During these visits, the training team would act as trouble shooters, assisting on specific problems and reviewing the overall progress of program development. They might also conduct intensive training sessions for local program participants.

Finally, a semiannual meeting of county jail administrators who are setting up Model Education Programs in their jails, would be reconvened so they could compare notes, gain mutual support, and form the basis of a national reform group for county jails.

We also suggest that NIC consider establishing a separate evaluation component for such a program so it could monitor the progress of the individual jails. This would offer important comparative data on the various methods of program implementation. It might also provide a means to secure important data regarding the effects of these new programs on recidivism.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM

I. PRELIMINARY PROJECT NEGOTIATIONS

- January 1973 Ray Lucas, administrator and counselor at the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, introduces Sheriff John Courtney of the Berkshire County Jail and House of Corrections to Dr. Larry D. Dye, faculty member of the UMass School of Education Juvenile Justice Program.
- Spring 1973 Larry Dye contacts the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE) as possible funding source for the Berkshire project.
- * Wednesday Night "town meetings" initiated in the Berkshire Jail, open to inmates, correctional staff, interested members of the community. Larry Dye brings UMass students and various colleagues interested in correctional reform for open-ended discussions with jail members.
- * "Student-inmate" program proposed to inmates and correctional officers at Wednesday Night Meeting. Five UMass undergraduates put forth a plan to spend three months in the jail as a learning experience and to offer tutoring to inmates.
- July 1, 1973 A "Model Education Program" funded as a collaborative correctional reform effort by UMass and the Berkshire Jail. FIPSE proves a six-month \$50,000 planning grant. (Later extended to allow use over a full year period, until operational funds were granted July 1, 1973.)

II. THE FIRST YEAR: THE CREATION OF AN ENVIRONMENT SUPPORTIVE OF THE CHANGE PROCESS

- July, 1973 Dr. Norma Gluckstern, acting director of the Community Development and Human Relations Office at U-Mass, hired as the Model Education Program (MEP) project director.
- * Ralph Packard and Richard Smith, both senior correctional officers at the Berkshire Jail, reassigned by Sheriff Courtney for full-time duties as staff members of the MEP.

*Continuing features of the Model Education Program

First group of "student-inmates" enter the jail for a three month "sentence".

Wednesday Night Meetings continued and are instituted as an on-going and central focus of MEP. Become arena for discussing ideas for what MEP could accomplish.

Governance Board created, made up of correctional staff, inmates, UMass staff, and members of the jail administration. Board is charged with responsibility of making all policy decisions pertaining to educational and programmatic issues in the jail.

July - September
1973

Preliminary work on two major programs under taken:

1. The Berkshire-Belchertown Project, an in-service training program for Berkshire inmates to work as attendants at the Belchertown State School for the retarded.
2. The Concord Reformatory Training Program. A group of Berkshire inmates and correctional officers learn human relations training and offer a course to inmates of Concord Reformatory.

Expansion of existing recreational and sports programs in the jail.

September 1973

First National Advisory Board meeting held in jail. Nationally known figures in correctional reform pulled together by Larry Dye to serve on this Board and give guidance and support to MEP.

September 1973

First group of student-inmates "released" from jail.

October - December
1973

Berkshire-Belchertown Project begins. Five inmates and one correctional officer travel daily to the State School. After one month intensive orientation, inmates begin work.

Concord Project begins. Four inmates and two correctional officers make up team and teach course at Concord Reformatory.

Negotiations begin with UMass University Without Walls Program to enable inmates to get college credit for courses they will take in the jail.

Informal leadership training in which inmates and correctional officers who have identified themselves as active participants in the MEP learn group discussion skills, needs assessment techniques, proposal writing, funding raising, reform strategies.

Efforts marshalled by project administrators to build trust between inmates and officers.

January 1974

First courses offered in jail. Creative writing and philosophy courses offered by UMass professors. College credit secured through UWW.

Inmates and correctional officers make presentation of MEP program and philosophies at UMass School of Education.

February 1974

Third group of student-inmates incarcerated at Berkshire Jail.

Governance Board given additional responsibilities. Becomes policy making body for entire jail (not just educational programs) with Sheriff Courtney retaining veto power.

March - May 1974

Inmates discuss drug problems and decide to form self-help drug group. Write up funding proposal to hire group leader. Begin meeting weekly.

An easing of physical access by inmates to site within jail of MEP operations. Correctional officers loosening up on restrictions on letting inmates out of the cell block.

Educational needs assessment going on in series of informal discussions in jail. Creative writing and philosophy courses spark interest in other possibilities. Need for Basic Education and high school equivalency test preparation established. Need for vocational education discussed.

Gluckstern, Packard, Smith and a small group of inmates begin meeting with community agency personnel to find out ways in which jail can get access to community resources. Also use opportunity to educate community agencies about MEP and its purposes. (CETA, Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, Department of Education, etc.)

Presentations to community groups about MEP, to seek support and establish alliances. (Rotary, Williams College, local churches)

May 1974

Berkshire-Belchertown Project funded through CETA and no longer supported out of MEP operational funds.

Inmates, officers and UMass staff develop funding proposal for a series of mini-courses to be taught in jail (consumer education, financial management, etc.)

Third National Advisory Board Meeting takes place in jail; focuses on an evaluation of the MEP's first year of operations.

III. THE SECOND YEAR: PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

July 1974

FIPSE funds MEP for a year's programming.

Basic Education Program funded through Comprehensive Employment Training Act and Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission. Basic Education classes begin in jail.

August 1974

Correctional officers and inmates attend University Without Walls Orientation in preparation for attending classes in the fall semester on the University campus.

August 1974

CETA funds one new correctional officer, a secretary and a vocational counselor to work with MEP.

September 1974

UMass School of Education provides one graduate student to work part-time with MEP teaching classes.

Fourth group of student-inmates enters jail.

Four inmates and two correctional officers begin commuting two days a week to UMass to take on-campus courses toward their B.A. degrees.

Two day planning retreat attended by UMass staff, correctional officers, Sheriff, and inmate leaders of MEP; general discussions on directions and concerns related to MEP.

VISTA assigns a volunteer to work full time with MEP. Provides legal counseling in addition to his other program responsibilities.

October 1974

American Personnel and Guidance Journal special edition on corrections features Model Education Program with articles by UMass staff, inmates, correctional officers and Sheriff Courtney. (See APPENDIX VII for a full listing of publications pertaining to the Model Education Program.)

November 1974

First Awards Dinner for Berkshire-Belchertown trainees.

December 1974

Third group of inmates admitted to college degree program through UMass UWW.

January 1975

First inmates paroled from jail to attend UMass as full-time students, continuing degree studies begun while at the Berkshire jail.

Financial aid for ex-offenders enrolled at UMass secured through Basic Education Opportunity Grant.

Fifth Student-Inmate group enters jail.

Funding proposal developed to provide vocational training in the jail and submitted to the Department of Education. Vocational education program designed as a hands-on exploration of career options through introductory courses in a variety of trades.

February - June
1975

Marked increase in participation in various MEP programs by jail inmates as program offerings become varied and meet a wide range of needs and abilities; period of routinization of MEP operations.

IV. THE THIRD YEAR: TRANSFER AND TRANSITION

- July 1975 FIPSE funds MEP for third and final year. University personnel plan gradual diminishment of participation in administration of MEP.
- Educational Policy Committee formed, charged with interviewing, hiring and scheduling teachers and developing new curricula and courses for the jail. Inmates and correctional staff serve on this Committee, but UMass staff does not.
- August 1975 Dr. Gluckstern reduces participation in MEP to half-time.
- August 1975 Gluckstern, Packard and MEP graduate lead panel discussion at the American Psychological Association.
- September 1975 Second annual planning retreat for MEP participants and staff.
- MEP graduates attending UMass open group home in Amherst to provide home base for fellow ex-offenders newly released in jail and continuing their studies full-time at UMass.
- Renovations begun on old buildings on jail grounds to turn them into vocational education shops.
- October 1975 Fifth National Advisory Board Meeting. Ex-student inmate now serving on Board.
- November 1975 Funding proposal developed and submitted to create a pre-release center connected to the Berkshire Jail. Center planned as a small group home in the Pittsfield community to house inmates preparing their release from jail and re-integration back into the community.
- December 1975 Second VISTA volunteer begins term with MEP.
- Second Awards Dinner for Berkshire-Belchertown trainees.

January 1976

Disciplinary Board formed. Its conception is a joint effort of inmates and correctional officers who agree that only correctional officers should serve as Board members. In operation only briefly; reinstated 1977.

Dr. Gluckstern assumes full-time responsibilities as faculty member at Catholic University and continues with MEP only as a part-time consultant. George Yeannakis hired as interim Project Director until termination of FIPSE funding in June.

February 1976

Ralph Packard promoted to Education Director of the Berkshire Jail and chief administrator of MEP.

Funding receiving from a variety of small groups for specific programs in the jail. The Black Emergency Cultural Coalition funds courses in art and sculpture to be held inside the jail.

March 1976

Vocational Training Grant funded through Department of Education. \$10,000 provided for in-house programs. Sheriff reassigns another correctional officer to work full-time with MEP, to supervise this grant and act as director of vocational programs.

A group of community agency representatives begin regular meetings at the jail to plan a joint aftercare program for released inmates.

April 1976

Final National Advisory Board meeting.

May 1976

MEP works in conjunction with state Parole Board who take over administration of the Belchertown Project as a Mutual Agreement Program. Belchertown now open to inmates from other state correctional facilities.

MEP ex-offenders at UMass develop and write funding proposal for Project Re-Entry, a support program for ex-offenders attending UMass. Funded through the State Department of Mental Health. Project Re-Entry expands to provide support for inmates from three other area county jails.

July 1976

Pre-release Center grant funded for \$136,000 to begin January, 1977.

UMass staff terminate external change agent role in jail; continue to provide educational services. Ralph Packard and his staff, which now includes CETA trainees, VISTA volunteers, correctional officers, and staff hired through various operations grants, take over total responsibility for continuing operation of MEP.

APPENDIX II

MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX II

MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Berkshire County House of Corrections

Evaluation Project
Department of Psychology
Catholic University of America

General Interview Form (GIF)

Name:

Date:

Position:

Place of Interview:

1. a. Could you briefly describe the history of your involvement with BCJ. When exactly did that involvement start? What were the circumstances? By whom were you contacted?
- b. Which of these groups do you have contact with and how frequently?
 - Inmates? (if so, before, during, and/or after their jail term)
 - Correctional officers?
 - Correctional administration?
 - Other Model Education staff?
 - Community agency personnel?
- c. How often are you at the jail?
2. a. Did you participate in the development of MEP? In what way? How did the concept of MEP develop?
- b. The development of MEP included a team of university-based people coming into the jail and working with jail staff, administration, and community groups. What do you see as the major advantages of this procedure?
 - The major disadvantages?
- c. What was the key in making this approach work, i.e., a university team working with jail staff, administration, and community groups?
- d. What do you see were the major problems for UMass (at UMass and at BCJ) when the project began?
- e. What were the problems for BCJ?
- f. What things were helpful in circumventing problems?

- g. What things could have been done differently to avoid problems?
- 3. a. Could you describe the jail during the period that you Have been involved?
- b. What specific things have changed at the jail since July, 1973?
- c. What do you like most and what do you like least about these changes? Has anything changed that should have remained the same or vice versa?
- d. How would you describe the way in which change has been attempted or accomplished?
- 4. a. What specific things have changed at the jail or in the Model Education Program since July, 1976 or when UMass left?
- b. What do you see were the major problems when the UMass team left, for UMass and/or MEP?
- c. What was done to make the transition smooth?
- d. What was not done that could have been done or done differently?
- e. How successful has the transition been?
- 5. a. Given your experience with MEP, what would you say has been its primary goal? a secondary goal? What do you base this on? How successful has MEP been in achieving these goals?
- b. Have there been unexpected outcomes of the program that you have observed?
- c. What has been the single most important factor contributing to any success MEP has had? the single biggest obstacle?
- d. If you were to pick a group of people or groups of people, who have been the most instrumental in whatever success MEP has had, who would these be? What would each of their major contributions be and what personal characteristics, if any, enabled them to be effective?
- e. What about these others you didn't mention? (interviewer supplies names)
- 6. a. What changes presently would you make in the Model Education Program to improve it, if you could?
- b. What changes at BCJ?

7. a. If you have contact with inmates before and after their stay at BCJ, what effect, if any, does the jail experience seem to have on them? What effect, if any, does involvement with the Model Education Program seem to have?
b. Do you have any experience with other correctional institutions? Which ones? How would you compare the Berkshire Jail with those institutions?
8. a. What has been the history of the interaction between your office/agency and BCJ/MEP? What changes, if any, have taken place since 1973?
b. What would you do to change the present relationship between your office/agency and BCJ/MEP?
9. a. What has been the benefit, if any, for you personally of your involvement with BCJ/MEP?
b. What has been the benefit for your agency/office?
c. What has been the benefit for BCJ/MEP?
10. What do you envision for the future for MEP and BCJ?
11. Is there anything else you would like to comment on or discuss about MEP or BCJ?

Berkshire County House of Corrections
Evaluation Project
Correctional Officer Interview

Part I

1. When did you begin working at the jail?
month _____ Year _____ Total Months at
jail _____
2. How did you find out about the job?
 - a. newspaper ad
 - b. friend
 - c. family
 - d. employment agency
 - e. other (specify) _____
3. What position were you hired for? _____
 - a. what were your duties? _____
4. What is your present position? _____
 - a. What are your duties now? _____
5. What duties should a correctional officer be assigned to ideally?
6. Did you have any prior experience in corrections or law enforcement?
 - a. yes
 - b. no
 - a. if yes, position _____ years _____
position _____ years _____
position _____ years _____
7. What kind(s) of work had you done previously?

8. Would you recommend this type of work (i.e. correctional officer) to a friend?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, why?
- b. if no, why not?
9. What is the highest grade you completed?
- _____ years
10. Did you receive any special training or education related to this job before you started working at the jail?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, when _____ what type _____
- when _____ what type _____
- when _____ what type _____

11. Have you received any training or education related to this job since you began working here?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, when _____ what type _____
- when _____ what type _____
- when _____ what type _____

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the jail and particularly about discipline and security at the jail.

12. In order of importance, tell me which of the following are the three most important goals of the BCJ.
- _____ 1. provide educational and vocational skills
 - _____ 2. punish offenders
 - _____ 3. arrange for community resources to support inmates in the community
 - _____ 4. provide inmates with attitudes and values needed to make it on the outside
 - _____ 5. keep offenders off the streets to protect the community
 - _____ 6. make it as easy a place as possible to do time
 - _____ 7. to promote good relationships between inmates and guards
 - _____ 8. other _____

13. What types of infractions commonly occur that require you to discipline an inmate? (Begin with most common)
- a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
14. What kinds of action have you taken to discipline an inmate? (Begin with most common)
- a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
15. Which disciplinary actions are the most effective?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
16. Does an inmate have any way to appeal a disciplinary action taken against him?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, what _____
17. Does the Model Education Program have any effect on the disciplinary procedures at the jail?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, does it generally help or hinder in the carrying out of disciplinary procedures?
- 1) help (explain) _____
 - 2) hinder (explain) _____
18. Is there anything you would do to improve the disciplinary process?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, what would you do?
19. Do you feel the security system at the jail is effective?
- a. yes
 - b. no

20. Would you like to see any changes in the security system?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, what changes would you like to see?
- 1)
 - 2)
 - 3)
21. Does the Model Education Program facilitate or hinder security at the jail?
- a. help (explain)
 - b. hinder (explain)
 - c. no effect
- b. if it hinders, what changes would you like to see that would improve the situation?
- (ask #22 only of those working before July 1973)
22. In your opinion, have there been more, the same, or less crises at the jail since model education program
- a. more
 - b. the same
 - c. less
- a. if more, has MEP precipitated these crises? How?
- b. if less, has MEP helped to alleviate crises? How?
23. How would you go about trying to change a rules or regulation you felt needed to be changed?
24. Do you have any way in determining which inmates get parole?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. if yes, explain.
25. What problems did the jail staff experience when UMass and MEP came into the jail?
26. What things were done to try to resolve these problems?
- a. Were these effective?
27. What could have been done or done differently?
28. What changes have occurred at the jail since July, 1973? (or since you began working if after that date)

29. What changes do you like most?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
30. What changes do you like least?
- a.
 - b.
 - c.
31. What changes have occurred at the jail since UMass left in July, 1976?
32. Have your job duties changed in any way since July, 1973?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. If yes, have these changes been due to Model Education?
- 1) yes
 - 2) no
33. For those job duties that have remained the same, has the introduction of the Model Education Program affected the performance of them in any way?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. If yes, explain.
34. Have you participated in any of the educational opportunities made available through the Model Education Program?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. If yes, what and when?
35. How often do you go upstairs on the average?
36. For what purpose do you go upstairs?
1. supervise movies
 2. supervise church services
 3. talk to Model Education Staff
 4. work responsibilities vis-a-vis MEP
 5. never go upstairs
 6. other (specify)

37. In order of importance, tell me which of the following are the three most important goals of the Model Education Program.
- _____ 1. Provide educational and vocational skills
 - _____ 2. Punish offenders
 - _____ 3. Arrange for community resources to support inmates in the community
 - _____ 4. Provide inmates with attitudes and values needed to make it on the outside
 - _____ 5. Keep offenders off the streets to protect the community
 - _____ 6. Make it as easy a place as possible to do time
 - _____ 7. To promote good relationships between inmates and guards
 - _____ 8. Other (specify)
38. How much do you feel the Model Education Program helps inmates not to return to jail?
- a. a lot
 - b. some
 - c. very little
 - d. not at all

Now I would like you to take some time to fill out this opinion questionnaire, but first

39. Is there anything else you would like to comment on concerning the jail and the Model Education Program?
40. Length of Interview _____
41. Interruptions
- a. none
 - b. number _____
 - c. length _____
42. Attitude
- a. very cooperative
 - b. cooperative
 - c. reluctant
 - d. uncooperative but honest
 - e. uncooperative and dishonest

Part II

We would like to ask you some general questions about your experiences as a correctional officer here at the Berkshire County House of Corrections. We are interested in learning about Berkshire County House of Correction as it exists today.

Do you

strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements? PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR CHOICE.

43. The correctional officers are kept informed about what is happening here at the Berkshire Jail.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Unsure Don't know
1	2	3	4	5

44. Some inmates reward other inmates for good behavior.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

45. The correctional officers spend most of their time talking with the inmates.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

46. Inmates deal fairly and squarely with correctional officers.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

47. Correctional officers reward inmates for good behavior.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

48. If inmates really want to, they can share in decisions affecting the daily operation of the jail.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

49. The correctional officers have a say in changing the rules and regulations of the jail.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

50. Most of the rules here are fair.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

51. My work is satisfying to me.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

52. Correctional officers can get into special programs at the jail.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

53. The correctional officers are more concerned with keeping the inmates under control than with helping them with their problems.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

- | | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree | Unsure
Don't know |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------|----------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 54. When a correctional officer disciplines an inmate, he is supported in that action by fellow officers. | | | | | |
| 55. When inmates go out into the larger community, it's hard to tell them from other people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 56. The inmates have a say in changing the rules and regulations of the jail. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 57. If an inmate screws up, other inmates will punish him. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 58. People at the Berkshire Jail are pretty much split into two groups, with correctional officers in one and inmates in the other. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 59. I discuss my work with friends who are not correctional officers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60. The administration at the jail makes changes without consulting the correctional officers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 61. People in the outside community look down on the inmates. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62. If an inmate screws up, he is punished in some way by the correctional officers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 63. The correctional officers make changes without consulting the inmates. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 64. Correctional officers try to make this as easy a place to do time as possible. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 65. If correctional officers want to, they can share in decisions affecting the daily operation of the jail. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 66. Correctional officers don't get enough recognition for their work. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

67. There are too many inmates here who push other inmates around.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Unsure Don't know
-------------------	-------	----------	----------------------	----------------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

68. Most inmates are just interested in doing their time.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

69. The discipline at the jail is very strict.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

70. The inmates spend a lot of time in the outside community.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

71. The correctional officers deal fairly and squarely with all of the inmates.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

72. A lot of inmates look down on other inmates.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

73. There are no real leaders among the correctional officers here.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

74. The jail is a peaceful and orderly place.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

75. People from the community look up to correctional officers.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

76. People at the jail are pretty much split into two groups, with upstairs being one and downstairs the other.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

77. Community groups are willing to interact with the inmates.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

78. The correctional officers help the inmates get jobs outside, get into community groups, into educational programs and things like that.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

79. There are no real leaders among the inmates here.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

80. The correctional officers who good judgment.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

81. Real friends are hard to find among the correctional officers at the Berkshire Jail.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Unsure Don't know
-------------------	-------	----------	----------------------	----------------------

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

82. All decisions are made by the Sheriff.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

83. I feel very much that I fit in here at the jail.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

N.B. All Responses Will Be Strictly Confidential.

How I Feel About Model Education Staff

86.	unfair		fair
	fast		slow
	kind		cruel
	dishonest		honest
	cold		hot
	long		short
	good		bad
	unfriendly		friendly
	small		large
	sharp		dull

How Inmates Feel about Me

87.	unfair		fair
	fast		slow
	kind		cruel
	dishonest		honest
	cold		hot
	long		short
	good		bad
	unfriendly		friendly
	small		large
	sharp		dull

How I Feel About Me

90.	unfair							fair
	fast							slow
	kind							cruel
	dishonest							honest
	cold							hot
	long							short
	good							bad
	unfriendly							friendly
	small							large
	sharp							dull

Berkshire County House of Corrections

Evaluation Project

Inmate Interview Form

1. Have you attended classes, used the weight room or taken part in any of the programs upstairs? (ABE, Voc. Ed., Belchertown, AA, Drug Group).
 - a. yes
 - b. no

If yes, ask remaining questions.
If no, only do starred questions and then 43 to end of questionnaire.
2. In order of importance, tell me which of the following are the three most important goals of the Model Education Program?
 - ☐ 1. Provide educational and vocational skills
 - ☐ 2. Punish offenders
 - ☐ 3. Arrange for community resources to support inmates in the community
 - ☐ 4. Provide inmates with attitudes and values needed to make it on the outside.
 - ☐ 5. Keep offenders off the streets to protect the community
 - ☐ 6. Make it as easy a place to do time as possible
 - ☐ 7. Promote good relationships between inmates and guards
 - ☐ 8. Other (specify) _____
3. Do you feel that the Model Education staff is competent enough to accomplish the goals of the Model Education Program?
 - a. yes
 - b. no If no, why not _____
4. Do you feel that the staff of the community agencies (Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, CETA, DES) involved with the jail are competent enough to accomplish the goals of the Model Education Program?
 - a. yes
 - b. no If no, why not _____
5. Is the downstairs staff (guards and jail administrators) involved with the Model Education Program?
 - a. yes
 - b. no

a. If yes, do you feel they are competent to accomplish the goals of the MEP?

1) yes

2) no If no, why not? _____

6. Have you participated in programs or classes that have been attended by people other than inmates? (just programs and classes at jail)

a. yes

b. no

a. If yes, have they been

1. guards or administration	_____	number	_____
2. people from community	_____	number	_____
3. Model Ed. staff	_____	number	_____
4. other	_____	number	_____

7. What needs do you have that MEP helps you meet?
(Check those applicable)

_____	1. Alcohol problem
_____	2. drug problem
_____	3. educational help
_____	4. vocational help
_____	5. family counseling
_____	6. individual counseling
_____	7. other (specify) _____

8. What needs do you have that MEP does not help you meet?
(Check all applicable)

_____	1. alcohol problem
_____	2. drug problem
_____	3. educational help
_____	4. vocational help
_____	5. family counseling
_____	6. individual counseling
_____	7. other (specify) _____

9. Some inmates develop close friendships with other people while they are here, other don't. Have you developed any close friendships while you've been here?

a. with inmates	_____	b. number	_____
c. with MEP staff	_____	d. number	_____
e. with downstairs staff	_____	f. number	_____
g. with community agency people	_____	h. number	_____

10. Is there any person (staff, inmate, outsider) involved with Model Education who is the kind of person you would like to be?
- a. yes
 - b. no
- a. If yes, what does that person do?
Why is he/she the kind of person you would like to be?
- *11. When you first came to Berkshire County Jail, what did you think it would be like.
- a. very strict, but helpful
 - b. just a very strict place to do time
 - c. fairly comfortable, relaxed and helpful
 - d. fairly relaxed, comfortable but just a place to do time
- *12. What is the jail really like?
- a. very strict, but helpful
 - b. just a very strict place to do time
 - c. fairly comfortable, relaxed and helpful
 - d. fairly relaxed, comfortable but just a place to do time
- *13. In order of importance, tell me which of the following are the three most important goals of the jail?
- _____ 1. provide educational and vocational skills
 - _____ 2. punish offenders
 - _____ 3. arrange for community resources to support inmates in the community
 - _____ 4. provide inmates with attitudes and values needed to make it on the outside
 - _____ 5. keep offenders off the streets to protect the community
 - _____ 6. make it as easy a place to do time as possible
 - _____ 7. to promote good relationships between inmates and guards
 - _____ 8. other (specify) _____
- *14. How long have you been here at the Jail? _____ months
- *15. How much longer do you expect to be here? _____ months
- *16. How do you spend most of your time in the block (Rank in order of time involved)
- _____ 1. watching TV
 - _____ 2. reading and/or writing
 - _____ 3. playing cards
 - _____ 4. hanging out on tier
 - _____ 5. working in kitchen
 - _____ 6. other (specify) _____

17. How do you spend most of your time upstairs? (List as in #16)

_____ 1. working on projects
 _____ 2. hanging out
 _____ 3. in classes
 _____ 4. weight room
 _____ 5. counseling
 _____ 6. in meetings
 _____ 7. other (specify) _____

18. What three things do you like most about MEP?

a.
 b.
 c.

19. What three things do you like least about MEP?

a.
 b.
 c.

- *20. Have you ever done time before or have you even been to other jails or prisons before coming here to BCJ? If no, go to #23.

	1st mentioned	2nd	3rd
Name of institution			
Offense			
When			
How long there			

- *21. Did these other jails or prisons have programs similar to MEP here at Berkshire?

a. 1st mentioned 1. yes 2. no
 b. 2nd mentioned 1. yes 2. no
 c. 3rd mentioned 1. yes 2. no

If yes, how did these other programs compare to the BCJ program? How similar according to classes, counseling, educational and work release, and vocational training?

How different?

- *22. In general how does BCJ compare to these other places that you have been at in terms of

Name of Institution	Threat of Physical Violence	Threat of Sexual Attack	Need to have weapon	Use of Mass Punishment
1.				
2.				
3.				

Code 1 = greater at BCJ
 2 = greater at other institution
 3 = same

- *23. What types of infractions commonly occur that inmates get disciplined for? Begin with most common.

a.
b.
c.

- *24. What kinds of actions do guards commonly take to discipline an inmate? List most common first.

a.
b.
c.

- *25. Does an inmate have any way to appeal a disciplinary action taken against him?

a. yes If yes, what? _____
 b. no

26. If you could put together your own program to help inmates, what would it be like?

27. Which of these things have you or do you participate in?

a. Belchertown _____
 b. ABE _____
 c. Vocational classes _____ (specify)
 d. A.A. _____
 e. Drug Group _____
 f. Mass. Rehab. _____
 g. After Care _____
 h. Counseling _____ (individual or Group)
 i. Survival courses _____
 j. College courses _____ (at jail)
 k. UWW _____
 l. EPC _____
 m. Staff meetings _____
 n. Wednesday Night Meetings _____
 o. Inmate Communication Center _____
 p. Educational release _____
 q. JC only if written in pencil (8)
 r. other (13)

28. How long after coming to jail did you start participating in the upstairs program? _____ months
- *29. Are you on work release?
- a. yes
 - b. no
30. Does the upstairs staff want to bring about any changes in you or your situation?
- a. yes If yes, what changes?
 - b. no
31. Ask only of those in ABE. Which method of teaching do you like most?
- a. one on one (tutorial)
 - b. small group
 - c. convential classroom
 - d. other _____
32. How much personal attention do you feel you get from the MEP staff?
- a. a great deal
 - b. some
 - c. none
33. How do you feel about the strictness of the upstairs staff?
- a. too strict
 - b. about right
 - c. not strict enough
34. How often do you feel that the MEP staff tries to help you?
- a. most of the time
 - b. some of the time
 - c. very little of the time
 - d. none of the time
35. How much of the time does the MEP staff spend talking with you when you're not in class or involved with a project?
- a. most of the time
 - b. some of the time
 - c. very little of the time
 - d. none of the time
36. In general, how helpful would you say MEP is for you?
- a. very helpful
 - b. somewhat helpful
 - c. not helpful at all

37. Has MEP helped you in solving any of your problems?
- yes
 - no
- a. If yes, what problem has the program helped you with and how?
38. Has MEP provided you with useful, legitimate skills which will help you in the community?
- yes If yes, what skills?
 - no
39. How much do you think the program has helped you become the kind of person you want to be?
- a lot
 - some
 - very little
 - none
40. What do you expect to get out of this program?
- -
 -
41. How much do you feel that the program will help you in not returning to jail?
- a lot
 - some
 - very little
 - not at all
42. Are there any other ways in which you feel that the program has helped you?
43. Are there any ways in which you feel the program will hurt you?

This section concerns your opinions about the jail in general. I'm going to read you a statement and I want you to tell me whether you.

1. strongly agree, 2. agree, 3. disagree, 4. strongly disagree with the statement or 5. Unsure or Don't Know

44. Almost all the inmates are friendly to you.
- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
45. Most of the rules here are fair.
- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

46. Inmates have their own set of rules on how to behave that are different from those of the guards.
1 2 3 4 5
47. The Model Education staff is more concerned with maintaining discipline than with helping inmates with their problems.
1 2 3 4 5
48. There is a lot of interaction between inmates and Model Education staff.
1 2 3 4 5
49. Inmates won't work together to get things done in Model Education.
1 2 3 4 5
50. People in the outside community look down on inmates.
1 2 3 4 5
51. Inmates spend a lot of time in the community.
1 2 3 4 5
52. If an inmate does well in community programs, people in the community will personally tell him so.
1 2 3 4 5
53. If an inmate really wants to, he can help plan his future.
1 2 3 4 5
54. There are too many inmates who push others around.
1 2 3 4 5
55. There are no real leaders among the inmates here.
1 2 3 4 5
56. Other inmates give you a bad name if you insist on being different.
1 2 3 4 5
57. Guards deal fairly and squarely with everyone.
1 2 3 4 5
58. People are pretty much split into two different groups in the block, with guards in one and inmates in the other.
1 2 3 4 5
59. When inmates go out into the community, it's difficult to tell them from other people.
1 2 3 4 5
60. Real friends are hard to find here.
1 2 3 4 5
61. I feel very much that I fit in here.
1 2 3 4 5

62. Inmates as a whole mind their own business.
1 2 3 4 5
63. Guards are more concerned with maintaining discipline in the block than they are with helping inmates with their problems.
1 2 3 4 5
64. There is a lot of interaction between guards and inmates.
1 2 3 4 5
65. Most of the rules and disciplinary actions in MEP are fair.
1 2 3 4 5
66. If an inmate really wants to, he can share in the decisions about how the upstairs program is run.
1 2 3 4 5
67. An inmate can get a lot out of participating in Model Education.
1 2 3 4 5
68. Inmates have their own set of rules that are different from those of the Model Education staff.
1 2 3 4 5
69. People in the outside community generally hassle inmates involved in educational programs.
1 2 3 4 5
70. Inmates deal fairly and squarely with guards.
1 2 3 4 5
71. There are a few inmates who run everything in the block.
1 2 3 4 5
72. Some inmates get away with murder while others can't get away with anything.
1 2 3 4 5
73. Most inmates are just interested in doing their time.
1 2 3 4 5
74. Inmates around here usually get on your back for no reason.
1 2 3 4 5
75. Guards and inmates work together toward common goals.
1 2 3 4 5
76. Guards try to make this as easy a place to do time as they possibly can.
1 2 3 4 5

77. The upstairs is split into two groups with staff in one and inmates in the other.
1 2 3 4 5
78. Community agency people are more concerned with keeping inmates under control than with helping them with their problems.
1 2 3 4 5
79. Inmates have their own set of rules that are different from those of the community at large.
1 2 3 4 5
80. A lot of inmates look down on other inmates here.
1 2 3 4 5
81. Members of the community spend a lot of time at the jail.
1 2 3 4 5
82. Inmates and Model Education staff work together to achieve a common goal.
1 2 3 4 5
83. There are a few inmates who run everything in the upstairs program.
1 2 3 4 5
- 83a. People are pretty much split into two groups at the jail, with the upstairs being one and downstairs the other.
1 2 3 4 5

For the following questions, I would like you to answer by saying whether you think these things occur: 1) Almost Always, 2) Most of the time, 3) Some of the time, 4) Hardly ever or 5) Don't know or Unsure.

84. Other inmates reward an inmate for good behavior.
1 2 3 4 5
85. Most inmates here will physically fight you to get what they want.
1 2 3 4 5
86. Inmates here show good judgment.
1 2 3 4 5
87. Other inmates usually try to help a new inmate get familiar with the block.
1 2 3 4 5
88. The MEP staff helps inmates get jobs on the outside.
1 2 3 4 5

89. The MEP staff makes changes without consulting inmates.
1 2 3 4 5
90. If an inmate screws up, MEP staff will punish them.
1 2 3 4 5
91. The MEP staff will punish an inmate who screws up in a community program.
1 2 3 4 5
92. The upstairs program is peaceful and orderly.
1 2 3 4 5
93. The guards try to keey you informed about what's hap-
pening here at the jail.
1 2 3 4 5
94. If an inmate does well, guards will tell him so per-
sonally.
1 2 3 4 5
95. Guards help inmates get jobs on the outside.
1 2 3 4 5
96. If an inmate screws up in the community, people in the
outside community will punish him.
1 2 3 4 5
97. Almost all of the inmates here try to take advantage
of you.
1 2 3 4 5
98. If an inmate screws up, other inmates will sit down
and talk with him.
1 2 3 4 5
99. Inmates will help a new inmate get along.
1 2 3 4 5
100. The Model Education staff tries to keep you informed
about what's happening.
1 2 3 4 5
101. If an inmate does well, Model Education staff will tell
him so personally.
1 2 3 4 5
102. If an inmate screws up in the community, guards will
punish him.
1 2 3 4 5
103. Guards will reward an inmate for good behavior.
1 2 3 4 5
104. The Model Education staff deals fairly and squarely
with everyone.
1 2 3 4 5

- | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 105. | If an inmate screws up, other inmates will punish him. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 106. | Other inmates usually try to help a new inmate get familiar with the upstairs program. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 107. | If an inmate does well, other inmates will personally tell him so. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 108. | If an inmate screws up in the block. guards will punish him. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 108a. | People in the community do <u>not</u> help inmates get jobs. | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Semantic Differential

How I feel about other inmates

109.	unfair							fair
	fast							slow
	kind							cruel
	dishonest							honest
	cold							hot
	long							short
	good							bad
	unfriendly							friendly
	small							large
	sharp							dull

How I Feel About Guards

110.	unfair	<div></div>	fair
	fast	<div></div>	slow
	kind	<div></div>	cruel
	dishonest	<div></div>	honest
	cold	<div></div>	hot
	long	<div></div>	short
	good	<div></div>	bad
	unfriendly	<div></div>	friendly
	small	<div></div>	large
	sharp	<div></div>	dull

How I Feel About Model Education Staff

111.	unfair	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	fair
	fast	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	slow
	kind	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	cruel
	dishonest	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	honest
	cold	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	hot
	long	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	short
	good	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	bad
	unfriendly	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	friendly
	small	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	large
	sharp	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	dull

How Other Inmates Feel About Me

112. unfair							fair
fast							slow
kind							cruel
dishonest							honest
cold							hot
long							short
good							bad
unfriendly							friendly
small							large
sharp							dull

How Guards Feel About Me

113.	unfair							fair
	fast							slow
	kind							cruel
	dishonest							honest
	cold							hot
	long							short
	good							bad
	unfriendly							friendly
	small							large
	sharp							dull

116. Length of Interview. _____ minutes

117. Interruptions

- a. none
- b. number _____
- c. length _____ minutes

118. Attitude of respondent

- a. very cooperative
- b. cooperative
- c. reluctant
- d. uncooperative but honest
- e. uncooperative and dishonest

119. Other Comments

120. Interviewer's Name _____

121. Date: _____

APPENDIX III

Participant-Observation Research Observation Outline

I. Inmate - Inmate

A. Control

1. Attempts to coerce or gain power
(a. verbal b. physical)
2. Abdication of power or responsibility

B. Decision Making

1. Formal meeting
2. Informal decision making by "leaders"

C. Fairness

1. Rewarding for good behavior
2. Rewarding for conformity to inmate code
3. Punishing for bad behavior
4. Punishment for non-conformity

D. Communication

1. Flow of information between groups
2. Flow of information from individual to individual
3. Formal meeting

E. Other

II. Inmate - Correctional Officer

A. Control

1. Overt actions to gain control or exercise power
2. Bribery techniques to gain control
3. Chief objective of Correctional Officer to gain control -- not provide help

B. Decision Making

1. Formal meeting of entire community
2. On spot decision by Correctional Officer
3. Inmates effect decision by Correctional Officer

C. Fairness

1. Inmate rewarded by Correctional Officer for good behavior (special favors)
2. Inmate punished by Correctional Officer for poor behavior (deprivation of goods or harassment)
3. Correctional Officer accorded respect due to fairness
4. Correctional Officer disliked or "dumped" on due to unfairness

D. Communication

1. Correctional Officer communicates information to only few inmates
2. Correctional Officer communicates information to all inmates
3. Correctional Officers not informed of incident by inmates
4. Correctional Officer does not inform inmates
5. Correctional Officer informed of incident

E. Other

III. Correctional Officer - Correctional Officer

A. Control

1. Power play by one or more Correctional Officers to gain control
2. Sharing of power and responsibility

B. Decision Making

1. One Correctional Officer makes decisions over others
2. Joint decision by Correctional Officers

C. Fairness

1. Correctional Officer commended for action
2. Correctional Officer reprimanded for poor judgment

- D. Communication
 - 1. Breakdown between Correctional Officers
 - 2. Smooth, normal flow of orders and information
 - 3. Formal gatherings

E. Other

IV. Inmate - Model Education Staff

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Other

V. Correctional Officers - Model Education Staff

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Communication
- E. Other

VI. Model Education Staff - Model Education Staff

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Communication
- E. Other

VII. Inmate - Administration

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Communication
- E. Other

VIII. Correctional Officer - Administration

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Communication
- E. Other

IX. Model Education Staff - Administration

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Communication
- E. Other

X. Administration - Administration

- A. Control
- B. Decision Making
- C. Fairness
- D. Communication
- E. Other

APPENDIX IV

MODEL EDUCATION PROGRAM STAFF

(1973 - 1976)



University of Massachusetts

Larry L. Dye, Ed.D.
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Norma B. Gluckstern, Ed.D.
School of Psychology
Catholic University
Washington, D.C.
PROJECT DIRECTOR
(July, 1973 to January, 1976)

Douglas R. Forsyth, Ph.D.
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts
CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
(January, 1976 to July, 1976)

George Yeannakis, J.D.
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts
PROJECT DIRECTOR
(January, 1976 to July, 1976)

James SanSouci
Administrative Assistant

Graduate Assistants:

Jonathan Clarke
Janice Gamache
W. Neal Rist
Laverne Anderson
Ruth Noymer
Don Hazen
Judy Wallace
William O'Leary
Steven Jefferson
Beatrice Reis

Berkshire County

John D. Courtney, Jr.,
Sheriff
County of Berkshire
Berkshire County House
of Correction
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Henry E. Como
Deputy Master
Berkshire County House
of Correction
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Ralph W. Packard
Senior Officer
Berkshire County House
of Correction
Pittsfield, Massachusetts
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

Richard H. Smith
Senior Officer
Berkshire County House
of Correction
Pittsfield, Massachusetts
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
(July, 1973 to September, 1975)

Edward Ziemiak
Senior Officer
Coordinator, Berkshire/
Belchertown Program

John Sondrini
Senior Officer
Coordinator, Vocational Program

Albert Bianchi
Senior Officer
Coordinator, Recreation Program
Member, Program Advisory Board



APPENDIX V

Members of the Model Education Program

National Advisory Board



J. Douglas Grant	Berkeley, California
Alexander Hewes	Washington, D.C.
Ray Allen	Boise, Idaho
Vernon James	Washington, D.C.
Leonard Stern	Washington, D.C.
Frank Jasmine	Washington, D.C.
Richard Thomas	Springfield, Massachusetts
Elizabeth Buttenheim	Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Matthew Dumont	Boston, Massachusetts
Fred Cohen	Albany, New York
Randolph Bromery (University of Massachusetts)	Amherst, Massachusetts
Al Bianchi (Correctional Officer)	Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Nathaniel Anderson	Amherst, Massachusetts
Patricia Algina (Student-Inmate)	Boston, Massachusetts
Leon Lieberg	College Park, Maryland
William O'Leary (Student Inmate)	Amherst, Massachusetts

APPENDIX VI

Funding Received by the Berkshire County Jail and

House of Corrections in connection with

The Model Education Program

Since mid-1973, the following agencies have provided these types of support to the Berkshire County House of Correction, through the Model Education Program:

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Support</u>
FIPSE	Model Education Program FY'74	\$ 50,000
FIPSE	Model Education Program FY'75	103,863
FIPSE	Model Education Program FY'76	75,000
Shaw Foundation	Student-Inmate Program	15,000
Shaw Foundation	Student-Inmate & Belchertown Program	15,000
Shaw Foundation	Student-Inmate & Belchertown Program	13,500
Mass. Dept. of Mental Health	Project Off-Drugs 1974	9,500
Mass. Dept. of Education	Vocational Program	10,000
Mass. Dept. of Mental Health	Project Off-Drugs 1975	11,500
Mass. Dept. of Mental Health	Project Off-Drugs 1976	11,500
Mass. Dept. of Occupational Education	Belchertown Program	3,120
Mass. Dept. of Occupational Education	Adult Basic Education	4,200
Mass. Dept. of Corrections	Concord Program	5,000
Mass. Rehab. Commission	Survival Workshops	12,883
Mass. Rehab. Commission	Belchertown Program	10,000 (estimate)
CETA of Berkshire	Adult Basic Education	91,000

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Support</u>
Mass. Dept. of Mental Health	Project Re-Entry	\$ 12,000
LEAA	Berkshire Pre-release Center	70,000
National Institute of Corrections	Berkshire Evaluation	<u>48,000</u>
Total -- Direct Grants and Contracts		\$571,066

The listing of the above agencies does not adequately represent the quality of support received, nor does it even reflect the total amount of support -- financial and otherwise -- received at the Berkshire County Jail. The list does not reflect the resources provided other than by grants or contracts. The majority of resources provided by community agencies to MEP are not easily quantifiable, and include greatly increased personnel support as well as direct aid for inmates.

APPENDIX VII

Publications Pertaining to the

Model Education Program

Magazine and Journal Articles:

American Correctional Association Journal: "Experience at the Berkshire County House of Correction"; accepted for publication in Spring, 1977. Norma Gluckstern, author.

American Personnel and Guidance Association Journal:
Special Feature

Issue: Counselors in Corrections; a forty-page special section related to the Model Education Program and its innovations. October, 1974. Larry Dye and Norma Gluckstern, guest editors. Authors included MEP staff, inmates, correctional personnel, community agency personnel, University staff, and others.

Journal of Applied Behavioral Science: "The Internal/External Change Agent: A Study in Institutional Change"; accepted for publication in January, 1977. Norma Gluckstern and Ralph Packard, co-authors.

Newspaper Articles and Stories: (1973 - 1976)

Berkshire Sampler: "Jail Doors are Opening, and a new world is opening for prisoners at the Berkshire County House of Corrections." Five-page feature story. John Rice, author.

Boston Globe: "Inmates, Student, Guards Swap Roles." Feature story. Jerry Taylor, author.

Berkshire Eagle: "County Jail Inmates Getting High on Art." Article, Grier Horner, author.

Springfield Union: "French TV Crew Filming Jail Series." Feature story regarding television documentary shot in the Berkshire County House of Correction. Christopher Brooks, author.

New England Prisoners Association News: "Model Education Program." Feature story. Larry Dye, author.

South Middlesex Sunday News: "She went behind bars--voluntarily." Feature Story. Ray Potter, author.

Massachusetts Daily Collegion: "A Night in Prison." Article, Frits Geurtsen, author.

Daily Hampshire Gazette: "Inmate Volunteer Program Full-Time at State School." Feature story. Pam Olinsky, author.

Other Dissemination Efforts:

Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1975.
Panel discussion of the Model Education Program,
Chicago.

Convention of the American Personnel and Guidance Association,
1975. Panel discussion of the use of Microcounseling
in corrections.

Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1976.
Panel discussion on the Model Education Program.

National Television Network of France. Full length documentary
on Model Education Program and Larry Dye.

Channel 22, Springfield, Mass., Television talk show featuring
Norma Gluckstern and MEP staff.

END