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Prison higher education in Massachusetts : an exploratory cultural analysis.

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**FIVE COLLEGE
DEPOSITORY**

PRISON HIGHER EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS: AN EXPLORATORY
CULTURAL ANALYSIS

A Dissertation Presented

by

RAYMOND L. JONES

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1992

School of Education

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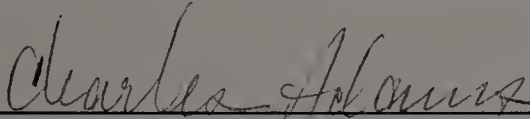
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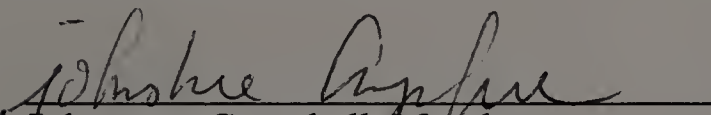
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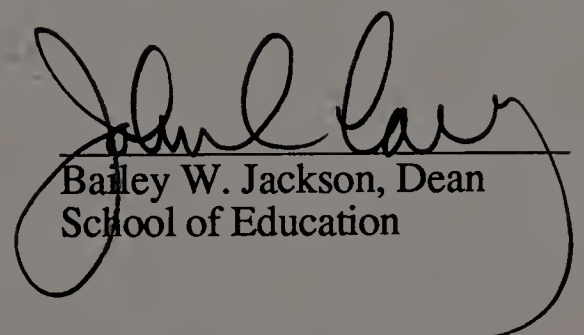
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Martin Luther King once urged, "...if you can't run, walk; if you can't walk, crawl; and if you can't crawl, then...just keep inching along." For the author, this dissertation represents the culmination of nine years of higher education completed while incarcerated in the prisons of Massachusetts. To learn and grow in a milieu that degrades and defiles is surely an accomplishment. Yet there can be no doubt that this accomplishment is more collective than individual, and acknowledgment is due to those who recognized just how much help might be required to enable a prisoner to "just keep inching along."

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willingness to devote literally hundreds of hours to overcoming the obstacles posed by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections during four years of doctoral studies, made every other contribution possible.

ABSTRACT

PRISON HIGHER EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS: AN EXPLORATORY CULTURAL ANALYSIS

MAY 1992

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The focus of this inquiry is upon higher education programs that offer post-secondary educational opportunities to men and women incarcerated in correctional facilities operated by the Massachusetts Department of Correction. The inquiry is exploratory, and both descriptive and theoretical. Its purpose was to generate a preliminary "social facts" description of prison higher education and a theoretical lens capable of guiding an examination of higher education as a mechanism for status reformation among prisoners.

Because cultural analyses seek to make explicit social structures that make meaning possible, the inquiry design incorporates both deductive and empirical methods. Prison higher education was defined as a special case in the more general expansion of higher education. Higher education was viewed as a system of contexts that reproduce a stratified society by regulating the social value of participation. The efficacy of prison higher education as a status transformation mechanism was seen to be delimited its location within this system of contexts.

The directors of six (6) prison higher education programs in Massachusetts participated in the empirical component of this inquiry by completing a questionnaire that sought information about personal backgrounds, program characteristics, and perceptions regarding the intersection of higher education and incarceration. The empirical findings

were reported in Appendix A and comprise a preliminary description of prison higher education in Massachusetts.

That description facilitated continuation of the theoretical discussion regarding the concept of prison higher education. It was concluded that higher education's historical pattern of expansion through the creation of educational forms and contexts that roughly mirror social expectations about participants lends strong support to the proposition that it became possible to educate prisoners precisely because some of those forms and contexts are no longer wholly in conflict with social expectations of what it means to be a prisoner. Support was also gained for the tentative propositions that prison higher education in Massachusetts is an element of mass education, that it may be evolving into an educational specialized context within mass education, that participation in programs of prison higher education is not likely to result in credible status transformations within or beyond the structure of confinement.

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE INQUIRY

Introduction

This dissertation is an attempt to apply contributions to the analysis of culture by Peter Berger, Michel Foucault, and others to the study of higher education. Prison higher education is examined as a social concept formed at the intersection of the prison and higher education. Higher education is conceptualized as a system of forms and contexts, differentiated by organizational structure, that reproduce a stratified society in a "transformed form" by regulating the social value of participation. The ultimate objective is to explore the way in which prison higher education, as a concept, is shaped through its location within this system of forms and contexts and how that location delimits the meaning and value of participation.

Prison higher education may be conceptualized as a possibility that exists at the intersection of higher education and the prison, and it may also be regarded as a special case in the historical expansion of higher education. It may be defined as the integration of the symbolic meaning of participation in higher education and the symbolic meaning of incarceration. Yet the functions and values of higher education in the larger society appear fundamentally at odds with the desocialization (Goffman, 1968) and degradation functions of incarceration (Garfinkel, 1956). This exploratory, descriptive and theoretical inquiry culminates with the development of a description of prison higher education in Massachusetts, and this description serves as the basis for extending a theoretical exploration of the social meaning and value of the educational product that emerges at the intersection of two social institutions with presumably divergent and contradictory social functions.

For more than two decades prison higher education has legitimated itself as a vehicle for the reformation or rehabilitation of criminal offenders in the prisons of America (Corcoran, 1985; Lewis and Fritz, 1975). Its entry into the prisons appeared to contradict fundamental cultural and social assumptions about both what it meant to be a prisoner and what it meant to be a participant in higher education. The expansion of higher education into the prisons created a new social role and category of persons, prisoner-college students, who comprised a marginal situation and indistinct role (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984) not wholly embraced within the institutional boundaries of either higher education or the prison. Prisoner-college students did not, at the outset, fit into the social category of either prisoners or college students.

The emergence of marginal situations and indistinct roles reflects at the very least momentary erosions of institutional boundaries (Douglas, 1966). Thus it is less than surprising that prison higher education emerged during a period characterized by crises of legitimacy in American institutions. It was in 1968 that higher education entered the prisons of Massachusetts. The Student-Tutor Evaluation Project founded by Babbette Spiegel, began in Walpole State Prison and eventually expanded to Norfolk State Prison (Reagan and Stoughton, 1976). That program consisted of humanities courses taught by tutors which Northeastern University had certified. Its aims were limited: to prepare men to pursue higher education once paroled or released from confinement (Reagan and Stoughton, 1976).

The Rehabilitative Ideal - that period in which the prison was legitimated by belief in the possibility of coercive reformation through behavior modification - was very much alive at that time, but increasingly under attack from both ends of the political spectrum. The prison system, like almost every major social institution of that era, had come into the lenses of outside forces. These forces forged attacks on rehabilitative philosophy and practice and, in entering the prisons, were confronted with the reality that most so-called rehabilitative programs were either ineffective or existed only in the "mythology of

corrections" (Germanotta, personal communication, 1988). As one source, familiar with this period, has noted:

In that chaotic period there was always a vacuum. The Department of Corrections didn't know what to do and that forced them to accept an outside force coming in...(Kit Bryant, personal communication, 1988)

The prison system, even in crisis, embraced higher education reluctantly: it allowed Mrs. Spiegel's program into the prison because of her perceived political power and influence (Bryant, 1984), but demonstrated its discomfort from the outset. It restricted participation to fifteen carefully selected prisoners per semester (Reagan and Stoughton, 1976).

The rehabilitative era came to an end in the early 1970s, collapsing under attacks from both the political Left and Right. Conservatives had viewed the emphasis on treatment, however mythological, as symptomatic of society's leniency toward criminal offenders. The Left, increasingly cognizant of the gulf between the expressed aims and the reality of imprisonment, rejected the rehabilitative notion as "theoretically faulty," "systematically discriminatory," and "inconsistent with justice" (American Friends Service Committee, 1971).

What would emerge throughout the nation were a variety of so-called "justice models." Whether developed by the political Left or Right, they shared common characteristics. The most important of these was that rehabilitation would no longer constitute the aim of corrections. Treatment staffs would still deploy the familiar language of rehabilitation, but the real business of corrections would be the protection of public safety through the provision of care and custody. Bifurcation became the code word for a system of confinement in which "voluntary programs" were made available to those prisoners who desired them, while the rest were simply incapacitated and "warehoused."

In Massachusetts, the transition in penal philosophy coincided with sustained violent uprising within its prisons. The Omnibus Prison Reform Act (Chapter 777 of the Massachusetts General Laws) was enacted in response to both the chaos within the prisons

and the crisis of legitimacy corrections faced with the general public. Primarily because it legislated reforms such as the provision of furloughs, education and work release programs, and the establishment of a system of lesser-security facilities, many have regarded this legislation as a statement of rehabilitative intent. But if the reforms it authored appeared to respond to the despair and loss of hope within and about the prisons, it reflected as well the logic of a new confinement in which the responsibility for rehabilitation or reformation would rest with the individual prisoner rather than with those who administered the prisons.

Only in this circumstance, with criminal justice in crisis, coercive reformation abandoned, and rehabilitation no longer the responsibility of corrections, was higher education able to enter the prisons as a force, able to shape its mission. The educators who guided higher education into the prisons of Massachusetts were not, at the time, necessarily aware that they acted at a pivotal moment in the history of the prisons and higher education. Nor did they typically concern themselves with articulating broad purposes.

...it hasn't been based on a deliberate philosophy. From the very beginning, it all started with these so-called dedicated volunteers, people who for one reason or another decided to come in and bring educational services to prisoners...(Kit Bryant, personal communication, 1988)

They have attributed the programs they developed to little more than a series of fascinating coincidences that enabled their emergence and growth, rather than an outgrowth of institutional crisis and the continuing expansion of higher education.

The erosion of institutional boundaries, and the marginal situations that emerge from them, threaten our sense of order. Berger and Luckman note that the social world:

establishes a hierarchy, from the "most real" to the most fugitive self-apprehensions of identity. This means that the individual can live in society with some assurance that he really is what he considers himself to be as he plays his routine social role, in broad daylight and under the eyes of significant others. (1966: 100-101)

In the simple act of striving to learn and, in the process, acquire formal educational credentials, men who were confined for past deviance became deviant once again: their inclusion within higher education was seen by many as a case of deviants improperly located within the social structure that dictated their confinement.

The incumbent of a marginal role, no less than other individuals and groups with whom he or she acts, is vested in the reconciliation of the social ambiguity that surrounds his or her status and role. Ambiguity, in the realm of status and role, can be regarded as a transitional state and the individual passing through a given moment of transition between discrete statuses and role "is himself in danger and emanates danger to others" (Douglas, 1966: 100). Marginal situations and indistinct status and roles, unless reconciled within culture and society, either become elements of anomic conditions (Durkheim, 1933) or continue to be regarded as out-of-the-ordinary and, dependent on the social location of the perceiver - in terms of both stratification and morphology - as either morally refreshing or morally reprehensible.

The initial act of accommodation between higher education and the prison occurred in their mutual willingness to create the new and ambiguous social role of prisoner-college student. In so doing, both were equally in conflict with the normative order. Among the functions of education is to "symbolically redefine graduates as possessing special qualities and skills gained through attendance" (Kamens, 1977). Possession of these qualities and skills is presumed fundamental to the acquisition of various social roles. Incarceration, in contrast, seeks to symbolically redefine prisoners as deviants who lack the attributes, qualities and skills requisite to successful participation in the larger society (Goffman, 1968). Prison teaches the offender that he or she is incompetent, irresponsible, and without moral or social worth (Foucault, 1979; Goffman, 1968). If higher education and the prison function to construct credible but contradictory identities, in establishing the new social role of prisoner-college student, both were acting outside their normative roles.

The relationship between higher education and the prison turns on their respective attempts to make the roles of prison higher education and prisoner-college students appear rational within their institutional realms and the larger society. Conflict and accommodation exist beneath the level of appearances and are grounded in the nature of their socialization functions, in the identities each seeks to bestow. They are in conflict to the extent that higher education symbolically redefines prisoner-college students in ways that contradict the symbolic re-definition that comprises the goal of incarceration. Accommodation and integration take place when one institution adjusts or expands the scope and diversity of symbolic re-definitions it bestows in order to embrace rather than contest an inherently contradictory symbolic redefinition.

Marginality

Although the role of prisoner-college student appears to remain marginal within culture and society, it has become increasingly institutionalized within both higher education and the prison. Post-secondary education appears firmly established within American prisons. A 1977 study indicated that 66 percent of the 327 reporting federal and state prisons offered some post-secondary educational opportunities (Bell, 1977). A survey of American prisons conducted in 1981 revealed that at least 28,000 prisoners were participating in higher education (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983). Although current national figures are difficult to obtain, colleges and universities active in the education of prisoners number in the hundreds and, if prisoner participation rates are stable, more than 50,000 prisoners are involved in college-level coursework. Indeed, prison higher education programs are rapidly becoming commonplace. In Massachusetts, four public and two private colleges and universities offer post-secondary educational opportunities to prisoners in fifteen state correctional facilities during 1990. Table 1 (page 7) identifies these programs and correctional facilities. Though many of these programs began with limited offerings intended to promote post-release enrollment in higher education, all are

now awarding undergraduate degrees, and one awards graduate degrees, to growing numbers of prisoners.

Prison higher education is a social movement. Turner and Killian (1957) have defined social movements as "collectivities that act with some continuity to promote a change...in society." The ongoing delivery of educational opportunities necessarily satisfies the requirement of continuity. Prison higher education, through conformity to established status systems within higher education, exhibits stability among roles between leadership and membership. Graduation marks a clearly defined end point of active participation for members, a rite of passage that assumes program continuity in the face of a constantly changing membership.

Table 1

Degrees Offered at State Correctional Facilities by College

College or University	Degree Offered	Correctional Facility
Boston University	MA BA, MA	Bay State Corr. Center MCI-Norfolk
Curry College	BA	MCI-Cedar Junction
Massasoit C. C.	AA AA AA AA AA	Bridgewater State Hospital Bridgewater Treatment Center MCI-Old Colony S.E. Corr. Center/Medium S.E.Corr. Center/Minimum
Mt. Wachusett C. C.	AA AA AA AA AA AA	MCI-Framingham MCI-Lancaster MCI-Shirley MCI-Concord North Central Corr. Center. Northeast Corr. Center
University of MA/Amherst	BA BA BA	North Central Corr. Ctr. MCI-Lancaster MCI-Shirley
University of MA/Boston	None BA	MCI-Norfolk MCI-Old Colony

More specifically, prison higher education may be regarded as a personal status reform movement (Turner & Killian, 1957). Rather than aspiring to challenge and alter fundamental aspects of social structure, prison higher education is grounded within the ideals and values of society. Although its ideology hints at the perceived need and desire to affect limited change within the prisons and the wider society, its essential thrust involves the redefining of the personal status of prisoners, regardless of whether changes occur in the wider society. Prison education, accordingly, is in many ways comparable to such movements as Alcoholics Anonymous that guide their members toward the acquisition of socially approved statuses and roles.

The ideals of prison higher education (Corcoran, 1985) appear resonant with the reformatory or rehabilitative rhetoric that has legitimated incarceration since the birth of the prison (Foucault, 1979; Rothman, 1971), but these ideals are in conflict with the systemic practices and functions of incarceration. The ideals of prison higher education - based on the perception of criminal offenders as "lesser in the scheme of social types" (Garfinkel, 1956) - are inherently paternalistic. Despite this fact, in admitting the possibility of human renewal and reformation, they would appear to present a fundamental and perhaps irreconcilable conflict with the desocialization (Goffman, 1968) and degradation functions of incarceration (Garfinkel, 1956).

If the prison and higher education strive to construct credible but contradictory identity transformations, higher education's presence in the prison should be characterized by both conflict and marginality. Within the prison, faculty and staff of prison education programs are often perceived as intruders and many report the necessity of circumnavigating the hostile attitudes of correctional staff. The needs of prison higher education seldom rank high on the priority lists of prison treatment staffs, whose own agendas seldom rank more than a distant second to those of security personnel. Significant conflict may arise when correctional personnel perceive that the representatives of higher education may not share their negative assumptions about prisoners or their view of the

appropriate role of staff (Tiller, 1974). A 1988 study conducted in Oklahoma state prisons, for example, reports that even "correctional educators" employed by the prison system possess "overall negative attitudes toward inmates" (Dansie, 1988). A 1985 study revealed that correctional officers had substantially negative attitudes toward higher level academic education for prisoners (Siano, 1988).

The movement's marginality within the prison may be replicated within higher education. The problem of meeting program costs in the face of uncertain funding, recruiting competent faculty, securing access to academic resources, and overcoming ideological resistance to the education of prisoners preoccupy program directors. Few programs receive funding from their parent organizations. Most are self-supporting elements of continuing education departments, dependent on shrinking state and federal entitlement programs to meet program costs. Prisons lack the comprehensive libraries and other educational resources presumed elemental to higher learning in the wider society. Lack of awareness, geographical obstacles, or departmental disinterest and opposition hinder recruitment among faculty members and compels reliance on part-time instructors who are often inexperienced.

Prison higher education is also both politically and socially tenuous. Periodically, generalized opposition to the education of prisoners arises. William Weld, the Republican Governor of Massachusetts, opposes the provision of higher education to prisoners. Legislation filed in Michigan calls for the elimination of funding for all education programs in state prison facilities. And a task force of the National Association of Financial Aid Administrators recently recommended that prisoners be deemed ineligible for federal Pell Grants, the largest source of funding for prison higher education. Albeit magnified by state and federal fiscal crises, such opposition centers not on the issue of whether higher education is an effective rehabilitative approach, but whether prisoners "should" or "ought" to have access to higher education.

Whether a college education is appropriate for prisoners is, in part, a moral question and the answer may depend on one's expectation of what it means to be a prisoner. It may also, however, be ideological. To the extent that prisons represent the institutional bottom line of society, the recent spate of attacks on the education of prisoners may well reflect an attempt to redefine that bottomline as a "necessary step" in the reduction of the entitlements now enjoyed by other groups in the wider society.

Despite this marginality, the proliferation of prison higher education programs would appear to indicate accommodation and integration both at the organizational and institutional levels. Given that prison higher education exists at the intersection of higher education and incarceration, prison higher education must, in large part, be defined as the integration of the symbolic meaning and value of participation in higher education with the symbolic meaning of incarceration. The notion of enduring conflict posited by educators appears untenable. If, in the view of many educators, the prison is an authoritarian milieu that defiles, degrades and holds little hope for human renewal, how does higher education explain its partial integration within that system? If the cultural meanings of education and incarceration are wholly contradictory, how did it become possible to educate prisoners without undermining the social meaning of incarceration?

Nature of the Inquiry

This inquiry, which focuses upon higher education programs operated within the prisons of Massachusetts is exploratory, descriptive and theoretical. The inquiry is motivated by a personal and professional interest in the education of prisoners and by intellectual interest in the nature of higher education's historic pattern of expansion and inclusion. Prison higher education, as a possibility that exists at the intersection of higher education and the prison, represents a special case in the expansion of higher education.

A set of assumptions about prison higher education contributed to the design of this inquiry. These assumptions are that:

1. the principal objective and legitimation of prison higher education is the reformation of incarcerated criminal offenders;

2. both higher education and the prison are socializing institutions and, as such, serve to simultaneously confer identity and status upon participants;

3. both higher education and the prison function to effect credible identity transformation, but these appear contradictory because

a. a crucial function of education is to "symbolically redefine graduates as possessing special qualities and skills gained through attendance" (Kamens, 1977) and these qualities are presumed fundamental to the acquisition of social roles, while,

b. incarceration, in contrast, seeks to symbolically redefine prisoners as lacking the attributes and competencies requisite to meaningful participation in the larger society (Goffman, 1968) and teaches the prisoner and wider social audiences that the prisoner is incompetent, irresponsible, and without social worth (Foucault, 1979; Goffman, 1968);

4. the manner in which higher education has expanded, its creation of varying institutional types that roughly mirror the social status and expectations about prisoners, suggests that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education precisely because certain institutional and organizational types within higher education allocate status in ways that do not significantly conflict with the status allocated by incarceration, and

5. the possibilities of status reformation afforded by prison higher education are limited by the status allocation effects of prison higher education as a context within higher education in the wider society.

The nature of this inquiry is significantly shaped by my perspective on culture and society. That perspective, presented in Chapter Two, is principally grounded in contributions to the analysis of culture by Peter Berger (1963 and 1967) and Thomas Luckman (1966), Mary Douglas (1966, 1970, and 1986), Jurgen Habermas (1979 and

1984), and Michel Foucault (1965, 1970, 1972, 1979, and 1980). My perspective departs significantly from the prevailing assumptions of various perspectives which may be collectively termed phenomenological and interpretative. These perspectives locate "meaning" in the subjective externalizations of human actors. Instead, the theoretical perspective I outline in Chapter Two and utilize to shape this inquiry presumes that the meaning of social activity, and educational participation specifically, may be located in the objectified ritual contexts in which it emerges rather than in the subjective intentions or apprehensions of social actors.

The objective of this inquiry is to describe prison higher education as a mechanism of status allocation among prisoners in Massachusetts and to develop significant questions for further inquiry. The findings of this inquiry, presented in the Appendices, are in part empirically derived from the responses generated by a survey questionnaire administered to the directors of the six (6) higher education programs operating in state correctional facilities in Massachusetts. The information obtained from these surveys is supplemented through follow-up conversations with the directors, and demographic information obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Corrections.

However, given the theoretical perspective of this inquiry, I argue that it is only in relation to the objectified structures of the social world that the nature of a phenomenon can be discerned, thus a meaningful description of prison higher education cannot reasonably exclude the deductive stipulation of the contexts which make meaning possible. Higher education and the prison, the two immediate institutional contexts relevant to prison higher education, are examined in Chapter Five and Chapter Four, respectively. In stipulating the nature of these contexts, I focus on the ways in which each seeks to organize the signs of belonging in society through ritual structures specific to their status allocation functions.

These stipulated contexts, and the general theoretical perspective which shapes their formulation, serve as the basis for the interpretation of empirically-derived information through which a structural description of prison higher education in Massachusetts is

developed and significant questions for further inquiry are identified. The theoretic, the stipulated contexts, and the empirically-derived information provide the basis for a discussion centering on several tentative propositions: first, that prison higher education in Massachusetts is an element of mass education; second, that prison higher education in Massachusetts is evolving into a specialized context within mass education; and third, that the efficacy of prison higher education as a vehicle for offender reformation is limited by its place in the contexts of higher education. The last proposition is based on two sub-propositions: (1) that prison higher education in Massachusetts, despite reformatory aims, has limited credibility as a reformatory mechanism within the structure of confinement and (2) that prison higher education has limited credibility as a reformatory mechanism beyond the structure of confinement. This discussion is presented in Chapter Six.

Significance of the Inquiry

The significance of this inquiry emerges from the centrality of reformatory aims to the legitimization of both incarceration and the practice of higher education in the prisons. A reformatory ideal informed the invention of the prison two centuries ago and remains a powerful social legitimization of contemporary prisons. A survey conducted by the U. S. Department of Justice (1989) reported that 84.5% of the American public consider offender reformation among the purposes of incarceration. Offender reformation was regarded a "very important" by 71.5% and as "somewhat important" by another 13%. Given that most prisoners are sentenced to finite terms of incarceration, many who stress the prison's punitive aspect may simply view punishment itself in corrective or reformatory terms.

The prison, however, has never proven an effective vehicle for the reformation of offenders. As Foucault has noted:

The failure of that project was immediate...In 1820 it was already understood that the prisons, far from transforming criminals into honest citizens, serve only to

manufacture new criminals and to drive existing criminals deeper into criminality.
(Foucault, 1980: 40)

The prison was legitimated by the concepts of reformation and delinquency, which its invention brought into being (Foucault, 1979 and 1980; Rothman, 1971). Throughout its history, a majority of prisoners released from custody have ultimately committed fresh offenses and returned to prison.

There is significant theory and research suggesting that incarceration encourages rather than discourages criminal activity (Fyfe, 1991). In the face of this historic failure, which motivated Marx to refer to the prison as the "university of crime," it is ironic that America has come to rely even more on incarceration as a solution for crime. A 1989 article by U. S. News and World Report criticized a Bush administration anti-crime plan that assumed it was possible to "incarcerate our way out of the crime problem." Despite such criticisms, America incarcerates more people (approximately one million at the time of this writing), at a higher rate per capita, and for longer periods of time any other nation.

Higher education has, for more than two decades, presented itself as an effective strategy for the reformation of prisoners. If prison higher education is to achieve this aim, it will have to develop a practice that is grounded in an understanding of the ways in which both higher education and corrections bestow identity and status upon individuals. It must begin to develop a practice grounded in an understanding of the dynamic that made it possible to include prisoners in higher education without wholly undermining the social meaning of incarceration; a practice grounded in an understanding of the dynamic that exists at the intersection of two institutions possessing, at the level of appearances, antithetical aims.

Prison higher education's success by quantitative measures such as program size and scope largely rests on the degree to which it is able to achieve legitimacy within higher education, corrections and the wider society. Its ability to achieve its principal aim, the reformation of the status of offenders (Corcoran, 1985), is dependent upon the precise

basis of that legitimacy and the social identity it constructs for those who participate in higher learning while incarcerated.

Accordingly, any inquiry that contributes to the knowledge of prison higher education as an organization of the signs of belonging within culture and society is of paramount importance. Yet this inquiry has particular significance (1) because of the shortcomings in the literature pertaining to prison higher education, (2) because the inquiry focuses on diffuse rather than direct socialization effects and (3) because the inquiry is grounded in the theoretical relocation of the meaning of educational participation from the subjective apprehensions of individuals to the objectified contexts in which they act.

Shortcomings in the Literature of Prison Higher Education

The significance of this inquiry becomes manifest when one considers the literature of prison higher education. A computer-assisted search which reduced the likelihood of overlooking relevant references revealed numerous topically related references. That search included Books in Print, Educational Information Resources Center (ERIC), Sociological Abstracts, the Social Science Index (SOCSCI), the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), and Dissertation Abstracts International. A sampling of the references obtained from these sources is sufficient to support the necessity of this inquiry.

First and foremost, not a single scholarly article and no report of descriptive, exploratory or explanatory research pertaining to prison higher education in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was located in the above mentioned search. In fact, telephone contact with each of the prison higher education programs and the Massachusetts Department of Corrections established the fact that no comprehensive description, published or non-published, of prison higher education in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts exists. The national literature, on the other hand, offered little that was helpful to this inquiry. Many of the references were anecdotal and essayist, recording the perceptions of authors who have some experience as educators within the prisons. For example, Brodt and Hewitt (1984) discuss the teaching of criminology in prison, while

Jones (1988) reflects on a decade of teaching literature in the prison. The scarcity of literature pertaining to prison higher education may account for the incidence of descriptive studies (Blumstein and Cohen, 1974; Long, 1979; Thomas, 1978; and Tulardilok, 1977). Descriptive studies of programs offered by single colleges or universities are numerous (Boaz, 1976; Bortz, 1981; Malott, 1983; Thomas, 1978; and Tulardilok, 1977) and many contain evaluative elements.

The essayist character of the literature extends to efforts to construct theory, which are rare and emphasize direct socialization effects. Gehring (1988) discusses the "connection between democracy and cognitive process," Duguid (1980; 1981a; 1981b; and 1987) attempts to develop theory that merges Kohlbergian moral development theory with a perspective on the liberal arts, and Homant (1984) offers an argument that prison education is necessarily value education. These efforts are representative in (1) not offering significant questions for further research, (2) ignoring the diffuse socialization effects of both higher education and incarceration, and (3) failing to examine the social meaning of the educational product that emerges at the intersection of these two institutions.

Historical studies of the role of education in the prisons are scarce and uncritical. Angle (1982) provides a chronology of the development of programs during the nineteenth century. Limited historical data tends to be found within descriptive studies of individual programs (Adams, 1973; Malott, 1983). Reagan and Stoughton (1976) provide the most comprehensive treatment of this history. Roberts (1971) provides some useful historical data but, like the others, reflects no recognition of the possibility and probable importance of the variable meaning of educational participation.

The literature evidences attempts to ascertain or posit program objectives (Homant, 1984) and motivations for participation (Curry, 1974; Yarborough, 1980). Attempts to evaluate the impact of post-secondary education on prisoners are numerous and include attempts to measure differences in "completers and non-completers" (Hinck, 1975), program impact on cognitive ability (Blackwell, 1973), self-concept (Lind, 1985;

Pendleton, 1988), increased employability (King, 1988), increased educational levels and improvement in attitude toward others (Blackwell, 1973), and recidivism or post-release adjustment (Blackburn, 1981; Blumstein and Cohen, 1974; Haviland, 1982; King, 1988; O'Neil, 1988).

The literature most relevant to this inquiry concerned the level of conflict between higher education and corrections. Although conflict is frequently noted in the literature (Adams, 1968; Corcoran, 1985; Pisciotta, 1983), Collins (1988) may be right in suggesting that this conflict is overstated. An early study (Tiller, 1974) of the dual administration of a prison higher education program in Texas revealed some conflict between college faculty and correctional administrators, but insignificant conflict between higher education and correctional administrators. Similarly, Tulardilok's (1977) study of one Michigan program found a significant correspondence in the goals of higher education and corrections. On the other hand, Young (1988) found in a study focused on correctional education that programs suffer from conflicting goals and multiple constituencies and that this fact may account for much of the conflict between education and corrections. A national study (Long, 1973) concluded that college programs were not an integrated element of corrections, a fact that might presuppose intersystem conflict. The marginal situation of prison higher education, and the likelihood of intersystem conflict are reinforced by studies which report negative attitudes of correctional officers (Hutchinson, 1978; Siano, 1985), and the incongruence between the expectations and goals of higher education and correctional personnel (Holbert, 1976).

Prison higher education is the integration of higher education and the prison. The study of the extent and meaning of that integration is frustrated by an inchoate literature that does not examine the symbolic meaning of either educational participation or incarceration and, therefore, contributes little to an understanding of the symbolic meaning and social value of their integration. This fact, taken with the complete absence of literature specific to prison higher education in Massachusetts, supports the significance of the inquiry.

There, of course, no scarcity of educational research and theory that purports to explore the meaning and value of educational participation. Yet I have attempted to design a study that accentuates the theoretical position that instead of offering possibilities for transcendence, the human sciences, the reference discourse of those who "make other peoples lives their business," are elemental to the confinements that shape modern societies (Foucault, 1970). Recognizing this, I sought to design an inquiry which would, as much as possible, stand outside of the human sciences and the educational theories that relate to the study of educational practices. Cultural analysis stands outside of science and elevates the concept, as the embodiment of the conditions that shape is meaning, above the subjectivities that proclaim the human experience of it.

I identify this inquiry as a cultural analysis to explicitly acknowledge that it is not a "scientific" undertaking. Its subject is not the material facts and circumstances that constitute prison higher education, but instead prison higher education as a social construction formed in the interplay of the knowledge of institutional realms - corrections and higher education - that are themselves social constructions. In the modern age, the human sciences and the professions that speak in their name are elemental to shaping these constructions and, for that reason, I have designed a study that does not utilize the literature of educational theory and research to display obedience to a tradition or establish the authority of statements. To the extent that this literature is cited, it is only to provide guideposts that might make the inquiry more comprehensible to those who suffer the burden of perceiving only through the authority of "scientific" traditions that legitimate their role in shaping the social world by claiming to search for its meanings.

Shift in Emphasis from Direct to Diffuse Socialization

Although education frequently promotes itself as the key not only to individual social mobility but to a more equal society, there is mounting evidence that social inequalities may actually be reproduced, sustained, and exacerbated by the structure of American education. For this reason, the question of how educational institutions are able

to reproduce an unequal society is of considerable importance. Prison higher education represents a special case in the expansion of higher education. Given the failure of education to achieve its ideals in the larger society, the promise of reformation through educational inclusion should be subjected to critical scrutiny. But what direction should that scrutiny take? This inquiry is significant because it shifts emphasis from the direct socialization to status allocation and the diffuse socialization effects of institutions.

Status allocation effects relate to "identity bestowed" rather than to knowledge acquired. For the purposes of this inquiry, diffuse socialization refers to processes through which status is allocated to the individual by virtue of a priori membership in a social group or category. Diffuse socialization is a process through which identity is conferred on broad categories in society and, by implication, an emphasis on diffuse socialization is a de facto emphasis on the ritual structures that communicate credible identity or status transformations to participants within a social context as well as wider social audiences.

Theories of social reproduction in education, both the human capital theories, which posit that schools distribute technical and administrative knowledge that students can later invest in the economic sector, and allocation theories, which posit that schools distribute hidden messages that correspond to "proper places" in the economic order (Bowles and Gintis, 1976) seek to establish a relationship between educational and economic institutions. Both theories of cultural reproduction, which posit that schools are utilized to impose a definition of the social world reflecting a dominant culture (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), and theories of cultural resistance which posit the possibility of counter-hegemonic activities within schooling in the school (Apple, 1982; Willis, 1977), seek to move away from the economic reductionism of correspondence (Giroux, 1983).

These approaches have in common an emphasis on the direct socialization that occurs within the schools. They are concerned with how particular "things" - both hidden and manifest - learned within the school, which they implicitly define as a site where

knowledge is acquired, come to sustain patterns of inequality in the larger society. They also have in common a fundamental and self-admitted failure (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1983 and 1988) to adequately account for the reproduction of inequality through schooling or to yield promising alternatives to the present structure of education. Additionally, the research they engage in tends to be focused on secondary rather than post-secondary education.

This inquiry examines the emergence of prison higher education and the prison as a mechanism of diffuse socialization or status allocation rather than direct socialization. Diffuse socialization is not an aspect of direct socialization and may be regarded as distinct from any impact the schools might have on students (Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1977). It may also, in the case of the prison, be regarded as distinct from the effects of incarceration on individual prisoners. The choice of concentrating on diffuse socialization as an approach to understanding both the nature of expansion in higher education and the emergence of prison higher education is not arbitrary.

With regard to higher education, it was based on three factors. First, higher education is "an objective classifier" (Bourdieu, 1984) but, more importantly, it is an overt classifier. To the extent that it reproduces social equality, it does through ritual structures such as selectivity and curriculum that are necessarily public. Second, "most research has shown that school organization has rather small effects" in the area of direct socialization (Kamens 1977: 208). Third, the increasing bureaucratization of higher education has resulted in an emphasis upon efficiency rather than learning, which suggests that the important socialization functions of schooling have little or nothing to do with what students may or may not learn (Brown, 1937; Kamens, 1977; Meyer, 1970 and 1977)).

Meyer (1970) has identified several effects of schooling that are independent of whatever direct socialization may occur within the school. First, they establish status groups to which rights and entitlements social meanings are attached. It is important to note that these status groups are neither fixed in number within a society nor are they typically characterized by distinct and impermeable boundaries (Collins, 1971). Second,

they promote ideas that graduates possess special skills and abilities. These ideas are essentially theories of socialization institutionalized within an educational organization. Third, they allocate graduates into status groups by bestowing symbolic redefinitions on participants. Kamens (1977), in summarizing Meyer, notes that the realization of these diffuse socialization effects are intimately related to the differential structure of higher education.

As a special case in the expansion of higher education, prison higher education offers a unique opportunity to illuminate the variable meaning and value of participation in higher education in contemporary society. As a mechanism of diffuse socialization, the prison functions to actualize membership in a status group to which few rights and entitlements may legitimately accrue. If it is true that education is

... most important where two conditions hold simultaneously: (1) the type of education most closely reflects membership in a particular status group and (2) that group controls employment in particular organizational contexts (Collins, 1971:112)

then prison higher education represents the clear admission of the possibility of an education without value in relation to the economic order and a highly suspect value in other realms. The emphasis on the apparently contradictory diffuse socialization effects of higher education and incarceration, in short, suggests that the expansion of higher education may have virtually no relation to social mobility or the promotion of an equal society and fulfills functions related to the reproduction of existing patterns of dominance and subordination.

The Relocation of Meaning in Education

The approach this inquiry takes to the problem of the social meaning and value of educational participation also lends to its significance. The inquiry departs significantly from the phenomenological and interpretative assumptions which locate "meaning" in the subjective externalizations of human actors. This inquiry reflects the theoretical relocation

of the meaning of educational participation from the subjective apprehensions and negotiated intersubjectivity of individuals to the objectified contexts in which they act.

Resonant with phenomenological/interpretative perspectives, qualitative study concerned itself primarily with social actors' own accounts of their perceptions and behaviors. This emphasis upon the subjectively held perceptions of social actors would appear to invite the under-emphasis of the enduring and hegemonic collective structures they are capable of creating and sustaining. Social actors inhabit a world of concrete institutions, ritual structures, that not only order and regulate the possibilities of social life, but also antedate individual human actors.

This inquiry recognizes that while social actors construct the social world, they do so through communicative systems that largely construct the possibilities of "meaning" regardless of the subjective intentions of the actors. Subjective intentions or apprehensions do not autonomously alter the social meaning and role of an institutional context. As Durkheim noted:

The nature of a practice does not necessarily change because the conscious intentions of those who apply it are modified. It might, in truth, still play the same role as before, but without being perceived. (Durkheim, 1933: 87)

Research and theory concerning the concept of "hidden curriculum" (Giroux, 1983 and 1988), which seeks to uncover the latent practices through which educators might unwittingly reproduce the hierarchies of the social world, offer many insights into variations in the direct effects of schooling. From the cultural and structural perspective upon which this inquiry is based, the principle shortcoming of hidden curriculum theory is not its focus on the level of interaction but its attempt to locate both the meaning of educational participation and the mechanism for reform at that level. The identification and elaboration of activities at the level of interaction that contribute to the reproduction of social inequality seems inherently useful. Yet that should not obscure that these activities occur within established systems - including educational theory itself - that have institutional

meanings prior to and distinct from what may occur at the level of interaction. I suggest that the hidden curriculum, to the extent that it refers to the features of the schooling that delimit the value of educational participation, may well refer to nothing more complex than a system of inequality objectified in the differential ritual contexts in which teaching and learning occur and come to possess meaning. I also suggest that changes at the level of interaction, changes in the experience of schooling should not be equated with changes in the social meaning and value of educational participation.

This inquiry is significant because it actualizes that recognition in a methodology that relocates meaning to the objective structures of the social world. That methodology proceeds from the assumption that the study of particular contexts, informed by the recognition that contexts themselves are social action and meaning institutionalized, necessitates considerable emphasis on the deductive articulation of relevant contexts. In exploring the possible meaning and social value of prison higher education programs, this inquiry reflects the theoretical perspective that the externalizations of human actors communicate the conditions of their confinement in culture and social structure, which are in fact schemes in the organization of the signs of belonging and the proper focus of a inquiry that seeks to explore the meaning and value of a particular context.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This exploratory, descriptive and theoretical study seeks to describe prison higher education in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It also seeks to develop a conceptual framework capable of guiding future research into the meaning and value of participation in prison higher education. The theoretical perspective presented in this chapter are principally grounded in contributions to the analysis of culture by Peter Berger (1963 & 1967) and Thomas Luckman (1966), Mary Douglas (1966, 1978, 1986), Michel Foucault (1965, 1970, 1972, 1979, and 1980) and Jurgen Habermas (1979, 1984). The perspective also draws upon an eclectic mix of additional works that have contributed to an understanding of culture but are not typically associated with cultural analysis.

These contributions support the location of social meaning in the objectified ritual contexts in which social action occurs, thus inviting an emphasis on the enduring and hegemonic structures that give meaning to social life. Cultural analysis also suggests that a viable approach to an exploration of the meaning and value of participation in higher education is one that supports an emphasis on status allocation or diffuse socialization¹ effects rather than upon the direct socialization effects of education. Such effects lend themselves to cultural analysis precisely because they accentuate the role of both higher education and the prison as ritual structures which "bestow" or construct credible identity transformations upon participants.

¹Status allocation effects relate to "identity bestowed" rather than to knowledge acquired. For the purposes of this inquiry, diffuse socialization refers to the processes by which status is allocated to the individual by virtue of his or her membership a social group. Diffuse socialization is, a process through which identity is conferred on broad categories within society and, by implication, is not conferred on the basis of intrinsic qualities of individuals.

This chapter presents a set of general assumptions regarding the structure of the social world based on contributions to the analysis of culture. It provides the basis for a methodological approach - presented in Chapter Three - to the analysis of prison higher education as a special case in the more general expansion of higher education. It incorporates the assumptions of cultural analysis with an emphasis on the status allocation and diffuse socialization effects of higher education and the prison. This is especially important to an inquiry related to prison higher education which has as one of its principal legitimations the rehabilitation or status reform of criminal offenders.

Theoretical Perspective

What Berger and Luckman (1966) have termed the "taken for granted" in everyday life, what Foucault (1970) has termed "the pure experience of order and its modes of being," what Habermas (1984) has variously termed the "lifeworld" or the source of "interpretive schemes fit for consensus" and what Douglas (1966) takes as her general field of inquiry, more approximate the Durkheimian notion of a moral order than the concept of culture. For Durkheim, a moral order constitutes a *sui generis* reality, a supra-economic order of social relations that transcends the economic interests inherent in the division of labor (1933: 61). A moral order is the external world experienced as a unified whole.

We inhabit a moral order in which the unremarkable embraces crime, madness, and other institutionalized (normative) forms of deviance, a hierarchical structure characterized by vast inequalities of wealth, power and prestige; social relations and individual self-apprehensions ordered by differentiations in race, gender, and religion. But we also inhabit a moral order legitimated, in part, by a belief in the fundamental dignity of human beings, the ideal of political equality and, at the very least, equality of opportunity in fair and competitive public arenas. We exist, in short, in a moral order replete with contradictions and the greatest of these may be that we experience all contradictions simultaneously as a coherent and unified whole.

Cultural analysis begins, implicitly or explicitly, with the recognition of this unified whole that envelopes our experience of the world. As the taken for granted of collective life, discernment of a moral order requires sincerity rather than science. A moral order may be apprehended through the recognition of those aspects of collective life that - whether pleasing or displeasing - are, routine, unremarkable and, essentially, fail to surprise. The concept of moral order, however, is too broad and comprises an analytic tool only when it is conceptualized as a set of interrelated elements that give it form and structure.

My approach to the analysis of prison higher education is grounded in the fracturing of that symbolic whole. It is organized within and accepts a framework offered by Habermas (1984), who regards culture, social structure, and personality as the principal components of the "lifeworld," a wholly symbolic entity created, sustained, and altered through communicative action. These concepts are deployed to fashion a perspective which views culture as an all-embracing phenomenon that can be distinguished from its manifestations. I posit that those manifestations are the totality of the symbolic products that comprise social structure, but create an analytic distinction between concrete and imaginary symbolic social structures. In the modern age, the concrete symbolic structure of the social world is the order of legitimate institutions and the order of civil or juridical beings that inhabit it. The elements of the imaginary symbolic structure of the modern world are ideology, systems of legitimation, and the human being as a rationalized object.

Culture

Difficulties in formulating a useful definition of culture are largely attributable to its all-pervasiveness. If we accept common sociological definitions that regard culture as the "symbolic aspect of social life" (Black, 1976), including both the shared tangible and intangible products of social life (Robertson, 1987) we encounter at least two problems. First, we are left with a concept that not only embraces but may be operationalized as every phenomena subject to investigation in the human sciences. This may account for the

historical reluctance of sociology to place emphasis on the study of culture (Wuthnow, 1987). Every object created by human beings must then not only be a cultural object but embody culture itself. If culture is to prove useful in the exploration of aspects of collective life, it must be regarded as a discrete concept that can be differentiated from other elements of the moral order. Defining culture as the symbolic aspect of social life is sufficient only in theoretical perspectives that suggest the possibility of and attempt to differentiate between symbolic and non-symbolic aspects of a moral order. This perspective, however, posits that culture is an aspect of the moral order which is, in toto, a symbolic structure.

Second, traditional sociological definitions of culture suggest that it is a "phenomenological type" that may emerge in every interaction situation, enabling us to speak of a variety of unique and emergent "negotiated realities" or organizational cultures (Smircich, 1983), school cultures (Giroux, 1983), classroom cultures (McLaren, 1986), prison cultures (Clemmer, 1958), oppositional cultures (Williams, 1977), counter-hegemonic and resistance cultures (Apple, 1982) and differentiated micro-cultures ad infinitum. If culture is linked to the possibilities of communicative action within a society, it must be defined in a way that transcends the question of conformity or resistance among actors in a particular social setting. That culture exercises hegemonic effects does not support, by itself, the presumption that what appear as counter-hegemonic efforts at the level of interaction (Williams, 1977) are not themselves cultural. They are, to state the obvious, also communicative actions within culture. Culture must be defined in a way that acknowledges that the cultural aspect within a social setting may be communicated with equal ease to actors outside that setting.

I define culture by distinguishing between culture and its manifestations. The significance of a distinction between culture and cultural manifestations becomes clear when we recognize the contradiction between the idea of discrete cultures that correspond to specific societies and the seemingly parallel lines of development experienced at every level of presumably dissimilar cultures. This contradiction is only possible when we fail to

distinguish between culture and cultural manifestations. Cultural logic or structure is not immune from cultural diffusion and a specific culture is capable of organizing the customs and traditions of disparate societies in a universal manner. Thus it is possible to speak of a Western culture and increasingly, with the diffusion of the products of rationalization, the decreasing significance of national boundaries and a transworld culture in which the rules of communicative competence transcend national identity.

This distinction between culture and cultural manifestations is not one between the material and the symbolic realms, but within the symbolic realm itself. Culture is defined in this inquiry as the organizing principles of knowledge, the structure underlying the distribution of signs and the signifying practices that are its most observable behavioral characteristics. It is the fundamental code which "governs its language, its schemas of perception, its exchanges, its techniques, its values, the hierarchy of its practices" (Foucault, 1970: xx). Thus, culture is neither particular signs nor the order of signs that come to constitute and represent a given social structure. Nor does it admit Apple's (1982) notion of the possibility of cultural and presumably non-cultural institutions. It does not correspond to Birnbaum's (1969) Kantian notion of an entity divisible into categories of "high and mass culture." Nor does it correspond to Bourdieu's (1984) notion of an "economy of cultural goods" reflecting an aesthetic fragmented and legitimated by the internalized preferences of class, and reproduced through the distribution of formal education.

This definition might appear at odds with Habermas' broad usage of the term. He defines culture as:

The stock of knowledge from which participants in communication supply themselves with interpretations as they come to an understanding about the world.
(Habermas, 1984: 138)

Yet Habermas, in seeking to explain the stages of cultural evolution, also notes that:

these stages are characterized by principles of organization determining the kinds of institutions possible, the extent to which productive capacities will be utilized, and the capacity of societies to adapt to complex circumstances. (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984: 213)

Douglas (1966, 1970, 1978), in elaborating Durkheim's distinction between primitive and modern culture, affirms that the essence of a culture is the set of criteria that governs the production and reproduction of knowledge, the legitimate order of institutions, and the lived experience of social actors.

Culture, in essence, is the forms of knowledge and the legitimate relationships between forms of knowledge in a given era. Knowledge in the Classical Age (Which Foucault regards as the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century) comes to be organized on the basis of differences rather than similarities. Foucault summarizes the modifications that gave rise to the classical as the substitution of finite analysis for infinite hierarchical analogies; the emergence of the ideal of certainty with the substitution of comparison for complete enumeration; an alteration in the structure of thought: from schemas of affinity and likeness to discriminations among grouped identities; and the separation of history and science, signifying the displacement of truth from history as the representation of intuition in the written word to the empirical perceptions that are science (Foucault, 1970).

In light of Berger and Luckman's (1966) precaution that scientific or theoretical knowledge comprises only a minute fraction of the common stock of knowledge available to social actors, Foucault may appear overly concerned with formal theory. The Classical and Modern eras are discrete episodes within the Empirical or Scientific Age. In the Classical era, through the writings of Descartes, Kant and others, a new organization of knowledge and its relations emerged in formal discourse. But, as Rorty has noted about the evolution of the separation of philosophy and science effected by Descartes:

It (the separation) did not achieve self-consciousness until Kant. It did not become built into the structure of academic institutions, and into the pat, unreflective self-

descriptions of philosophy professors, until far into the nineteenth century. (Rorty, 1979: 132)

A new organization of knowledge did not emerge as an aspect of concrete social structure for almost two hundred years. Indeed, the Classical era may be thought of as the period in which science would create itself as an entity distinct from philosophy and, the modern era as the period in which vast transfers of power occurred in the name of the sciences, which offered themselves as a reference discourse within the common stock of knowledge, at the same time that the underlying structure of knowledge that made science possible began to be concretized in social structure.

Social Structure

As noted, this perspective hinges upon an analytic distinction between concrete and imaginary symbolic social structure. Cultural manifestations may be conceptualized as the products of culture as an organizing force, the organization or network of symbolic-expressive acts that communicate culture and mediate between culture and human beings, as well as the individual and collective experience of that network and the symbolic ordering it imposes on the material world. Culture, as an organizing force, is all-pervasive and manifests itself in every aspect of collective life. Cultural manifestations, both the legitimate order of signs and the by-products of the experience of that order, include the totality of symbolic products that comprise social structure. They are, in essence, the forms of knowledge, the order of signs, that comprise the taken for granted world of human actors (Berger and Luckman, 1966).

Concrete Symbolic Structures. The concept of social structure presumes that the practices of living that comprise a social order are abstracted from and not wholly determined by the human beings who engage in social activity. The concrete structures of the social world are its institutions, those objectifications that directly manifest the hegemonic logic of culture. But:

Culture no longer concretizes itself in individual relations to nature and society, but in an enormous multiplicity of forms, processes, and entities which seem independent, detached from their origin in human activity (Birnbaum 1969:133)

The concrete symbolic structures of the social world order and direct social life, mediating between culture and the individual. The principal concrete symbolic structures pertinent to this inquiry are the legitimate order of social institutions and individual identity, which, in state society, corresponds with the order of civil beings. Each of these is a ritual structure.

The concrete symbolic structures of the social world may be conceptualized as an organization or network of symbolic-expressive acts that mediate between culture and the individual. They are ritual structures that constitute the elemental intersubjective communicative patterns of social life. Wuthnow has defined ritual as the:

symbolic-expressive aspect of behavior that communicates something about social relations, often in a relatively dramatic and formal nature. (Wuthnow, 1987: 109)

Although this definition may appear problematic because it potentially embraces all manner of social phenomena, that is the precise intent of my theoretical perspective. Ritual, as McLaren has noted, "is always and everywhere present" (1982 : 35) and, I contend, it always communicates something about social life.

McLaren (1982) , Grimes (1982), and others are only partially correct in asserting that ritual is neglected in the study of social life. Ritual, is defined relative to levels of analysis and theoretical perspective. Talcott Parsons identified ritual activities only as those in which sources of strain, and potentially disruptive inclinations are acted out in ways that reinforce dominant cultural patterns (Turner, 1974). McLaren's (1982) study of ritual performance in schooling focuses on interpersonal gestures and symbols, an aspect of social life that Parsons treats as distinct from ritual. Merton's conception of ritual emerges from his discussion of anomie and defines ritual as behaviors acted out by actors who are devoid of commitment to their actions (Wuthnow, 1987). Although ritual is frequently treated as an essentially interactive phenomenon (Grimes, 1982; Goffman, 1967), Douglas'

consideration of the ritual aspects of personal cleanliness (1966) demonstrates that it may also be non-interactive and private. Kamens' (1977) analysis of the relationship between ideology and the ritual structure of higher education and Meyer and Rowan's (1977) study of complex organizational structures demonstrate that ritual is also a structural feature that does not require face-to-face human interaction at the same time as it provides meaning and social life.

While rituals may arise from the conscious choice of individuals and be motivated by subjective intentions, such intentions do not determine the function of a ritual. Rituals possess instrumental functions that are institutionalized (Goffman, 1968). Thus, a group of educators may intend that the relaxation of residentiality requirements make learning accessible to non-traditional students but, because one of the instrumental functions of residentiality is to dramatize the transfer of institutional authority over the participant, they have also "chosen" to weaken every student's claim to that label as a master status. Indeed, the subjective intention of a participant may be regarded as the legitimation of the deployment of the instrumental functions of the ritual in any given instance.

Rituals, as symbolic-expressive structures that serve instrumental functions in social life, are effective even when participation is involuntary and coercive. Goffman (1968) has demonstrated that the instrumental ritual functions of total institutions such as prep schools, prisons, and nursing homes do not require the acceptance of, and may sometimes depend on the resistance of participants. The modern criminal trial, a ritual degradation ceremony (Garfinkel, 1956), accomplishes its work by enveloping participants in an overwhelming coercive field of symbolic violence.

This point is of particular importance to this inquiry in light of McLaren's assumption that ritual might provide the basis for a theory of resistance within schooling (McLaren, 1982). Although ritual may emerge spontaneously, especially as a reaction to boundary crises that produce conditions of risk and uncertainty (Wuthnow, 1987), the ritual form that emerges is not a spontaneous creation. Witch trials are an example of

rituals that emerged "spontaneously" in Puritan society and served to dramatize and reinforce threatened features of that social world (Erikson, 1966), but the ritual form deployed - the degradation ceremony - was not spontaneous. Because the classroom, which is itself a ritual form, embraces and establishes the meaning of all the communicative acts that occur within it, regardless of whether human actors intend those acts to "mean" acquiescence or resistance.

Social Institutions, abstracted practices of living, may be defined as macro-structural rituals, sets of rules or strategies that regulate and order social life (Berger & Luckman, 1966). Social institutions are the "legitimate orders through which participants regulate their membership in social groups" (Habermas, 1984: 138). An institution is the individual's capacity as a social actor in a certain realm of social activity abstracted from himself. A social institution is a complex of enduring and distinctive social action. It is a normative pattern: a complex of norms and associated values. Every established norm within the institution represents a social action and a value commitment governing human conduct, and the institution as a whole is a powerful actor within society.

Berger and Luckman (1966) have noted that it is not possible to comprehend an institution as an ahistorical entity. A social institution possesses a past, and the way in which it directs human activity corresponds directly to its unique history and experience. As Douglas notes:

The solutions they proffer only come from the limited range of their experience. If the institution is one that depends on participation, it will reply to our frantic question: "More participation!" If it is one that depends on authority, it will only reply: "More authority!" Institutions have the pathetic megalomania of the computer whose whole vision of the world is its own program. (Douglas, 1986: 92)

The historicity of a social institution cannot be conceptualized as a linear development. Despite the integrity of the "institutional solution," institutions reflect the discontinuities of culture (Foucault, 1970).

Social institutions not only regulate and control, but also serve primary legitimation functions that are related to their "program." They compel the individual human being to perceive the world and himself in particular ways that compliment their "nature." They "systematically direct individual memory and channel our perceptions into forms compatible with the relations they authorize" (Douglas, 1986: 92). At the same time that institutions militate against social action that deviates from the normative patterns that they comprise, they implement cognitive processes and perceptual schemes that make alternative consciousness improbable. "One encounters the same structures of consciousness" among institutions and individuals (Habermas, 1979: 98-99). Thus, the inherent socialization functions of social institutions are intimately tied to their production and distribution of concrete identities.

Although it is largely taken for granted that social institutions evolve, the basis of that evolution remains conjectural in the social sciences. Durkheim's (1933) notion of a shift between the mechanical and organic solidarity - in which the division of labor compels substitution of cohesion based on shared symbolic life and similar roles with cohesion based on a fragmented symbolic life and an interdependence borne of differentiated roles - as the basis for a distinction between primitive and modern societies has been criticized by Douglas, who argues that mechanical and organic solidarity are aspects of both primitive and modern societies. She attributes the distinction to differing forms of social relations (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984).

This perspective shares Douglas' view, but also Habermas' (1979: 184-188) view that the evolution of an institutional order is essentially a reflection of the evolution of cultural models. It also defers to Foucault's (1972) conceptualization of the transformation of culture from schemas of sameness to those of identities and differences, and regards that transformation as the fundamental cultural shift relevant to the study of social relations in modern society. This fundamental shift is concretized in both established and emergent social institutions. The importance of recognizing that culture itself organizes or directs

social organization is that no longer can the division of labor or any force embedded within a particular institution be seen as the source of social change and organization. Rather, the effects of culture upon the concrete social world account for the division of labor, specialization, modes of production, as well as increasing bureaucratization and rationalization. Each must be seen as the outgrowth of an underlying structure that is concretized in social institutions. In other words, we should find it remarkable if an underlying structure, presumed to permeate all aspects of social life, were not manifested in the order of institutions. The fragmentation of knowledge in the modern era (Foucault, 1972) necessarily corresponds to the emergence of differentiated institutions and to fragmentation and differentiation within these institutions.

The institutional orders of the western world exist within a state society. The state is an abstraction predicated on the surrender of individual autonomy and on the virtual impossibility of autonomous social institutions. State society emerged in opposition to the consensual order of primitive society (Diamond, 1971). Through the application of law as its organizing force, state society fragmented kinship networks and created the individual as the fundamental unit of society (Diamond, 1971; Durkheim, 1933). The state orders society by defining civil beings in relation to itself rather than by defining human beings in relation to kinship.

The major institutional sectors of the state society - its formal institutions - are agents of the state and reflect differentiated functions which represent the state's increasing removal of the practices of living from human beings and kinship. Kinship and other institutions, of course, do not disappear but the state comes to be the source that authorizes the social relations within them and, accordingly, they cease to provide the organizing principles of collective or individual life. Social behavior that appears "private" or "autonomous" either among or within institutions, including the economic, merely reflect instances in which the state organizes through the imposition of a silence - the refusal of law to speak or, in the legal text, speaking the refusal to speak - which not only bestows

legitimacy upon existing social arrangements, but also reinforces their appearance as natural phenomena.

Imaginary symbolic structure. The imaginary symbolic structure is a second-order system, a virtual symbolic world that emerges from lived experience of the concrete symbolic structure of the social world. As a theoretical concept, it approximates Berger and Luckman's (1966) usage of the term "symbolic universe." A symbolic universe is a system of legitimations that encompasses lower level legitimations such as simple explanations, proverbs and other pre-theoretical forms, as well as the formal theoretical knowledge that legitimates institutional realms. A symbolic universe may be conceived of as a total world of meanings which "transcends and includes the institutional order" (Berger and Luckman, 1966).

Reality is socially constructed (Berger, 1967; Berger and Luckman, 1966) through externalization, the "outpouring of human being into the world," that comes to attain varying levels of objectification, the status of "a reality that confronts its original producers as a facticity external to and other than themselves" (Berger, 1967: 4). If the concrete symbolic structure of the social world may be regarded as a first order among the objectifications of knowledge that reflects the phenomenological processes of externalization, objectification, and internalization, the imaginary symbolic structure, as a system of legitimation, constitutes a second order objectification of meaning that serves to integrate the meaning inherent in the concretized order of society.

This distinction is important to the analysis of prison higher education. Though I accept the phenomenological position that reality is socially constructed, I reject the all too common tendency to view changes in the legitimation structures of an institution as the equivalent of changes in the institution itself. Legitimation structures alter the subjective experience of a social phenomenon, but such an alteration cannot be equated with a change in the social meaning of the phenomenon. The inclusion of prisoners in higher education

undoubtedly alters the way in which those who participate experience confinement, but this does not inherently constitute a change in the social meaning of confinement.

I utilize the concept of imaginary social structure in a way that departs from Berger and Luckman's notion of symbolic universes by regarding imaginary symbolic structures as outgrowths of the failure of the concrete symbolic-expressive structures of society to provide meanings consistent with the lived experience of social actors. The necessity of a second order of objectifications that appear to transcend and embrace the concrete structures of the world should call attention to their emergence not merely as integrative strategies (Berger and Luckman, 1966), but as integrative strategies that are effective due to their corrective and oppositional structures. In other words, if the concrete symbolic structure of the social world confronted the individual with a coherent, integrated reality, there would be little need for either the imaginary symbolic structure or the symbolic universe as concepts differentiated from concrete structure.

The imaginary social structure is comprised of ideology and legitimation. Ideology and legitimation may be regarded as one system of meanings distinct from the concrete institutional order. They are aspects of a single phenomenon differentiated by the degree to which they are collective on a continuum representing degrees of objectification. Legitimation, according to Habermas, is unique to political society and modern culture. In his view, to assert that a political apparatus in modern culture possesses legitimacy "means that there are good arguments for a political order's claim to be right and just" (Habermas, 1979). When legitimation is viewed as a political phenomenon, emphasis tends to be placed on the way it is produced and promoted by the dominant groups whose interests are reflected in behavior of the state as a political apparatus. Bowles and Gintis, for example, regard legitimation as a facade that functions to foster :

"a generalized consciousness among individuals which prevents the formation of the social bonds and critical understanding whereby existing social conditions might be transformed. (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: 104)

Legitimation, thus conceptualized, must be viewed as essentially an institutional concern and praxis. Giroux, for example, states:

...schools have to be analyzed as agents of legitimation, organized to produce and reproduce the dominant categories, values, and social relationships necessary to the maintenance of the larger society (Giroux, 1981: 72).

An alternative possibility is to locate the origin of legitimation, not within particular institutions or the political apparatus of state society, but within the individuals who experience those concrete structures. The key to this relocation is to view ideology as a special, incipient form of legitimation (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984). Legitimation, in other words, emerges as ideology. According to Althusser (1971), ideology is the imagined relationship between the individual and his or her existence. However magical and subjective ideology may be, Althusser also posits that it functions as a material practice that "positions or produces" the subject" (Wexler, 1987: 39). When ideology functions as a material practice that locates the subject within social structure, reconciling conflicts between the subjective and objective, it may be seen as legitimation.

Legitimation, then, cannot be viewed as a phenomenon exclusive to state society nor can it be viewed as inherently political, although it may take that form in political society. Theoretically, it must be regarded as fundamental to any scheme of social relations in which the practices of living are abstracted from the social actors who engage in them. This difference is significant. If legitimation is a product of the political apparatus, then a crisis or failure of legitimation must be rectified by those who speak in the name of that apparatus (Shapiro, 1984). If, on the other hand, legitimation is primarily a product of the individual's attempt to reconcile socially bestowed identifications and the relations they authorize, then a legitimation crisis is experienced, first and foremost, by the individual, who is unable to reconcile lived experiences.

It is true that institutional orders make claims to legitimacy (Habermas, 1979) that are grounded in the imaginary realm. As identity came to be concretized in the juridical

subject abstracted from the human subject, the human being as a social actor was increasingly relegated to the imaginary symbolic structure of the social world. The legitimation of state society and its structural elements involves appeals to this realm, but such appeals should not be confused with production of that realm itself. Thus, a political apparatus may construct arguments that support its existence, and these arguments are accepted or rejected in the imaginary realm by individuals - who also construct personal arguments in order to make a world that "makes sense."

Indeed, the persistence of the modern crises of legitimation may lay in the fact that the state and the institutions it regulates appeal to the imaginary social world at a time when that realm is increasing remote from and inaccessible to human beings. The Empirical Age has transformed the imaginary symbolic structure from a magical to an increasingly rational realm. Vast transfers of state power to professional groups have occurred in the name of the human sciences, which this perspective regards as claims to the status of formal legitimation validated through the ritual of rational procedure.

Increasingly, the individual's most subjective apprehensions and expressions are the basis for his or her classification as an object in scientific discourse and the social life it now orders. Foucault's study of the "Madness in the Age of Reason" illustrates how a profession comes to distinguish between rational and irrational, legitimate and illegitimate ways of knowing and self expression and how, in turn, these become the basis for locating the individual as an identity or status within concrete social structure (Foucault, 1965).

With increasing rationalization, the imaginary realm becomes objectified. Asocial objectification is not theoretically possible. Objectification is necessarily a collective phenomenon. In instances in which aspects of the imaginary social structure become formal and rationalized, the possibilities of autonomous externalization are reduced. The social actor still externalizes, but these externalizations are themselves the products of the process by which objectifications are internalized.

Identity and Personality

Identity is a product of social structure. Erik Erickson, writing about identity formation in youth, makes this explicit in a definition that differentiates between identification and identity:

Identity formation, begins where the usefulness of identification ends. It arises from the selective repudiation and assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new configuration, which, in turn, is dependent on the process by which a society (often through subsocieties) identifies the young individual, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted (Erickson, 1968: 159)

Because Erickson focuses upon the formation of identity in the young, he omits consideration of identity formation in the institutional contexts associated with adulthood. Yet several important notions emerge from his definition.

First, it accentuates the fact that identity is a product of collective life rather than some inherent attribute of individuals. This coincides with Habermas' utilization of the concept of personality to denote a phenomenon external to the social actor to whom it accrues. He conceptualizes it as:

competencies that make a subject capable of speaking and acting, that put him in a position to take part in the process of reaching understanding... (Habermas, 1984: 138)

His definition of personality is approximated by the definition of identity in works by Berger (1963), Berger and Luckman (1966) and Douglas (1986). This perspective shares the premise that institutions bestow identity (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Douglas, 1966 and 1986; Habermas, 1984). To say that institutions bestow identity (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Douglas, 1966 and 1986; Habermas, 1984), is to acknowledge that, in accordance with culture in the modern era, they group human subjects in categories of sameness (Douglas, 1986) and create typologies based on differentiations within those categories.

Second, identity may be a phenomena more complex than a simple identification. Erikson notes that individual identity embraces all identifications, but it "also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole" (Erikson, 1968: 161). Primitive society was characterized by limited differentiation in roles and the family or kinship group was the primary social institution. Thus, there was little necessity for the individual to integrate potentially conflicting identifications. Modern societies, however, are comprised of highly differentiated and specialized social institutions that confront the individual with multiple identifications.

Third, identity is formed through the processes of socialization that occur within various institutional settings, but these processes do more than identify or label. They make possible interactions that reinforce these categories, and militate against interaction that fails to reinforce them. To the extent that institutions in modern society are "symbolically linked" (Wuthnow, 1987), the varying and sometimes contradictory identifications which they confer must, at the very least, make sense or come to appear to make sense within an institutional order.

Lastly, identifications are an aspect of social structure. Identity, ultimately, may be regarded as a social location that "places" the subject in a scheme of competencies (Habermas, 1984) in relation to others and himself. Through the distribution of the identifications through which identity is shaped, the social world

establishes a hierarchy, from the "most real" to the most fugitive self-apprehensions of identity. This means that the individual can live in society with some assurance that he really is what he considers himself to be as he plays his routine social role, in broad daylight and under the eyes of significant others. (1966: 100-101)

A fact that may have more than passing significance for those who engage in an exhaustive search for the "hidden curriculum" in schooling is that identifications bestowed by institutions, including schools, are anything but "hidden." The ways in which institutions classify individuals and bestow identities may not be obvious to all members of a social

order, but the fact of classification and the symbolic meaning of identification must be obvious.

In primitive societies identity is bestowed upon human beings by virtue of role with kinship networks. The identity of the human being was indivisible from kinship. State societies, however, bestow identity (Durkheim: 1933) on juridical or civil subjects rather than upon human beings (Foucault, 1979). As Habermas notes:

The transition to societies organized through a state required the relativization of tribal identities and the construction of a more abstract identity that no longer based the membership of individuals on common descent but on belonging in common to a territorial organization (Habermas, 1979: 112)

The state, through the application of law as its organizing force, fragments the kinship network and creates the individual as the fundamental unit in the ordering of society (Diamond, 1971).

This act of creation is grounded in the fragmentation of the human subject, who is at once both a civil being defined in relation to the state and as a human being defined in relation to kinship. The civil being comes to be constituted as concrete identity, a composite social structure, which various individuals may come to occupy by virtue of "achievement" or ascription. In the American experience, the influence of Enlightenment philosophy and the "prioritization of the individual" is celebrated in the conflict between the Declaration of Independence - which proclaims for human beings a dignity and freedom that transcends the state - and the Constitution - which creates the civil subject who has neither freedom, dignity, or identity in the absence of the state. The prioritized individual is the civil, rather than the human being.

Law and the state centralize the allocation of status and, accordingly, the formation of identity in the modern world. The state confers identity directly through the application of the coercive force of the law or indirectly through its regulation of the formal institutions of society. With the fragmentation of knowledge and the emergence of functionally distinct

social institutions, identity formation achieves significant complexity. A multiplicity of institutions confer the competencies that come to comprise identity. The increasing rationalization and formalization of state society is reflected in the processes of identity formation within institutions seemingly remote from the state. The state - through the application of law - rationalizes contradictory identifications that institutions are unable to reconcile.

I conceptualize law as procedure without knowledge and posit that, in its substantive act of creating an order of civil beings, it has always been facilitated by its absorption of knowledge created and sustained in the imaginary symbolic world. Increasingly, the identity bestowing powers of state society are managed by professionals. As Foucault has noted:

People appear who make it their business to involve themselves in other people's lives, health, nutrition, housing; then, out of this confused set of functions there emerge certain personages, institutions, forms of knowledge; public hygiene, inspectors, social workers, psychologists. (Foucault, 1980: 62)

The professional identity is one to which vast transfers of power have accrued in the name of the human and natural sciences. I posit that when identity came to be concretized in the juridical subject that was abstracted from the human subject, the human being as a social actor was relegated to the imaginary symbolic structure of the social world. But with the emergence of professions that would make individual's action in that realm the basis for schemes of classification and the basis for his or her location (Foucault, 1970) within the concrete social structure, that realm too is fast disappearing as an arena of autonomous human social action in the form externalizations.

Indeed, the emergence and proliferation of professions is symptomatic of a transformation in the manner in which state power is manifested. With increasing bureaucratization, the social control functions of the state come to be exercised horizontally, through the micro-strategies of professions that permeate every facet of social life

(Foucault, 1980). But this is power that accrues to the professional role that is an aspect of the state rather than to its human incumbent, supporting Weber's contention that increasing bureaucratic rationalization is symptomatic of the "diminishing importance of individual action" (Eisenstadt, 1968: 28). The juridical subject, professional or not, as a social actor in the public sphere is the state acting upon itself and the social world, rather than the human individual acting upon the objectified world.

Implications for This Inquiry

Institutions bestow identification and identity. The identity-conferring functions of institutions involve processes of both direct and diffuse socialization. The perspective I bring to this study presumes that social status is more dependent upon whether identifications bestowed by institutions have currency in the perception of others than the degree to which individuals internalize such identifications. Therefore, an inquiry concerning the credible identity transformations which higher education and the prison seek to bestow is, most appropriately, focused upon diffuse socialization effects.

Institutions, to the extent that they seek to effect credible identity transformations may be viewed as processes of creation. Institutions, as processes of creation, may be regarded as macro-structural rituals that seek to communicate something about participants to the larger society. As such, they may be conceptualized by reference to their underlying ritual form and primary legitimation structures - both of which are elements of the concrete symbolic structure - and to their schemas of legitimation in the imaginary symbolic realm.

Higher education and the prison are differentiated institutional realms. The expansion of higher education into the prison strongly suggests the intersection of two institutions that seek to bestow credible, but contradictory identifications upon participants. To the extent that higher education has presented itself as vehicle for the reformation of criminal offenders it may be said that it lays claim to intersecting and altering the processes of creation that characterize the prison as a socializing institution.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

Culture and Inquiry

This chapter describes a methodology and method appropriate to a descriptive and exploratory inquiry grounded in the assumptions of cultural analysis. Cultural analysis is concerned with "the conditions and rules rendering acts of communication meaningful, not with the specific meanings that these acts convey" (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984). The product of a cultural analysis is not a refined sense of the subjective meaning of language or "social facts" in a given instance. Rather, it is "Knowledge about the conditions that must be satisfied in any situation for competent communication to occur" (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984:199). A cultural analysis seeks to reveal how discursive formations organize the signs and symbols of belonging, suggest classifications and typifications of human beings, structure the practices that affirm appropriate social designations, and legitimate those practices in relation to important social audiences.

Perhaps most importantly, the emerging cultural perspectives in the social sciences are a significant departure from the phenomenological/ interpretive emphasis on the perceptions and intentions of social actors (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984). In emphasizing the interpretive activities through which individuals and groups construct social life, symbolic interactionists, for example, acknowledge that these activities are bounded by expectation structures. Yet these structures, which presumably comprise the "social" aspects of human behavior, are seldom identified in theory and, when they are identified in research, the influence they exert is significantly understated.

Much of symbolic interaction consists of gallant assertions that "society is symbolic interaction," without indicating what types of emergent structures are created, sustained, and changed by what types of interaction in what types of contexts. (Turner, 1974:190)

Resonant with phenomenological/interpretative perspectives, qualitative inquiry concerned itself primarily with social actors "own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviors (Hakim, 1987: 26).

One of the fortunate by-products of this emphasis and its corollary prioritization of inductive (Blumer, 1969; Turner, 1974) and generally ideographic methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) is a heightened awareness that human beings can and do construct the social world which they inhabit. Yet the emphasis on the subjectively held perceptions of social actors invites the under-emphasis of the enduring and hegemonic collective structures they are capable of creating and sustaining. As Habermas writes:

in the tradition stemming from Mead, social theory is based on a concept of the lifeworld as reduced to the aspect of the socialization of individuals.

Representatives of symbolic interactionism...conceive of the lifeworld as the sociocultural milieu of communicative action represented as role playing, role taking, role defining, and the like. Culture and society enter into consideration only as media for the self-formation process in which actors are involved...It is only consistent when the theory of society shrinks down then to social psychology (Habermas, 1984:139)

The emerging perspectives on cultural analysis, which are dominated by Peter Berger's phenomenological approach, Mary Douglas' cultural anthropology, Michel Foucault's post-structuralism as it relates to discursive practices, and Habermas' critical theory of communicative action, share a common dissatisfaction with the distorted picture of social life that emerges from the prioritization of the subjective. Thus instead of this emphasis:

each has come increasingly to emphasize the more observable, objective, shared aspects of culture and to seek patterns among them. Language, ritual, and

categories of classification have largely replaced subjective meanings as the focal points of cultural analysis. (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984: 19)

Each recognizes that while social actors construct the social world, they do so through communicative systems that largely construct the possibilities of "meaning" irrespective of the subjective intentions of the actors.

This shift appears dramatic only when juxtaposed against phenomenological/interpretative approaches. It represents, in fact, less an advance in sociological thought than a recollection and return to one of its fundamental presuppositions:

To live in society means to exist under the domination of society's logic. Very often men act by this logic without knowing it. To discover this inner dynamic of society, therefore, the sociologist must frequently disregard the answers that the social actors themselves would give to his questions and look for the explanations that are hidden from their own awareness. (Berger, 1963: 40)

In short, while it appears certain that social actors create maintain and alter the social world, the obdurate nature of social institutions suggests that these social actors may not be cognizant of the structural bases of their behavior. It necessarily follows from this that the "meanings" actors assign to their behavior may not correspond to the meanings of those behaviors in relation to elements of the culture or lifeworld they inhabit.

Cultural analysis takes as its focus not the subjective meanings and intentions of social actors but the concrete, objective, and observable aspects of social life.

In short, cultural analysis is concerned with conditions and rules rendering acts of communication meaningful, not with the specific meanings that these acts convey. (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984)

Thus, cultural analysis focuses on phenomena external to social actors. Indeed, the term cultural analysis may be a reactive misnomer, given that it is less an attempt to study culture itself than a dramatic attempt to reassert that meaning and knowledge are a priori, external, and only indirectly related to the subjectively-held meaning of social actors. A social

context, for the purpose of this inquiry, is an a priori objectification - a ritual structure or network of interrelated ritual structures - which largely exerts a hegemonic influence, delimiting the possible social meaning of human action.

Deductive Component: The Stipulation of Contexts

Given an emphasis on the concrete, objective, and observable aspects of social life, the cultural analysis of a social phenomenon differs substantially from inquiries guided by traditional "empiricist" theoretics. The primary difference is the rejection of exclusively inductive methods. The cultural analysis of a specific social phenomenon, such as prison higher education, requires the deductive stipulation of the contexts in which the phenomenon under study occurs. Cultural analysis, in essence, suggests the necessity of ascertaining as precisely as possible the relevant aspects of a social phenomenon, but also of suspending the popular deceit of pretending we come to a study unaware of the larger societal contexts which shape the phenomenon under study. The deductive stipulation of contexts may be regarded as the extension of the theoretical perspective into specific institutional realms.

The deductive stipulation of the contexts which embrace the phenomenon under study is an essential aspect of its exploration. Prison higher education exists at the intersection of two enduring, hegemonic structures: higher education and the prison. Prison higher education is regarded as a special case in the general expansion of higher education. Accordingly, this inquiry begins with the deductive formulation of definitions of these two hegemonic structures, which are directly relevant to prison higher education. The inquiry, to the extent that it seeks to describe prison higher education, also seeks to locate its place among the diversified contexts which comprise higher education and as a discrete social context into which it has expanded.

The deductive component of this inquiry examines higher education and the prison as mechanisms of diffuse socialization and status allocation rather than direct socialization. Diffuse socialization is not an aspect of direct socialization and may be regarded as distinct

from any impact education might have on students as individuals (Meyer, 1970; Kamens, 1977). It may also, in the case of the prison, be regarded as distinct from the effects of incarceration on individual prisoners. The choice of concentrating on diffuse socialization as an approach to understanding both the nature of expansion in higher education and the emergence of prison higher education is not arbitrary.

With regard to higher education, which is the principal focus of this inquiry, it was based on three factors. First, higher education is "an objective classifier" (Bourdieu, 1984) but, more importantly, it is an overt classifier. To the extent that it reproduces social equality, it does so through ritual structures such as selectivity and curriculum that are necessarily public. Second, "most research has shown that school organization has rather small effects" in the area of direct socialization (Kamens, 1977: 208). Third, the increasing bureaucratization of higher education has resulted in an emphasis upon efficiency rather than learning, which suggests that the most important socialization functions of schooling have little or nothing to do with what students may or may not learn (Brown, 1937; Kamens, 1977; Meyer, 1970 and 1977).

Meyer (1970) has identified several effects of schooling that are independent of whatever direct socialization may occur within the school. First, they establish status groups to which rights and entitlements social meanings are attached. It is important to note that these status groups are neither fixed in number within a society nor are they typically characterized by distinct and impermeable boundaries (Collins, 1971). Second, they promote ideas that graduates possess special skills and abilities. These ideas are essentially theories of socialization institutionalized within an educational organization. Third, they allocate graduates into status groups by bestowing symbolic redefinitions on participants. Kamens (1977), in summarizing Meyer, notes that the realization of these diffuse socialization effects are intimately related to the differential structure of higher education.

Status allocation effects relate to "identity bestowed" rather than to knowledge acquired. For the purposes of this inquiry, diffuse socialization refers to the processes by which status is allocated to the individual by virtue of his or her membership a social group. Diffuse socialization is, a process through which identity is conferred on broad categories within society and, by implication, is not conferred on the basis of intrinsic qualities of individuals. An emphasis on status allocation is de facto an emphasis on the ritual structures that communicate credible identity or status transformation to both participants and wider social audiences.

With regard to the prison, it was based upon awareness of certain contributions to the sociology of moral indignation and the literature of criminology that recognize that the degree to which prisoners internalize the identifications bestowed by the fact of confinement is secondary to whether the meaning of confinement and the "nature" of those confined is successfully communicated to members of the larger society. The prison allocates specified offenders to a status or structure of social relations that, in order to be instrumental as a mechanism of social control, must necessarily be communicated to larger audiences, regardless of the extent to which individual offenders internalize the identity or structure of social relations conferred.

The Prison as Ritual Structure

Chapter Four presents a deductive stipulation of the prison as a mechanism of diffuse socialization. Although the prison may be seen as the essential unit of analysis, the thrust of the chapter is to demonstrate how the prison creates the prisoner as an object in concrete social structure. The prisoner is seen as a social identity, location and status deliberately produced within state society.

The prison is viewed as a ritual structure that lacks the autonomy of an institutional realm. It is viewed as an element of a larger social process which, in the sociology of moral indignation, is referred to as status degradation. The theoretical perspective presented in Chapter Two posited that the "taken for granted" (Berger and Luckman, 1966)

of a social institution or fragment of a social institution may be conceptualized by reference to its underlying ritual form and its primary legitimation structures - both of which are elements of the concrete symbolic structure - and its schemas of legitimation in the imaginary symbolic realm.

Chapter Four represents an attempt to make manifest the prison's function as a mechanism of diffuse socialization precisely by wholly suspending consideration of the schemes of secondary legitimation and by de-emphasizing its primary legitimation structure. Such an analysis, then, accentuates the underlying ritual form and abets the critical and interpretative intention of demystifying social institutions by penetrating the legitimation structures that mask the roles they play on the social landscape.

Ritual Structures in Higher Education

When organizational structure is conceptualized as a set of legitimating mythologies that attest to identity transformations the linkage to broader institutional ideologies - the definitions of individuals and groups and the practices "necessitated" by these definitions - is relatively clear (Kamens, 1977; Meyer, 1970, 1977); but beyond their relationship to ideology, the ritual structures of an organization are an aspect of concrete symbolic structure which simultaneously produces, alters and sustains itself in ways that minimize the appearance of conflict with legitimation and ideology in the imaginary realm. Collins (1977), for example, has referred to schools as essentially no more than theories of socialization institutionalized.

Kamens (1977) has identified a number of ritual structures elemental to the diversity of institutional types within higher education. Paramount among these are selectivity, curriculum, residentiality, faculty characteristics, and institutional size. This inquiry places significant emphasis on these ritual structures, which are not only related to institutional diversity, but to its legitimation. These highly interrelated and overlapping structures are treated in this inquiry as the principal regulatory devices that establish the social meaning and value of participation within the variable contexts which institutional diversity within

higher education suggests. Brint and Karabel (1989), for example, link open admissions - the absence of selectivity -, the lack of residentiality, and diversified curricula to the both fundamental place of the community college within American higher education and the social value of the credentials it offers.

These terms are defined specific to this inquiry. Selectivity is defined as the dramatization of a status, acquired or ascribed, possessed prior to participation (Kamens, 1977). It dramatizes the fact of membership in a social category. The greater the degree of selectivity, the greater the differentiation between participants and non-participants. Higher education will be seen to exhibit a wide range of selectivity, including its complete absence. Residentiality principally refers to a total institution effect which may vary on a continuum reflecting the permeability between a context and the wider society, and expresses the inter-institutional transfer of authority (Goffman, 1968). It is indicated both by boundaries between participants and non-participants, but also by the "gaze" or social authority to which the participant is subjected within the context. The "gaze" may vary not only in accordance with intensity, but also in its specificity as an expression of the inter-institutional transfer of authority. Curriculum is the set of practices that attests that a participant actually has acquired the attributes that a transformation claims. Faculty characteristics, are an aspect of the residential gaze, but also an autonomous structural feature that dramatize the relationship a given educational context is presumed to have with knowledge. I borrow the first element in Foucault's (1972) concept of "enunciative modality," and ask, What is the status of those who are qualified to speak about participants? and Who is it that attests to the learning that might occur? Institutional size is a matter of economies of scale, which qualify selectivity and residentiality.

To locate prison higher education among the expanding contexts of higher education, some of these elements of the ritual structure of prison higher education are compared to a typology of institutional types formulated on the same bases. It should be noted, however, the concept of institutional size remains problematic. Clearly, the number

of enrollments possible is limited by the size of correctional facilities, since practice occurs within the boundaries between corrections and the larger society. For this reason, institutional size is de-emphasized among the ritual organizational structures that shape prison higher education's location within the differentiated contexts of higher education.

Evolution

In stipulating the contexts within higher education, I trace the development of the elements of organizational structure identified by Kamens. The view of this development is evolutionary rather than historical. An historical inquiry seeks to discover the order or pattern represented by a given event or series of events. The history - as a conceptual order, related generalizations, and sets of facts - is the ultimate product of historical inquiry. When an historian, as one engaged in a scientific enterprise, makes a generalization about a particular period, he or she must be concerned about whether that generalization is supported by facts or, whether certain facts exist that might repudiate or contradict the validity of the generalizations offered about actual series of events.

Evolution is another matter. Rather than the ultimate product of an inquiry, evolution orders events of the past in order to shape an inquiry. In providing an evolutionary theoretic rather than a historical narrative of contexts within higher education, I am engaged in an abstract, pre-theoretical exercise. The purpose of the deductive stipulation of contexts:

...is not to provide a concise account of what did and did not take place, but to identify within probabilistic terms the limiting conditions and limiting modes of thought making overall patterns of events more or less likely. (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984)

It is recognized at the outset that historical "facts" may exist that contradict the generalizations made, but this is of small consequence. The touchstone of the generalizations offered is their usefulness in shaping an inquiry and, as Wuthnow,

Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil (1984) suggest, the extent to which they lead to theoretical fruitful questions regarding the phenomenon under study.

Although the periodization of this "evolution" corresponds with actual events of considerable historical import, it is based instead on assumptions about the behavior of culture as the underlying structure of knowledge: First, the colonial era is viewed as a manifestation of the structure of knowledge in the classical era. The elite ideal of the colonial college, associated with that era, reflects a structure of knowledge based on the revelation of "sameness." Second, the emergence of the democratic ideal in higher education corresponds to the emergence of the university, widespread industrialization, the growth of specialization and the division of labor, and emerging professionalism, but what I accentuate in this period is the fact that the structure of modern knowledge - with its emphasis on classification through the rational elaboration of identities and differences - is becoming concretized within social institutions. Third, the emergence of mass education corresponds with social and economic factors at the close of the Second World War, The "Rights Revolution" of the 1960's, and the emergence of social welfarism. But each of these events and the rise of mass education appear to also reflect the extension of that rational elaboration of identities and differences throughout society, promoting the classification of persons as objectified entities in civil society.

This periodization reflects the increasing, but discontinuous, fragmentation of social systems into differentiated and specialized organizational contexts with distinct legitimating mythologies. Consistent with the theoretic, it treats the development of a social institution as the evolution of its concrete symbolic structure and the relationship of that structure to the imaginary symbolic realm. Organizational structure as an element of the concrete symbolic structure of the social world may be regarded as a network of first order legitimations. It is important to note that all elements of such structures, to the extent that they reflect the symbolic linkage among institutions, possess the appearance of necessity.

In order to describe the variable contexts within higher education, I trace the evolution of the rituals of selectivity, residentiality, curriculum, faculty characteristics, and institutional size. Each of these are regarded as legitimating structures. They are rituals and elements ritual networks that comprise the variable social contexts of educational participation. As such, they are hegemonic structures that delimit the meaning and value of education by shaping the status allocated to individuals by virtue of their inclusion within one or another of these contexts. The theoretical perspective, however, defines all concrete symbolic structures - all first order legitimations of regulated and controlled social activity - as ritual. Ritual, in the methodology supported by this view, is treated as a hollow but enduring symbolic-expressive form through which variations in knowledge as an element of imaginary symbolic structure and, more importantly, variations in culture - which I define as the underlying structure of knowledge - are communicated.

The deductive component also offers a view of the institutional realm into which higher education has expanded. The stipulation of the prison as a socializing institution reflects the same theoretical assumptions that shape the view of higher education. As a mechanism that actualizes the degraded status of the offender, the prison is characterized by a ritual structure that acts to bestow identity. Yet because the prison is not autonomous and constitutes a fragment of the structure of a larger social process, the analysis concentrates on how the prison creates and sustains an identity metaphorically bestowed in a prior element of that process.

More importantly, to make manifest the prison's function as a mechanism of diffuse socialization, an attempt is made to describe its underlying ritual form. Instead of presenting the prison at the level of appearances, I concentrate on its behavior as a discrete technology within a specific social process and, thereby, facilitate an analysis which attempts to isolate and suspend consideration of the legitimation structures that provide the appearance of necessity, the "taken for granted" qualities of this particular punishment.

Empirical Component: The Exploration of a Specific Context

The deductive stipulation of contexts articulates apriori knowledge of those contexts, but neither furnishes specific knowledge about the phenomenon that is the object of inquiry nor establishes its social meaning and value. Yet having posited the variable social meanings of educational participation and the social meaning of incarceration, I am at least theoretically "positioned" to begin an inquiry into specific instances of the intersection of higher education and the prison. It becomes possible to conduct an empirical exploration that not only describes prison higher education in Massachusetts, but also suggests what it is as an organization of the signs of belonging for a specific group of aspirants to inclusion in higher education.

The specific instance which this inquiry seeks to explore and describe is prison higher education in Massachusetts. The objectives are to (1) ascertain the general features of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts, and to utilize those features to (2) explore the location of prison higher education in relation to the variable contexts which comprise higher education and to (3) gain insight into its value as a vehicle for status transformation leading to the rehabilitation of incarcerated criminal offenders.

The first objective is accomplished through an empirical component that involves the development and administration of an instrument intended to elicit data about the programs of prison higher education included in this inquiry. Data obtained in this manner is supplemented by demographic information obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Corrections and, when necessary, through follow-up conversations with those to whom instrument was be administered. Ultimately, analysis of this data in relation to the deductive component of the inquiry also permits the second and third objectives to be accomplished.

Population

The focus of this inquiry is upon programs of higher education in facilities operated by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections. The six programs are offered by Boston

University at MCI-Norfolk and Bay State Correctional Facility; Curry College at MCI-Old Colony; Massasoit Community College at MCI-Old Colony and a cluster of facilities in Bridgewater, Massachusetts that will be treated collectively for the purposes of this component; Mt Wachusett Community College at MCI-Concord, MCI-Framingham, MCI-Lancaster, MCI-Shirley, the North Central Correctional Center and the Northeast Correctional Center; the University of Massachusetts/Amherst at MCI-Lancaster, MCI-Shirley, and the North Central Correctional Center; and the University of Massachusetts/Boston at MCI-Norfolk and MCI-Lancaster, MCI-Shirley, the North Central Correctional Center.

The directors of these programs would appear to comprise the population most likely to possess or have access to the general descriptive information sought in the empirical component of this inquiry. They play more than a central role in their respective programs. They constitute, in each instance, the only permanent full or part time employees of each program. In fact, they control or influence every aspect of program structure. They are the principal program representatives in interaction with higher education, corrections, prison populations, and the general public. Many exercise virtual autonomy in the selection of faculty, determination of course offerings, and the allocation of program resources. Indeed, three of the six directors are the founders of their respective programs and four of the six have directed their respective programs from their inception.

Instrumentation

The instrument designed for the empirical component of this inquiry should reflect its exploratory nature. Ultimately, the instrument would be organized in three sections as described below:

Section I - items related to background characteristics of the directors.

Section II - items related to the scope and diversity of program structure.

Section III - items that explore the director's beliefs and perceptions about prison higher education.

The content of items, on the one hand, is dictated by the need to elicit information about specific aspects of prison higher education in Massachusetts. These aspects include the political context in which the programs operate, program philosophy and goals, program scope, funding, characteristics of program staff, admissions, curriculum, residentiality, and student motivations. On the other hand, because of the exploratory nature of the inquiry, the design of items does not reflect a determination to arrive at definitive knowledge about each of these aspects. Rather, the design reflects an attempt to both formulate a rudimentary description of prison higher education and narrow the parameters of future inquiries.

The instrument designed explores the following aspects of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts:

Political Context . General opposition to prison higher education is known to exist, therefore the items related to political context explore not whether general opposition to prison higher education in Massachusetts exists, but whether specific programs have experienced opposition. Given the theoretical assumption that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education precisely because certain forms of undergraduate education may no longer conflict with what it means to be a prisoner, opposition might vary according to either the type of education offered or the level of degrees that are awarded.

Program Philosophy. Certain items were designed to determine whether the programs are guided by clearly articulated general and/or educational philosophies. Additional items were designed to suggest whether the programs might be philosophically oriented toward correctional philosophy.

Program Goals and Objectives. These items were designed to establish whether the programs possess formal goals and objectives; whether program evaluations that might offer insight into goals and objectives have been conducted; whether the goals of higher education are perceived to be the same as those of correction; whether rehabilitation, as is generally assumed, is at least perceived as a goal by those who direct these programs; and

whether program goals are more related to the offender while incarcerated or after release from incarceration.

Scope of Programs. Items pertaining to this aspect were designed to determine the number of prisoners that participate in the programs; the number of courses offered by each program at various correctional facilities; and the number of academic or vocational concentrations made available to prisoners.

Funding. Items were designed to determine the source of funding for the programs and whether funding was received from the Department of Corrections.

Staff Characteristics. Items were designed to elicit information about the academic and professional backgrounds of the directors, as well as their professional orientations.

Admissions/Selectivity. An item was designed to determine the requirements for participation in the programs. In addition, an item was designed to determine what department or division of the parent institution each program is part of so that participation requirements for prisoners and non-prisoners might be compared.

Curriculum. Items were designed to elicit general information about the curricula of the programs. Specifically, these items sought to determine the number and type of academic and vocational concentrations or majors are offered.

Residentiality/Intersystem Integration. Items were designed to suggest the level of residentiality, as both the permeability of institutional boundaries and the inter-institutional transfer of authority, exhibited by the programs. Certain items were designed to explore intersystem relations; but it should be noted that items designed in relation to other aspects, especially those pertaining to residentiality, constitute significant indicators for this aspect as well.

It is important to re-emphasize that the exploratory and descriptive nature of this inquiry support the design of an instrument containing items with a relatively low degree of specificity in relation to these aspects. These items are, with few exceptions, intended to furnish information that might serve as indicators of the probable features of prison higher

education in Massachusetts and its probable place in the evolving contexts of higher education.

Instrument Distribution and Collection

The questionnaire was mailed to to the directors of the six programs of prison higher education included in the inquiry. The questionnaire was accompanied by two items. The first item was a cover letter that explained the nature of the inquiry. The second was an informed consent form that provided a more detailed description of the inquiry and asked each potential respondent to indicate, through signature, their willingness to participate in the inquiry. Appendix A contains Facsimiles of these documents. Each of the six directors elected to participate in the inquiry, returning both the signed consent form and the completed survey to the researcher by mail.

The data from the survey was organized with the aid of a computer-based statistics program. In the process of organizing and reviewing survey responses, the researcher became aware that the initial instrument was remiss in failing to seek information regarding the characteristics of faculty members in prison higher education programs. The directors were subsequently contacted by telephone to ascertain the general characteristics of faculty employed by the programs. This information was reduced to writing, summarized and included in the descriptive findings reported in Chapter Six.

Analysis and Procedures for Analysis

The yield from the instrument described above was utilized to fashion a description of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts. The analysis of responses to various items was comprised of simple tabulation and mathematical analysis. Inferences are drawn based on the frequency of response types and expressed in probabilistic terms. Where indicated, additional statistical measures were be deployed when responses indicated the likelihood of correlations between responses and, for example, institutional type.

The information elicited was also utilized as the basis for a discussion that reflects the central theoretical concerns of this inquiry. This discussion is, in essence, an analysis

of the empirically derived information in light of the deductively formulated stipulations regarding higher education and the prison. This analysis is interpretative, and the interpretation was guided by the theoretical perspective already discussed and the views of the institutional contexts presented in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. It is intended as a discussion of prison higher education as a mechanism of status allocation and diffuse socialization and, more specifically, personal status transformation or reformation. The discussion centers upon a number of tentative propositions that structure the exploration of prison higher education in Massachusetts.

Proposition 1- Prison Higher Education is Mass Education. The tentative proposition that prison higher education in Massachusetts is an element of mass education will be supported if it is characterized by marginality within higher education, if the enrollments are clustered within institutions low in the hierarchy of institutional types, if admissions policies reflect an absence of selectivity, and if its routine practices - including its residentiality - suggest that higher education exercises relatively little institutional authority in relation to participants.

Proposition 2 - Prison Higher Education is evolving into a specialized context within Mass Education. The tentative proposition that prison higher education in Massachusetts is evolving into a specialized context will be supported if its aims and practices are principally legitimated by reference to prisoners as a distinct social category and if its structure is predicated on roles defined in extra-institutional contexts.

Proposition 3 - The efficacy of prison higher education as a vehicle for offender reformation is limited by its place in the contexts of higher education. The tentative proposition that the efficacy of prison higher education in Massachusetts as a vehicle is limited by its place in the differentiated contexts of higher education will be supported if proposition 1 and 2 are supported, and if tentative support exists for two sub-propositions:

Proposition 3A - Prison higher education in Massachusetts, despite reformatory aims, has limited credibility as a reformatory mechanism within the structure of

confinement. Support for such a proposition will include consideration of the degree of intersystem integration, but will emphasize the inter-institutional transfer of authority and the degree to which participation impacts correctional "judgements" regarding participants.

Proposition 3B- Prison higher education in Massachusetts, despite reformative aims, has limited credibility as a reformative mechanism beyond the structure of confinement. Tentative support for such a proposition will include consideration that the existence of prison higher education generates opposition among various audiences and the degree to which participation impacts post-correctional "judgements" including parole.

CHAPTER 4

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CRIMINAL IDENTITIES

Introduction

This inquiry seeks to develop both a descriptive and theoretical exploration of prison higher education, which we define in part as a possibility that exists at the intersection of two institutions: higher education and the prison. This chapter presents a view of the prison as mechanism of diffuse socialization or status allocation. The prison is viewed as a ritual structure that lacks the autonomy of an institutional realm. It is viewed as an element of a larger social process which, in the sociology of moral indignation, is referred to as status degradation. The theoretical perspective presented in Chapter Two posited that the "taken for granted" (Berger and Luckman, 1966) of a social institution or fragment of a social institution may be conceptualized by reference to its underlying ritual form and its primary legitimation structures - both of which are elements of concrete symbolic structure - and its schemas of legitimation in the imaginary symbolic realm. This chapter attempts to make manifest the prison's function as a mechanism of diffuse socialization by illuminating its role as a symbolic-expressive structure that creates and sustains the social identity of "prisoner."

Failure and Intentionality

The folly of judging the efficacy of a social institution according to standards that reflect the subjective intentions or apprehensions of human actors is seldom as evident as it is in the case of the prison. This thoroughly modern, punitive technology designed to reform through intimidation or rehabilitation stands as a stark reminder of Durkheim's injunction that the nature of a practice does not necessarily change simply because we intend it to. The prison has played out its role on the social landscape, consistently acting

upon offenders, regardless of the varying structures of legitimation we have constructed for confinement.

The birth of the prison marks a shift in the form of punishment. Punishment during the colonial era most frequently took the form of execution or various corporal punishments. Black notes, for example, that the offender "might be branded with a hot iron, have his nose slit, his ears cut off, or mutilated in some other way" (Black, 1976: 111). The American prison and the modern concept of incarceration was introduced by Quakers with the opening of Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail in 1790 and followed shortly thereafter by the opening in 1816 of Auburn Prison in New York. In both cases, reformers such as Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, inspired in part by the ideas of the eighteenth-century reforming Jurists, sought an alternative to other punishments which had come to be regarded as cruel, inhumane, and inconsistent with the legitimating ideals of the new nation (Menninger, 1966).¹

These apparent changes in the form of punishment correspond with a shift in its object and purpose, and these comprised a transformation in the way state power would be deployed. The object of punishment had shifted from the *body* to the *soul* of the offender. The criminal, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, would not be viewed as intractably evil. The nature of man was essentially good and the offending agent could be located in a corrupt or deficient soul. The purpose of punishment would shift from a public demonstration of monarchical power inflicted against an evil body to deployment of a new technology - the prison - in which the coercive power of the new State would be utilized to

¹These legitimating ideals reflected a new knowledge of the nature of man. One source makes the point that when it was first advanced as a reform:

"...imprisonment was seen as a reformatory policy merely because it served as a substitute for capital punishment. However, incarceration rather quickly developed its own justifications as an intrinsically reformatory institution. Through carefully calibrated systems of discipline, labor, and religious exhortation, the penitentiary could 'cure' the offender...Because man was now seen as a rational willful actor, surely rational laws plus rational punishment systems would cure a condition (crime) that was conceived of as a disease..." (The Twentieth Century Fund, 1976:86).

effect a reformation of the soul that would simultaneously affirm the moral superiority of the avenging community and the intrinsic worth of all men (Foucault, 1979).

Clearly, a reformatory ideal informed the invention of the prison two centuries ago and remains a powerful social legitimization of contemporary prisons. A survey conducted by the U. S. Department of Justice (1989) reported that 84.5% of the American public consider offender reformation among the purposes of incarceration. Offender reformation was regarded a "very important" by 71.5% and as "somewhat important" by another 13%. Given that most prisoners are sentenced to finite terms of incarceration, many who stress the prison's punitive aspect may simply view punishment itself as achieving corrections or reformation through intimidation.

Though we claim to imprison in order to reform, either through rehabilitation or intimidation, we are confronted with the simple and irrefutable fact that throughout the history of the prison, a majority of prisoners released from custody have ultimately committed fresh offenses and returned to prison. As Foucault has noted about the prison:

The failure of that project was immediate... In 1820 it was already understood that the prisons, far from transforming criminals into honest citizens, serve only to manufacture new criminals and to drive existing criminals deeper into criminality. (Foucault, 1980: 40)

It appears more accurate to say that the prison was legitimated by the concepts of reformation and delinquency, which its invention brought into being (Foucault, 1979 and 1980; Rothman, 1971). As Chan and Ericson note:

Deviance or delinquency, is then created out of this system of punishment-control. This is not to say that certain kinds of behavior do not exist independent of the control mechanisms; but that it is only through this control network that deviance is isolated, defined, distinguished and made use of..."failure"...is therefore partly the "success" of the system. (Chan and Ericson, 1985: 236)

The fundamental assumption underlying all strategies for the reformation of offenders is that a difference exists between them and other members of society. Edwin Schur has suggested "that our penchant for emphasizing alleged differences between

'criminals' and 'normal' people is a misguided one" and that it is symptomatic of our muddled thinking about crime. Throughout the ages, this difference has been attributed to varying causal agents, spanning demonic possession, defective souls, homo criminalis, and defective personality structures. These causal agents have reflected whatever explanatory theory may have been in vogue at a particular time.² Given that the substance of any social institution is the nature of the social relations it authorizes, it is at the very least problematic that the symbolic-expressive functions³ of punishment - those which actually comprise the "meaning" it communicates in the social world - are frequently regarded as among its indirect or secondary effects. We posit that the success of the prison rests in its efficacy as a mechanism that creates credible identity transformations among offenders. It rests precisely on the prison's function as a ritual structure that actualizes a particular status or structure of social relations for offenders and communicates the reality of this differentiated status to the larger society. Only the status allocation effects of the prison, the credible identity transformation it effects for prisoners in their own perception and that of others, constitute the standard of its success or failure as a social institution.

It would be convenient to dismiss the differentiation between offenders, prisoners and other members of society as merely fictional. It would also be untrue. This chapter

² Chan and Ericson (1981) also point out that:

Just as explanations for the origin of criminal behavior have been dominated by various theories, which went in and out of style, different justifications for punishment have been given at various points in time. At present, we have competing arguments, with attendant theoretical justifications to support their validity.(Fleming, 1985: 223)

We suggest, of course, that the validity of a given theory of criminality or punishment is virtually irrelevant to an investigation of the systemic role of either. Theory, after all, exists in our perspective wholly within the realm of the imaginary and, though it may be concretized in the symbolic structure of an institution, it does not alter the underlying ritual structure.

³The term function is used repeatedly in this inquiry. Its meaning is quite specific and should not be confused with its meaning in moral/functional theory or any other perspective erected upon an essentially organismic view of social structure. Thus we see on the social landscape ritual structures that "function", which is to express an algebraic image. To function is to subject strictly delimited inputs (a domain) to one or more specific and uniform operations that produce consistent outputs (a range).

presents a view of the prison as an aspect of a larger process through which select offenders are differentiated from other offenders and others in the larger society. By describing this process as a fundamental ritual form distinct from the discursive schemes through which it is legitimated, we begin to see that the prison's supposed "failure" to reform reflects its "success" as a vehicle for promoting credible identity transformations among offenders. The difference between prisoners and non-prisoners is at once the very real and magical product of the symbolic-expressive functions of criminal justice, which create and sustain an identity and status that come, in the imaginary realm and in the concretized aspects of the symbolic world, to be defined as the problem it acts upon.

Degradation, Denunciation, and Differentiation

As an entity within the concrete symbolic structure of the social world, the prison enjoys no institutional autonomy. Indeed, from any macro-perspective, it should be regarded as an organizational element of an institutional realm or social process rather than as an institution or process in itself. Law enforcement agencies, the courts, the prison, and other elements of criminal justice are the formalized aspects of a ritual process.⁴ Garfinkel (1956) has suggested that status degradation ceremonies are the prototype of the modern trial. Status degradation, however, is more accurately conceived as a process. The work

⁴The process of degradation identified by Garfinkel is conceptualized in this analysis as the central element in the operation of an apparatus that necessarily requires ancillary mechanisms for the selection of its inputs, and means or technologies for disposition of its outputs. These ancillary mechanisms are subject to the same processes of formalization, institutionalization, and specialization as are other institutions and organizations in the modern era.

The process, which is universal, is deployed in a given society to further the imposition of a particular order and the production of certain values. As such, degradation as a fundamental ritual structure is variously legitimated in different societies, giving rise to identifiable distinctions in concrete and imaginary symbolic structure. The task of this analysis is to isolate the fundamental process or ritual structure in which the prison is located by suspending consideration of its presumably unique features in this society. The elements of American criminal justice are treated in this analysis essentially as elaborations - which have necessity only in the realm of legitimation - upon a relatively primitive process.

of degradation is principally concerned with the creation of certain perceptions about rule violators and the deployment of these perceptions as instruments of social control.

Degradation establishes the subject as different from others and different also from what he or she "appears to be." It is important to recognize that the basis of this differentiation is not the rule violation itself but the motivational scheme presumed to underlie it. Garfinkel (1956) has noted that degradation is successful only to the extent that a rule violator comes to be perceived as the possessor of a motivational scheme at variance with that of others. Similarly, when the motivations of a rule violator are not differentiated from those possessed by others degradation is not successful. With rare exception the candidates for degradation may not be conceptualized as all rule violators but instead only those whose prior social circumstances or location already mark them as different or, as Garfinkel (1956) has put it, "lessor in the scheme of social types." Thus, the lower one is on the scales of stratification and the more distant one is from core cultural values, the greater the likelihood of degradation (Black, 1976).⁵

Degradation ceremonies, according to Garfinkel, are the prototype of the modern trial. The selected offender enters the trial as a fully vested member of the social order. Albeit, he or she is typically of low social status, the alleged offender enters the ceremony with a full complement of socially approved statuses and roles. A given offender may be a

⁵Degradation requires the selection of an individual who is among those who have engaged in a certain behavior. Degradation is universal and in no society does the selection of such individuals evidence the attempt to intersect all instances of the prohibited behaviors. Only a fraction of identified offenders are selected and those of low socioeconomic status appear to be universally suitable for selection. Frazier has equated the social position of scapegoats in both primitive and contemporary societies:

It may be suspected that the custom of employing a divine man or animal as a public scapegoat is more widely diffused...the custom of killing a god dates from so early a period of human history that in later ages, even when the custom continues to be practiced, it is liable to be misinterpreted. The divine character of the animal or man is forgotten and he comes to be regarded as an ordinary victim...when a nation becomes civilized, if does not drop sacrifices altogether, it at least selects as its victims only such wretches as would be put to death at any rate. (Frazer, 1922: 667)

The selection of scapegoats must be seen as elemental to formal social control. Accordingly, we suggest that discretion and class bias must be viewed as a foundation rather than an anomaly of criminal justice.

father, a worker, a husband, and so on. The ceremony, in its intricate workings, seeks to establish that all these are merely illusion. It seeks to disavow all identifications and offers as a substitute a single identification that differentiates the offender in the perception of others.

This new identification becomes the "objective" basis for a regime of social relations - punishment - so severe they cannot justifiably be inflicted against individuals that bear even remote resemblance to others in society. The ceremony demonstrates that the offender is "not what he appears to be" and is indeed a lesser being. The ceremony is a ritual, a symbolic-expressive structure that transforms the offender in the eyes of the public by showing he is not the complex of identifications he carried into the ceremony, but rather that he is and always has been exclusively one of a host of prohibited identities. The pronouncement of guilt in the criminal trial communicates that the offender is never a father and a murderer, but exclusively a murderer. The offender is never a worker and a rapist, but exclusively a rapist. His biography, in essence, is ceremonially reduced to the motivational scheme attributed to an instance of deviance. A lifetime of socially approved behaviors are tossed by the wayside.

The ritual of status degradation is functional for social control. Freud (1962) has noted that the foundation for the modern criminal justice system lies in the recognition that "the prohibited impulses are (found) alike in the criminal and the avenging community." The ceremony provides witnesses and spectators with an opportunity to cast off their like impulses, to show that they are not inclined toward similar behaviors, while they create a wholly deviant and abhorrent identity for the selected offender. The offender must be other than they are. The offender must be different. The ceremony must authorize an alteration in the perception the community has of the offender. It is the necessary precondition for his sacrifice.

The manufactured differentiation is magical in its abrupt alteration of perceptions. Goffman has remarked:

While the stranger is before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind - in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak. He is thus reduced in our mind from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one (Goffman, 1963: 12).

Such evidence is celebrated in the trial, an exercise in ritual denunciation, in which the offender becomes a punishable object through the reduction of his sustaining public identities. The ritual destruction of a social being becomes thinkable because when we perceive only evil, we also perceive that only evil will be destroyed.

Shame, Remorse and Actualization

It is this "difference" in the nature of human beings, a difference produced through the ritual of degradation, that the prison acts upon. Within the scheme of popular and scientific legitimations about the prison, this difference between prisoners and non-prisoners is the focal point of reformatory efforts. The prison is a fundamental element of the degradation process. If the ceremony concludes with witnesses and the general population convinced that they see before them an individual so thoroughly differentiated that he may be subjected to indignities, the offender alone knows that his identity has survived the ceremony. He remains, for himself, the full complement of social roles and statuses which he brought into the ritual of degradation.

The prison is but one of a number of technologies historically and extemporaneously deployed in the punitive or actualization aspect of the degradation process. Offenders are "unmade" and prisoners are "made" through processes of objectification. Among the principles of human objectification are the necessity of a division between the observed and the observers, of the observed person's objective nature seen as intrinsic to his nature, of the denial of the external validity of the experiences of the observed, and of the observed person's suspension in a structure of constant anxiety (Fine, 1977). The prison institutionalizes these principles of objectification in a confinement in

which the worlds of keeper and captives are highly differentiated (Goffman, 1968) , in which every social relation is regulated according to a biography that has been ceremonially reduced to the "otherness" embodied in the moment of deviance, in which the real pain of deprivations is not acknowledged or accredited as human pain, and in which anxiety is sustained by the loss of the age-graded status and the enforcement of regulations that symbolize his or her "otherness."

Actualization is a matter of both diffuse and direct socialization. First, as a mechanism of diffuse socialization, the prison dramatizes the altered perception of the offender and the preferred state of social relations that this perception authorizes. This preferred state of social relations is a continuous "unmaking" of the human being through an inversion of the signs of belonging in society. Through this inversion, human beings who have been differentiated on the basis of a presumed motivational scheme become objects that bespeak shame. Shame must be understood in a sociological rather than a psychological sense. It is the instrumental reordering of social relations in ways that deprive the individual of the means for meeting the physiological, social and psychological needs presumed requisite to sustaining the individual in the wider society.

Sykes (1958) describes the prison as a complex of deprivations deliberately imposed upon offenders. He is careful to emphasize that it is not deprivation in its material form, but rather its more nonmaterial or symbolic import that distinguishes pain from punishment. He paraphrases Walter Reckless' observation that:

...it is the moral condemnation of the criminal - however it may be symbolized - that converts hurt into punishment, i.e. the just consequence of committing an offense, and it is this condemnation that confronts the inmate by the fact of his seclusion (Sykes, 1958:65)

Sykes posits that the denial of liberty and autonomy, the deprivation of goods and services, heterosexual relations, and personal security represent the loss of "that basic acceptance of the individual as a functioning member of the society in which he lives" (Sykes, 1958: 66).

As a mechanism of direct socialization, the prison coerces an offender to accept the degraded status and the new state of social relations it authorizes. The offender is taught to express a remorse that, like shame, must be understood in a sociological sense. Remorse is not a feeling of sorrow for past events, but rather the articulation of internalized legitimations of the shame inflicted against the offender's person. Through expressions of remorse, the offender acknowledges that he accepts to a greater or lesser degree the reduction of his biography. The offender accepts not only the legitimacy of the shaming inflicted upon him, but also that he is at the present moment nothing but the abhorrent identity embodied by his past deviance. The offender accepts, through this articulation, that he is the social identity confinement suggests.

Goffman (1968) has described the effect of prison environments upon inmates. Prisoners are systematically stripped of the very essence of their identities. The social statuses and roles which once defined the individual are torn away and he is left mortified, in fear of his "self" as well as for his physical safety. The prison, in Goffman's view, is structured precisely to desocialize its inmates. Like the mental institution that teaches the emotionally disturbed the behaviors appropriate to mental patients, the nursing home that teaches the elderly the behavior appropriate to the dependant, the prison sustains a regime of social relations that teaches the offender that he or she is truly lessor in scheme of social types and the behaviors appropriate to his or her status.

Within the structure of confinement, remorse is articulated by the prisoner in every failure to fend off assaults on his self (Goffman, 1968), in every failure to protest the humiliations routinely inflicted, in each and every acquiescence to the interpersonal terrorism of commands to strip naked and permit the search of one's body cavities. Remorse, as the articulation of the prisoners acceptance of both the moral condemnation he suffers and the social relations it authorizes, is expressed in the deprecation of self-knowledge to the superior "knowledge" of the observers.

Foucault (1979) has suggested that criminology is, in large part, an outgrowth of the identity transformation effected by the prison. The magical identity we insist on creating is legitimated and reaffirmed by a quasi-science that attributes the transformation from offender to prisoner to many things, but never to the process of creation we authorize. Clemmer (1958), for example, has argued that the orientation of the individual prisoner is altered by exposure to prison culture and social structure, and this new orientation leads to further criminality. He posits that the normative order of the inmate world is organized in opposition that of the wider society. He defines "prisonization" as the process by which a prisoner comes to internalize a deviant set of norms and values. He posits that although prisonization always occurs, it varies according to the orientation of the individual prisoner.⁶

Others contend that adaptive responses vary according to the nature of the individual. Sykes, for example, conceptualizes adaptive responses to the prison environment by applying Merton's theory of anomie, which organizes adaptive responses as a function of their orientation toward socially approved goals and rewards and the degree of conventionality they exhibit in their efforts to achieve them. The conformist accepts both socially approved goals and conventional means of achieving them; the innovator accepts socially approved goals but finds unconventional means of achieving them; the ritualist rejects socially approved goals but accepts conventional means of achieving them; the

⁶Others have adopted Clemmer's concept but offer different alternative explanations. Two example suffice. Hyman (1977) conducted a study of 199 inmates confined in a federal correctional institution. He found direct relationships between length of time served and the degree of alienation, and the likelihood of prisonization. He concluded that the negative nature of the adaptive responses of inmates is a function of their alienation as a consequence of the organizational control structure evident in prison. Wellford (1973), however, conducted a study of 14 to 19 year olds in a British juvenile facility. The juveniles were a homogeneous population with regard to race, length of sentence, social class, & prior correctional confinement. They were confined in cottages that "contained their own isolated social structures" He concluded that there was no significant relationship between the varying social structures and degree of prisonization exhibited by offenders. He concluded that those who study the prison community should focus on understanding inmate culture not in itself, but in relation to the larger social structure.

retreatist rejects both socially approved goals and any means of achieving them; while the rebel rejects both and replaces them with deviant goals and means.

Irwin (1970) has suggested that adaptive responses to incarceration are expressed by variation's in the prisoner's orientation, and that these reflect to some extent the nature of the individual. He posits a number social types - the convict, the thief, the square john, the dope fiend, and the head - who exhibit one three ideal types among adaptive responses to confinement. Doing time involves attempts to "maximize...comfort and minimize...discomfort," and trying to get out of prison as quickly as possible. Jailing involves severing ties with the outside world in order to develop a life wholly grounded within the prison. Gleaning is an adaptive response in which the prisoner makes every effort to change his identity in preparation for a non-criminal lifestyle. Neither Sykes nor Irwin, however, offer any empirical evidence that variations in adaptive response to incarceration correlate with post-confinement outcomes.

Finally, some argue that the prison's manufacture of criminals and the existence of a normative world organized in opposition to that of the wider society is not incidental to the specific structure of confinement.⁷ Confinement itself shapes the range of possible adaptive responses. The prison, after all, appears to prohibit pursuit of most socially approved goals and, in the face of such hegemonic structures, adaptive responses grounded in alternate goals are likely. Goffman (1968) regards the prison as a variant of the total institution, and conceptualizes such institutions as structures designed to create or maintain the behaviors they purport to treat (Goffman, 1968).

⁷This inversion of the signs of belonging manifests itself most clearly in the mundane aspects of prison life which are precisely structured to be at variance with the normative patterns of the larger society. Keve notes, for example, that in the prison:

we tend to forget what is normal and impose these rules to enforce what is not necessity but only virtue, and with every such rule we create a new group of rule breakers, keeping us busy punishing people for actions that are bad only in an artificial, institutional sense.(Keve, 1977: 289)

The prison demonstrates the fundamental social reality of unmaking through enforcement of a regime of regulations that appear encompass every aspect of institutional life.

By viewing the prison as a unique sub-society or normative world, isolated from the wider society, we promote the notion that criminals are collectively responsible for their own socialization as deviants and resistant to efforts to improve their lives. This represents nothing less than the reaffirmation, the further reification of the differentiation created and sustained through degradation. In this case, intervention based on coercion is easily justified. On the other hand, to view the failure of the prison to reform offenders as an outgrowth of the specific structure of confinement is equally problematic.⁸ It promotes the misperception that by altering that structure of confinement or by simply declaring a new set of intentions, the fundamental social role and function of the prison as a punitive technology can be altered.

Despite myriad changes at the level of appearances, Foucault has noted seven principles that legitimate the modern prison in all its forms, at all times, and in all places. First, the principle of correction holds that deprivation of liberty is essential to reform. Second, the principle of classification holds that variations in offense are reflected in the structure of confinement. Third, the principle of the modulation of penalties holds penalties are individualized and reflect the probability of reform. Fourth, the principle of work as obligation and right holds, not that prisoners must be put to hard labor, but that enforced idleness may not be inflicted on the offender. Fifth, the principle of penitentiary education holds that education is an elemental aspect of corrections. Sixth, the principle of technical supervision of detention holds the the correctional institution must be staffed by persons possessing a specialized knowledge. Seventh, the principle of auxiliary institutions holds that imprisonment must be followed by a period of surveillance that leads to the completion of the rehabilitative project (Foucault, 1979: 268-271).

⁸Chan and Ericson note that the notion of failure can also serve instrumental economic and political purposes. In their words:

Failure can be seen to justify more doses of the same, thereby producing the "success" of the system. Saying "nothing works" does seem to keep large numbers working in the control business. (Chan and Ericson, 1985: 238)

Yet all of this exists in the realm of the imaginary and does not define what the prison is, only what we claim that we intend it to be. Each principle is concretized within the ritual form of confinement as an instrument of degradation. The principle of classification, for example, has been concretized in the fragmented types of the modern prison, which admit a variety of security-levels that presumably correspond to judgements about the degree of danger posed by a given prisoner. But the rational procedures of classification seldom tolerate individualized judgements.⁹

When the "purpose" of the prison - or any punishment - is derived from this structure of legitimations it is clearly a failure. The prison does produce and drive criminals deeper into criminality. Foucault (1979) has noted that this production must be seen as the inevitable consequence of the type of existence it imposes on prisoners, of the associations among deviants it compels while thwarting associations with non-deviants, and of the system of surveillances through which it denies the possibility of non-criminal choices, and by the imposition of poverty on families left behind.

"Prisonization" and socialization for a criminal future do take place within the prison, but they would also occur were the prison to be abolished. Regardless of the particular technology deployed, it will possess a set of characteristics that are systemic features of actualization in state societies. These features operate beneath the level of appearances, and without regard to the rhetoric, intentionality, or discourses which legitimate and sustain them. Among these features the enforcement of a diminished civil value, the loss of social protection against indignities against the self, the loss of entitlements, the infliction of shame, and a variable degree of interpersonal terrorism.

⁹In Massachusetts, for example, the principle criterion utilized by the Department of Corrections in the classification of prisoners to varying security levels is the percentage of sentence that has been served. Although this policy, referred to as "Standard Movement Chronology," allowed for differential treatment of exceptional or political cases, a prisoner may expect to move from a walled, maximum- or medium-security facility to a minimum-security facility without walls or bars after completion of 50% of the time before his parole eligibility, regardless of the nature of his or her offense.

Most analyses of the prison begin with the acceptance of its legitimation structure and, therefore, regard its essential purpose as the reform of criminal offenders through either intimidation or rehabilitation. Yet if degradation is paradigmatic of criminal justice and has always been characterized by technologies that actualize the magical identities it produces, important questions arise about the invention of the prison. What, for example, were the deficiencies of the technologies which preceded it? Remember that the historic era that saw the birth of the prison possessed its own technologies and these complemented a specific model of justice, a set of expectations about the consequences of rule violation. Why then does the historical record reveal no widespread reaction and protest against the new technology?

The answer appears obvious: the new technology preserved the essential functions of past technologies. The invention of the prison was largely a reorganization of the micro-strategies in the management science of degradation. Whatever its physical structure, it would serve to actualize a degraded status. Whatever its legitimations, it would serve as an aspect of public shaming. Whatever ideologies it is made to support, it effects the social destruction of human beings. Whatever modern techniques it deploys, these can only serve to create and sustain an identity that defines the abhorrent in society and symbolizes the consequences of rule-violation.

There is little basis for doubting the efficacy of the prison as a technology of actualization. As a mechanism of diffuse socialization, its efficacy rests in its ability to communicate a preferred state of social relations to wider audiences. Zimbardo, in The Stanford Experiment, randomly assigned college students to roles of prisoners and guards in a mock prison. So thoroughly internalized were these roles that, without coaching, the students were able to recreate the social relations characteristic of the modern prison. Zimbardo has noted:

The potential social value of this study derives precisely from the fact that normal, healthy, educated young men could be so radically transformed under the institutional pressures of a "prison environment." If this could happen to the

"cream-of-the-crop of American youth," then one can only shudder to imagine what society is doing both to actual guards and prisoners who are at this very moment participating in that unnatural experiment. (Zimbardo, 1973: 53)

Yet Zimbardo, perhaps because of the location of his study within the discipline of social psychology, may have overlooked one critical implication. The students were able to successfully act out the role of guards and prisoners precisely because the social meaning of incarceration is thoroughly internalized throughout society. As a mechanism of direct socialization, the prison subjects the individual to a panoptic regime of symbolic violence through which he is systematically "unmade" and then compelled to accept a false differentiation between all offenders and those selected for confinement. It teaches the offender that he is without worth. It compels the offender to accept what is already objectified social knowledge about himself.

The historic success of the prison has been its ability to effect an identity transformation and a scheme of social relations that orient one to the complacent acceptance of a degraded status and a life of diminished value. The small minority of prisoners who have transcended the coercive regime and subsequently led lives that affirm their essential dignity, humanity and worth comprise the only failures of modern confinement.

Permanent Outcasts

Finite sentencing schemes dictate that a vast majority of offenders return to society. If the reunion between the offender and the avenging community marked the end of the degradation process and the offender were expected to return to the state of social relations degradation disrupted, the reformation of the offender would require both a change in his behavior and some action on the part of the society to alter the perceptions others have of him. In primitive societies, transgressions against the moral order were resolved within kinship networks (Diamond, 1971). While degradation was still necessary to establish and preserve the moral boundaries of the community, except for extreme transgressions the social order may have been compelled by necessity to devise systems of reconciliation

which altered the identity of the offender in the perception of others. Modern state societies, however, have devised elaborate systems to manage the degraded status of offenders, but have surrendered the possibility of reconciliation in favor of the enduring objectification of the degraded person.

Braithwaite (1989) conceptualizes modern punishment as a hidden process of shaming. He claims that modern criminal justice systems no longer speak the language of ritualistic shaming, preferring instead schemes of legitimation that mask the fundamental symbolic-expressive nature of punishment. More importantly, Braithwaite distinguishes between two types of shaming behaviors by social groups. A process of reintegrative shaming is one in which mechanisms of reconciliation permit the offender to be re-accepted as a member of the group after punishment has been inflicted. Another process of shaming is stigmatizing:

Stigmatizing shame involves assigning a master status to a person because of his or her lawbreaking; the person, rather than the behavior, is rejected. This type of shaming is likely to create a class of outcasts. (Scheff, 1990: 742)

Among the tribal rites of certain Haitian sub-societies are those in which persons are transformed into zombies, creatures risen from the dead. Davis (198) has found that zombification is an exemplar of a degradation process that produces stigmatizing shame. The object of zombification is a rule-violator who, after being compelled to mimic the appearance of death through ingestion of a poison, is buried and disinterred after a proscribed period. The zombie - the creature that emerges from the grave - invokes terror not because he is the possessor of terrible and frightening powers, but precisely because his complete powerlessness stands as a symbol of what can be done to those who do not conform.

Regardless of the efficacy of the prison as a mechanism of diffuse socialization in specific cases, its diffuse socialization effects endure beyond the end of confinement. The technologies of actualization in state society shame in ways that stigmatize. Stigmatizing

shame militates against either formal or informal reconciliation between the offender and the social world to which he or she belongs. Like the Haitian zombie, the American prisoner emerges from confinement as someone essentially and thoroughly differentiated from others, and this is made manifest in myriad social, economic and political obstacles to the offender's reintegration into the social order.

The identity transformation effected is formalized in the behavior and statutes of the legal system. Black has noted that:

someone who has been in trouble before is more likely to get in trouble again, no matter what he does. And the worse his record is, the more this is the case. He is more likely...to be the subject of surveillance, a complaint, a search of his person or premises, an arrest, a prosecution, a conviction, or a severe sentence... regardless of his motivation or conduct. (Black, 1976: 118)

The differentiated identity of the ex-prisoner is codified in numerous federal and state statutes that deny, for example, the possibility of obtaining professional licenses, pursuing certain occupations, or participating in democratic process.

The differentiated identity of the prisoner constitutes a stigma that militates against social reintegration. Astone (1982) reports a study which found that establishing a "place" in society is the most common problem of ex-prisoners. The extra-legal rejection of the ex-prisoner leads to difficulties in establishing secondary associations in areas such as employment (Brand and Claiborn, 1976; Schwartz and Skolnick, 1960), but also extends to primary associations such as family, which also treat the ex-prisoner as a differentiated being.

Parole, more than any aspect of post-release life, symbolizes the ex-prisoner's differentiated identity. The reform of parole systems has been frequently proposed. The Report of the Twentieth Century Fund, for example, proposed that:

The agency should help them obtain jobs, secure outpatient psychiatric treatment, get into school, reestablish their role in the family, or, if needed, enter a halfway house or other transitional institution. (1976: 22)

Despite such proposals, parole endures as a regime of supervision that offers no reintegrative services to offenders. Instead of facilitating a reconciliation between the ex-prisoner and society, parole is a system of surveillances and interventions that further stigmatizes the offender, while subjecting him to the constant threat of return to confinement for acts that are not only not criminal, but constitute acceptable behavior for other members of society. These qualities of parole systems cause Astone to note that "the less we do for an offender, the better his chance of avoiding future illegal activities" (Astone, 1982 :113).

Conclusions

The fact that the prison lacks the autonomy of a distinct institutional realm is critical for the analysis of any related feature. To view the prison as an autonomous institution promotes the misperception that by altering its features or declaring a new set of intentions, the fundamental social role of the prison can be altered. If, on the other hand, the prison is seen as merely an element in a larger social process, it becomes clear that meaningful reform that seeks to alter its effects may not be conceived of as requiring the simple restructuring of the prison, but rather requires the restructuring of the systems and affects that control its inputs and dictate its outputs. We suggest that without an alteration in the social thought, the structure of social relations, that the bars and concrete wall symbolize, fundamental institutional reforms that enable human reformation may not be possible.

As a mechanism of diffuse socialization, the prison is an apparatus that creates in the perception of society a degraded category of persons who represent the nadir of social status. As a mechanism of direct socialization, it teaches the offender a new scheme of social relations that constitute the "prisoner" as a social identity. The prison and the institutional process of which it is an element are aspects of the state. Accordingly, the identity transformation effected by the prison may, in large part, be regarded as a status allocation function directly undertaken by the state. While the prisoner is a social identity,

the prisoner is also a civil status whose position in other institutional realms is explicitly delimited in the law.

Higher education enters the prison as a movement for personal status reform among prisoners. It is legitimated as a vehicle for the rehabilitation of offenders, which may be understood as the creation of an identity transformation antithetical to that effected by the prison. To the extent that higher education seeks to create an altered status among participants, its ability to do so must be seen as a function of its ability to intersect the processes of creation that comprise the enduring and underlying ritual form of incarceration.

This descriptive and exploratory inquiry, accordingly, focuses on prison higher education as a mechanism of diffuse socialization and asks, "In what ways does the prison higher education intersect the structure of confinement?" and "What sort of identity transformation does prison higher education in Massachusetts effect." Consistent with the theoretical perspective of this inquiry, the answer to that question is principally determined by the place of prison higher education in the evolving contexts, the differentiated educational forms and institutional types within higher education in the larger society. These are examined in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 5

THE EVOLUTION OF CONTEXTS WITHIN HIGHER EDUCATION

Introduction

As educators, we may bring widely varying motivations, intentions and skills to our work within institutions. Yet it is the institutions themselves rather than our unique individual qualities that circumscribe the social aims, structure and substance of our work. We confront, as do students, an essential dilemma: we struggle for personal achievement and growth, as individuals and members of specific social groupings, within the institutional contexts of education while those very contexts delimit the possibilities of our struggles, quietly recreating us in a "transformed form." As Berger (1966) put it: "It is not correct to say that each society gets the men it deserves. Rather, each society produces the men it needs." Higher education is largely a system of contexts that reproduce the differentiated beings that social structure demands.

Prison higher education - which I define as programs of accredited post-secondary education delivered to incarcerated men and women - is a "possibility" that exists only at the intersection of two social institutions: higher education and the prison. That possibility presents a fundamental contradiction. Among the functions of education is to "symbolically redefine graduates as possessing special qualities and skills gained through attendance" (Kamens, 1977). Possession of these qualities and skills are presumed fundamental to the acquisition of various social roles. Incarceration, in contrast, seeks to symbolically redefine prisoners as deviants who lack the attributes, qualities and skills requisite to successful participation in the larger society (Goffman, 1968). Prison teaches the offender that he or she is incompetent, irresponsible, and without moral or social worth

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credible but contradictory identities, in establishing the new social role of prisoner-college student, both were acting outside their normative roles.

Higher education has for more than two decades legitimated itself as a vehicle for the reformation of criminal offenders in the prisons (Corcoran, 1985; Lewis and Fritz, 1975). As one writer notes:

The theoretical assumption behind all the education programs developed, however, is that if becoming a criminal is a learning process, the remaking of useful citizens is more the task of education than it is the outcome of custody or punishment (Corcoran, 1985: 49)

If prison higher education is to achieve its reformatory aims, it must grapple with the meaning of its own success within the prison. Its success by quantitative measures such as program size and scope largely rests on the degree to which it is able to achieve legitimacy within higher education, corrections and the wider society. But its ability to reform the status of offenders, is dependant upon its understanding of the precise basis for legitimacy. Those of us involved in the education of prisoners must recognize that the meaning of our work is intimately related to the question of how it became possible to include prisoners in higher education without undermining the moral legitimacy and social meaning of incarceration.

Undoubtedly, transformations in both higher education and corrections combine to account for the inclusion of prisoners in higher education. Yet the social meaning and value of the educational credentials earned within the prison are not principally determined by the negotiated reality at the intersection of higher education and the prison. Rather, they are largely dictated by the place of prisoners within the evolving structure of contexts, within the distribution of inclusions, through which American higher education has continuously expanded. I argue that the extension of higher education into America's prisons represents the continuation of an historical pattern of expansion characterized not by the inclusion of new groups into educational enterprises of constant value, but instead

by the creation of varying institutional types that roughly mirror the social status of and expectations about aspirants for inclusion.

This chapter presents a perspective on the expansion of higher education that supports the argument that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education precisely because certain undergraduate credentials no longer posed a significant conflict with the social and symbolic meaning of incarceration. Transformations in higher education are traced through the evolution of three ideal types and their corresponding ritual structures. These ideal types and the variety of institutional types they give rise to roughly correspond to a scheme of socialization effects. Elite education is associated with the affirmation of elite status; democratic education - based on a distinction between "being" and "doing" - with the allocation of competencies for social action; and mass education with the allocation of an "invisibility" that rationalizes apriori status.

The Expansion of Higher Education

Being and Elite Education

Borges once wrote of a magician who traveled to site of ancient ruin and attempted to dream a man into existence. American Higher education began with a similar constructive process. The homogeneous Christian society that gave birth to the colonial college admitted little conflict between socially allocated status and individual self-apprehensions, and in such a world education could reasonably preoccupy itself with the practices that revealed the uncontested symbolic meaning and value of participation. The colonial college came into being charged with the task of "constructing" an identity that exemplified a homogeneous social order legitimated by its commitment to the revelation of God's will.

The work of the early colleges was a moral enterprise in a setting based on the English model of the residential college. The liberal arts taught in the various colleges was rigid. It reflected the Harvard injunction that "Every one shall consider the Mayne End of

his life & studies to Know God & Jesus Christ, which is Eternal Life" (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976). In the homogeneous, Christian social structure which gave birth to the colleges, the emphasis was on the development of devotion and intellect. Yet these were considered indivisible from and only approachable through the soul. The elements that Bentham articulated in panopticon appeared a century earlier in the structure of the colonial recipe for higher education. Discipline - in the form of the recitation method-, observation - facilitated by the residential model - and control - in the form of constraints upon student life - were employed in order to transmit a fixed body of knowledge and shape the character of the student by harnessing his soul.

At the level of appearances, the founders of the early colleges sought merely to respond to the limited vocational needs of their communities. As Brubacher and Rudy have written:

The desire of important religious denominations for a literate college-trained clergy was probably the most important single factor explaining the founding of the colonial colleges. (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976)

The early colleges prepared a select minority for the clergy, but also for the professions of law, medicine and public service and, in the process, serve among the guardians of the stratification system in pre-industrial society (Meyer, 1957; Rudolph, 1984).

Although the "professional" class of the colonies was drawn largely from among those who attended, the colleges were not in any sense professional or vocation schools. Frederick Rudolph has written of the relationship between the instruction offered by the early colleges and the preparation of professional:

The American college delivered a non-professional and non-technical education in the arts and science, an experience in refinement and intellectual growth. In a sense, the future professional had first to be certified as a gentleman, as someone who had been touched by liberal learning and was therefore a community resource, a person of moral and intellectual authority, someone fit to lead. (Rudolph, 1984:14)

This relationship to the professions may appear to have been based upon a distinction between the academic and vocational, in which the vocational was never allowed to penetrate the curriculum of the early college. There was, in actuality, no distinction drawn between being and doing in the colonial era, no logic that allowed such a differentiation in the imaginary, and an absence of concrete structures that enabled such a differentiation to "make sense" or have value within the moral order.

It is only retrospectively, in the logic of the modern age, that we can speak of an identity produced by the early college. Indeed, in the colonial era, an institution could only "produce" an identity that was already revealed in every significant identification. The moral enterprise of the college was, throughout, a variant of the process of "unmasking:"

Because divine "election" meant precisely life lived under God's mercy, the practice of unmasking self-righteousness became identical with the practice of demonstrating or allowing the presence of that divine providence. Puritan "techniques" did not generate salvation by human effort but were occasions for witnessing a relationship. (Martin, Gutman, and Hutton, 1988: 69)

The person "fit to lead" was one who through the process of unmasking came to know God's wisdom by comprehending the rightness of his station in life.

What it meant to know God shaped the college's role in relation to social stratification. Like the colleges and universities of the 19th and 20th centuries, selectivity, curriculum, residentiality were the rituals elemental to the organizational structure of the colonial college; but in that era they obeyed the logic of a prior culture and, accordingly, communicated a knowledge that was governed by sameness rather than differentiation. These rituals functioned, like all other Puritan techniques, to affirm a status given at birth rather than to transform an existing identity or allocate an altered status.

The colonial colleges came into being as agents of legitimation. Brubacher and Rudy (1976) note that the colleges were overtly committed to the task of "preserving, not reconstructing" the established society. That commitment to preserve the existing order

was deeply reflected in the ritual of selectivity. If selectivity, in the logic of modern culture, may be termed a pure act of differentiation, in the era of the colonial college it was an act that reaffirmed "sameness" among the elements of a strictly delimited class. Brubacher and Rudy (1976) appear to see suggestion of an early inclination toward democracy in the fact that scholarships were sometimes provided to impoverished students, yet even these less fortunate students were propertied, white males. Selectivity within the colleges did not differentiate but, like the state and the church, gave witness to the fact that what was, was supposed to be.

The same is true of residentiality. Today residentiality in its purest form produces a "total institution" effect that validates successful identity transformation by placing a boundary between the participant and the everyday world and, in doing so, fixes the individual in an imaginary landscape that denies the validity of all external identifications and submerges the individual in rites that establish, once and for all, a transformed identity. But residentiality, as a discrete practice, also has validity because of the authority and credibility vested in the "gaze" to which participants are subjected within that landscape.

The residentiality of the colonial college admitted few tangible boundaries. The college was "of" the world and it accepted the inherent validity of the hierarchy of that world. Meyer (1957) notes, for example, that the colleges were so conscious of social position that until the eighteenth century "enrollment at Harvard and Yale were arranged not by alphabetical convenience but according to the social position of the scholars parents." That participants were subjected to a moral "gaze" sanctioned by clergy and the state may have been sufficient to lend credibility to the claim that the institutions put forth persons "fit to lead."

The colonial college that once constituted the sum of higher education in America, educated the entirety of America's undergraduate population (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976), served as a principle guardian of society's stratification system (Meyer, 1957; Sexton, 1967) and claimed an intimate link with its culture has died. But we must be careful. The

colonial college did not endure the economic, political and social transformations that swept America from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century, but its underlying model - the affirmation of elite status persisted in a variety of forms.

Doing & Democratic Education

The decades between the Civil War and the Progressive Era gave rise to the expansion and diversification that has characterized American higher education for more than a century. That expansion and diversification appear to be driven by a spirit of openness and inclusiveness that contrasted with the fundamental structure of the colonial college. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the democratization of higher education also appears to be predicated on the abandonment of the ideal of the colonial college.¹ Though the new structure of higher education that emerged in this period was legitimated as a reaction and protest - fueled by the desire for more practical and democratic education - against the notions of liberal learning embodied by the early colleges, they reflect a deeper transformation in culture and society. We see in this period the logic of modernity displacing that of the classical era as it became increasingly concretized in social relations. And with this displacement, the forces that shaped American society for the next century - specialization, the division of labor, bureaucratization - were in turn unleashed.

While it is true that the criticisms of the traditional liberal arts curricula had reflected growing disenchantment with its exclusive emphasis on eternal truths at a time when industrialization was beginning to lead to rapid advances in the common stock of

¹The move away from the colonial college was first manifested in calls for a more practical and utilitarian education that led to the founding of the University of Virginia in 1819 by Thomas Jefferson and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1824 (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). Both institutions emphasized elective courses and broader programs of study which responded to growing demands for technical and utilitarian education. This new emphasis on the vocational is thought to have found its fullest expression in the Morrill act of 1862 and the resultant birth of the land grant colleges (Veysey, 1965). The passage of the Morrill Act and the rise of the land grant colleges were largely a response to demands for a more practical and democratic education during the period of America's Westward expansion and, subsequently, it was the land grant universities' extension programs that lodged "public service" among the ideals of the university (Kerr, 1963).

knowledge; while it is in part true that the spirit of the Enlightenment that furnished the intellectual backbone of the new American state fueled early calls for a more democratic education; and while it is true that a new "way of knowing" was coming to be fully realized, it would be an error to assume that rejection of the colonial college was, in fact, a rejection of the affirmation of elite status. At the roots of democratic education we find fundamental social and educational inequality preserved in a restructured system of higher education. "Democratization" - as ideology and the legitimation of higher education's expansion - provided the organizing principles for that restructuring.

Higher education began its expansion during this period primarily by appealing to the widespread desire among the working and middle class for social mobility. If the goal of democratization was greater equality, one form of education with one social meaning and value might have been made available to all. If the goal of democratization was to promote a meritocracy based on equality of opportunity, a system that eradicated the advantages of class might have evolved. But democratization did not seek to promote any form of equality. Rather, it sought to expand higher education through the provision of educational opportunities that did not threaten the existing structure of an inherently unequal society. That goal required an educational system that reproduced, as Bourdieu has noted, "the hierarchies of the social world in a transformed form" (Bourdieu, 1984: 387).

Inclusion designed to satisfy the desire for mobility without destabilizing class structure required a mutation of higher education's role in preserving society's stratification system. It required the creation of an educational hierarchy that mirrored America's existing class structure. The American system, until the advent of mass education, was not only two-tiered like its French counterpart, but also constituted:

an objectified system of classification reproducing the hierarchies of the social world in a transformed form, with its cleavages by "level" corresponding to social strata and its divisions into specialties and disciplines which reflect social division ad infinitum...and establishes hierarchies which are not experienced as purely

technical and therefore partial and one-sided, but as total hierarchies, grounded in nature, so the social value comes to be identified with personal value, scholastic dignities with human dignities. (Bourdieu, 1984: 387)

Expansion that preserved the existing social structure came to be exercised through a "democratic" inclusion in which the logic of prior exclusions was deployed as the basis for institutionalizing the attributes of social position.

The structure of this new inclusion evidenced itself in the earliest roots of the university. Reconsider Jefferson's calls for the inclusion of vocational in the curricula of higher education. What we see in Jefferson, a half-century before democratization, is far more than an advocate of technical and utilitarian education (Brubacher, 1976). Jefferson's prescription for higher education was, in fact, an exemplar of the way in which it could continue to serve as guardian of the nation's stratification system despite a radical shift in the logic and organization of social institutions. By including the vocational within the model of the traditional college, Jefferson sought to preserve the distinction between elites and non-elites within the framework of presumably democratic institutions. He advocated a structure of higher education that enabled a distinction between "natural" and "artificial" gentlemen. It was Jefferson's "democratic" hope that higher education could save about twenty men "from the rubbish" by tolerating the presence of these artificial gentlemen who were destined for the "learned professions."² Access to higher education was still almost exclusively limited to propertied white males. Clearly, what appears in the realm of ideology and legitimation to have been an attack on the colonial college as the embodiment of the elite ideal was, in the the concrete symbolic world, the reaffirmation of an elite ideal through the bifurcation of what was once an homogeneous whole.

² The distinction between natural and artificial gentlemen was made in a letter to Peter Carr on September 7, 1814. The comment about salvaging "from the rubbish" was made in defense of the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge in 1779. These are reported by Maclachlen (1970) who identifies his source as Roy J. Honeywell's The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson (Cambridge, 1931), pages 223 and 11, respectively.

The principal import of Jefferson for American higher education lies in the fact that he expressed the logic of modernity. The colonial college organized the signs of belonging in accordance with the structure of classical thought in which practices of classification were based on "sameness" (Foucault, 1970), the grouping of like identities. Jefferson's vision of higher education is an expression of modern thought precisely because it classifies by differentiating among like identities. He spoke of a distinction not only between the included and the excluded, but among the included. That distinction, in essence, was between being as the validation of apriori identifications grounded in social attributes and doing; first, as the differentiation between the rational and irrational ways of doing and, second, as the validation of an allocated competency for social action consonant with the specialized, fragmented and hierarchical roles of society.

The democratization of higher education may be understood, in essence, as the creation of just such an educational system. That structure was characterized by a diversity of institutional types³ or contexts (Kamens, 1977). In essence, higher education was fragmented through the creation of varied contexts for learning, and each differentiated among human beings on the basis of both social status and the social use for which their education was intended. There were both elite and non-elite institutions, but among each of these were those legitimated by their function of simply affirming social status, both affirming status and certifying general competency, or certifying specialized competencies.

³ There is no doubt that the expansion of higher education has been characterized by the emergence of differentiated institutional types. Indeed, the diversity of institutional types within higher education is frequently cited as one of the fortunate by-products of an educational system free of centralized control (Boyer, 1987; Box, 1986; Clark, 1978a and 1978b). Given the number and variety of institutional types, the possible typifications of American higher education are numerous. Although the Carnegie Classification, which currently includes four categories which embrace nine distinct institutional types (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973), may be the most frequently cited typology (Smart, 1978), alternative typologies are frequently employed for specific inquiries. Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker and Riley (1977), for example, deploy an alternative typology for their study professional autonomy within higher education.

The democratization of higher education preserved the elite ideal primarily in the form of the liberal arts college, which perpetuated the simple re-affirmation of status, but also by including that form within an emerging university and which certified competence of among elites. And the highest context for elite education were the specialized graduate schools - modeled after John Hopkins University that was founded in 1876 - that prioritized expertise and the creation of knowledge. Non-elite status was affirmed in contexts that imitated those bespeaking elite status: small liberal arts colleges that sought to simply affirm the status of "would-be" elites among lesser human beings, such as blacks and women; Land Grant and other universities that affirmed non-elite status and certified competence for non-elite occupational categories; and a plethora of institutions that allocated competencies for specialized non-elite social action.

Thus, democratic education may be seen to embody at least three significant phenomena. First, it permitted the creation of functionally distinct institutions, some of which absorbed previously excluded categories, but also other dedicated solely to education for "doing." Most important to the expansion of higher education were those institutions which emerged precisely to embrace the new aspirants for inclusion by allocating competencies for social action that were clustered in non-elite occupational realms. The land grant universities, committed to public service and the dissemination of practical knowledge, were instrumental in absorbing vast numbers of the new aspirants for inclusion in higher education. But their curricula were devoted to the spread of practical knowledge, especially as it pertained to agriculture. We see also in democratization the proliferation of colleges for women, some of which evolved from the 18th century academies, colleges for the education of blacks, colleges for catholics and members of other religious denominations. Each of these types was built upon a notion of what was appropriate for a specific social category to learn while in college and to do once college was completed. Indeed, it is in democratic education that we find validity in Bowles & Gintis' (1976)

notion of correspondence between schooling and an occupational hierarchy in which each person is allocated to his or her rightful place.

Second, creation of distinct institutional types required mutations in the ritual structures of higher education. A fragmented and "liberalized" selectivity operated to group aspirants into categories of inclusion based upon schemas of identities and the differences among identities.⁴ Curriculum varied from traditional liberal arts that established the validity of status to diversified and specialized concentrations that certified competencies for social action.⁵ Residentiality varied not only in terms of the permeability of institutional boundaries, but also in terms of the intensity, quality and specificity of the (faculty) gaze under which students learned. It became possible to view the faculty of these institutional types on continuums reflecting cultural background, academic achievement by the possession of advanced degrees, and academic function in relation to teaching and research. Lastly, economy of scale became linked to judgements of value.

Third, democratization compelled formerly elite institutions and emerging non-elite institutions to legitimate themselves according to democratic organizing principles. We find in the fragmented structure of higher education the roots of meritocratic legitimation. Yet

⁴ Veysey has noted that "accessibility might stem from the absence of tuition fees, the acceptance of mediocre or eccentric preparatory backgrounds, the acceptance of students of both sexes and all ethnic origins, and the abandonment of required knowledge of classical languages. Promotion of such policies as these was linked to an abhorrence for class and caste in American society as a whole" (Veysey, 1965:63).

⁵ In the era of democratic education, curriculum development would emerge as a specialization within education. This emergence was made possible precisely because of education, as the site where knowledge is acquired, was fragmented according to the social expectations about diverse populations. This fragmentation promotes the appearance of educational choice and the possibility of making decisions among those choices, but in reality the decision was dictated by class attributes. Ravitch (1983) reports that the first book devoted to curriculum appeared in 1918 and notes that it "...made clear that the starting point in shaping a curriculum was an analysis of life activities...the field of curriculum development, as it emerged, was firmly linked to this sort of social utilitarianism, which set the task of the school as the adjustment of the individual to society." Doing, the differentiated competency for social action, was the cornerstone of the new field. Through curricula that emphasized the learning of functional skills and values through "learning by doing," what was learned in American education could be brought in line with general social perceptions about the moral worth and life expectations of students.

such groupings were fundamentally inconsistent with the ideals of democracy and equality. Access to inherently unequal institutional types was primarily legitimated in three ways. First, through an essentially uniform hierarchy of degrees that masked the extent of the inequality of outcomes among participants system-wide; second, by the objectification of the attributes of social inequality into the character of the aspirant for inclusion; and, third, by utilizing such attributes as criteria within a presumably "competitive" selection process.

It is important to note that higher education's expansion was abetted by the promotion of a credentialing function. Though credentialing may be seen as a general phenomenon in which an educational identification is made requisite for economic participation, its essential model is intimately tied to the growth of professionalization and specialization in industrial society. The late 19th century witnessed the beginnings of modern professions, especially those that may loosely be termed "social work." Foucault has written about this phenomena:

...people appear who make it their business to involve themselves in other people's lives, health, nutrition, housing; then, out of this a confused set of personages, institutions, forms of knowledge: public hygiene, inspectors, social workers, psychologists. (Foucault, 1980: 62)

What Foucault finds worthy of note in the rise of professionalization is that it bespeaks a transformation in the way state power was manifested. Higher education provided the training and credentials required to legitimate the emerging professions but, more importantly, it absorbed the "knowledge-base" of those professions.

The "working" classes that sought inclusion in the early years of democratic education were largely aspirants to middle class status obtainable through membership in the emerging professions and quasi-professions in business, education, social work, and so forth. Professionalization is the process through which a state-authorized monopoly of a competency for action is acquired. Although economic and political power accrue to this monopoly, the most important powers exercised by professionals are (1) ideological

power: the power to define what is right or wrong, legitimate or illegitimate, in a given realm, and (2) police power: the power to utilize the state's monopoly on the legitimate use of violence to compel conformity to their definitions of reality. What Foucault recognized is that professionals, as a civil status, do more than act on behalf of the state. They are extensions of the state and symptomatic of the extension of state power into the very being of the individual.

Parsons and Platt have argued that cognitive rationality is the principal product of higher education in the modern era. Democratic education, intimately tied to doing through the certification of competencies for social action, assisted in the rationalization of forms of doing. The best expression of this rationalization of doing was in the rise of Frederick Taylor's scientific management, which impacted not only industry, but education as well (Wirth, 1983). Taylor's conception of scientific management held that increases in efficiency could be achieved through the application of scientific analysis to modes of production (Wirth, 1983: 11). The ideal worker in Taylor's model was not an unthinking and unskilled worker. The Taylor model reflected the growing recognition that the highly skilled workforce essential at the outset of the Industrial Revolution was incompatible with the large economies of scale which characterized production within more developed industrial societies, while an unskilled workforce had virtually no industrial value in either era. Taylor sought a semi-skilled force of "machine-minders" notable for their "capacity to accept responsibility, to adapt to difficult conditions, and to perform a job intelligently" (Dahrendorf, 1957:49).

While much emphasis is placed on scientific management as applied to worker productivity and the rationalization of productive process, little attention is given to who it is that comprised the audience of scientific management. Scientific management certainly speaks about workers, but it speaks to industrial owners and the emerging managerial class who, in the act of learning the appropriate objectification of workers, unwittingly made themselves and their occupational activities the prime object of rationalization. Professional

groups in the modern era legitimize their power in relation to other such groups and the wider society by successfully claiming to speak in the name of rationalities derivative of the human and natural sciences. Higher education legitimated the new professions not only through the formulation of specialized curricula, but also by rewarding credentials attesting to the holder's possession of either a general competence or, more importantly, a specialized and rationalized competence for social action.

Credentialling for the professions and quasi-professions became the sustaining force of higher education's expansion in modern society. That force is embodied in a dialectic: within a system of regulated rights and entitlements that reproduce a hierarchical social order, the extension of opportunities for symbolic re-definition limit the efficacy and social value of those re-definitions. Yet devaluation necessitates their acquisition by the categories of persons for which they were implemented. Education that certifies competence through the award of credentials embraces members of the social categories already exercising that competence. Thus as more areas of competence professionalize, the demand for credentials increases, but that demand also insures the devaluation of the credentials inherent in an increase in the supply of holders and the loss of the entitlements they once appeared to provide (Bourdieu, 1984). In the face of devaluation however, the same credential becomes requisite for participation in increasingly lower realms of the occupational and social competence.

It is this dialectic that gives rise to the educational variant of hysteresis of the habitus, which Bourdieu (1984) has defined as a phenomenon "which causes previously appropriate categories of perception and appreciation to be applied to a new state of the qualifications market." The explosive growth of higher education and the number of credentials it would reward did not immediately undermine the value of those credentials. Women from the upper and middle classes, for example, tended not to utilize their educational credentials outside of the home or a few "appropriate" professions. Blacks

were segregated in institutions that largely emphasized the agricultural and low-level industrial vocations they were permitted to pursue.

The legitimation of democratic education was largely successful. Credentialing, which legitimated higher education as a vehicle for social mobility, did institutionalize the phenomenon of declining value, but by the middle of the 20th century the view that higher education constituted one of the principal avenues to individual mobility and greater general equality was thoroughly institutionalized. As higher education expanded, presumably creating greater opportunity for previously excluded groups within the society, it offered to these groups credentials that did not bespeak the same entitlements as they had in previous generations. The result, of course, was the appearance of widespread educational advancement and social mobility while, in fact, more years of education were required to simply retain one's prior socio-economic status. At the level of appearances, members of previously excluded groups enjoyed increasing access to higher education when, in fact, they were largely segregated in differential contexts. The inequality inherent in this scheme was masked by processes of selection that were outwardly meritocratic. The increasing bureaucratization and professionalization in industrial society created new positions in the occupational hierarchy and promoted the general belief in the possibility of the continuous fulfillment of democratic education's promise of social mobility through vocational education. Widespread pursuit of credentials - as the necessary certification of being and the qualification for doing - increasingly diminished the value of those qualifications. In a subsequent era, the dialectic of credentialing would create a crisis of legitimation within higher education, but during the democratic era it served well as a legitimation for the restructuring and reproduction of social inequality in industrial society.

Invisibility and Mass Education

The pursuit of social mobility through the acquisition of the credentials that had become increasingly requisite to occupational success grew exponentially in the years following the Second World War. Returning veterans of that war flooded a de-militarizing,

post-war economy incapable of absorbing the great influx of labor. Many of the returning veterans, faced with the prospect of long-term unemployment in the industrial sector, sought the training and education requisite for participation in the expanding professional service sector (Ravitch, 1983). This initial growth of demand escalated further as great numbers of the previously excluded, motivated in part by the "rights revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s, sought access to higher education. With the passage of legislation such as the Higher Education Act, financial barriers to post-secondary educational were eased for millions of prospective students.

Higher education met this increasing demand with increases in the economy of scale among existing elite and democratic institutions. But this was not sufficient. Vast numbers absorbed into existing institutions, without some means of differentiating among participants, might have dramatically reduced the value and meaning of educational participation and proven destabilizing for a class system partly legitimized by variations in educational achievement. A new educational form - mass education - and a complementary institutional type - the two-year community college - would be the primary vehicles through which escalating demands for inclusion could be met. It is important to recognize that the community college is not the only context of mass education. Elite and democratic institutions developed specialized contexts marginal to and isolated from their principal mission, to capitalize on the economic rewards of mass education without undermining the status of their mainstream programs. Continuing education departments, differentiated within the internal structure of institutions by their entrepreneurial mission, are a haven of such contexts.

Mass education and the community college have been rationalized as mechanisms capable of furnishing universal access to the benefits of higher learning and responding to the changing vocational needs of society (Labaree, 1990). Mass education, legitimated as an education accessible to all, was truly that. But higher education does not advertise the implications of that accessibility and the structure it supports. Mass education, the new

form that would permeate all others, is invisible education. Invisibility, the chronic condition of social inferiors, is affirmed in its functions and structure. Education is generally perceived to allocate status and attest to credible transformations in the identity of participants, certifying some level of competence for social action; but mass education effects a limited alteration in the status of participants, promotes a minimal transformation in identity and largely offers an education in competencies which require no specialized education to exercise. Mass education, through a structure that accentuates the defects of aspirants and denies the likelihood of change, reasserts the invisibility of the lowest classes (Ginsburg & Giles, 1984; Labaree, 1990).

Through the structure of this new context, inequalities in wealth, power and status are perpetuated (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Ginsburg & Giles, 1984; Labaree, 1990). Open admissions policies are ritual structures that communicate and legitimate the lack of distinctions between participants and non-participants. The disinterest of institutional authority in attesting to credible transformations in status is communicated through the surrender of residentiality requirements, but also by reliance on faculty who occupy the lowest realms of the "academic pecking order" and are presumed to possess inadequate educational capital and expertise for employment in democratic and elite institutions. Pedagogies also increasingly emphasize the absence of institutional authority regarding what is learned. Concepts such as "University Without Walls" and "Open University" (Robinson, 1977) bespeak the desire to decentralize learning in order to reach special populations (Hendricks, 1983) but reduce faculty student contact hours through distance education pedagogies and technologies. They are legitimated by philosophies that emphasize self-directed learning but, accordingly, also represent the institutional refusal to attest to an altered status.

Mass education does not lack specialized contexts, but these differentiate only among the invisible. A specialized context is one in which aims and practices are legitimated in relation to a specific category of persons. It does not, in fact, require actual

specificity in practices. Higher education during the last quarter of the twentieth century, which produced and validated the knowledge of various professional groups - including the categorizations of supposed deficiencies that legitimated social stratification and necessitated professional intervention - now embraced the clients of those same professions. The schemes of differentiation among the invisible were already part of the objectified knowledge of higher education; and once the invisible came to be included in higher education, those schemes furnished the rationale for a plethora of academic and quasi-academic specialists in the differentiated incompetencies of lower-class blacks, women, and other categories of the invisible. These specialists offer programs of guidance, development, and consciousness that are nothing less than the structural legitimation of still finer variations in the social meaning of educational participation.

The new contexts, legitimated as a stepping stone to democratic institutions, serve primarily to divert "unsuitable" candidates for inclusion. They would largely "cool out" aspirants by allocating failure and teaching students to arrive at "realistic" expectations about their prospects for academic success (Clark, 1954). Students who aspired to academic success would be diverted into vocational programs, where they would join others, attracted precisely by the promise of vocational success, in receiving training in the rational ways of doing that had come to characterize the most pedestrian occupations.

Mass education in its variety of forms has absorbed much of the explosive growth of higher education, giving rise to claims that excluded groups now enjoy equal access to the benefits of higher education. But this growth should not be confused with the extension of opportunity for social mobility or success. Women in 1980, for example, were less likely than they were in 1960 to attend four-year colleges, yet the community college and other contexts of mass education hardly merit association with other forms of higher education. The community college is evolving into the new comprehensive high school (Labaree, 1990), a place where one may acquire the basic literacy and competencies once certified by high school graduation. At its absolute best, it tracks students into the

lowest realms of a stratified occupational structure (Trimberger, 1973). At its worst, it warehouses otherwise idle populations while it while they learn to define themselves as less than able.

Summary and Implications

Higher education is a system of contexts that reproduce a stratified society by regulating the social value of participation. Institutions bestow identifications and identity. The identity bestowed by institutions of higher education vary in accordance with institutional types, which may be classified according to their ritual structure. The social value of educational participation may be conceptualized as the nature of the identity transformation effected. That value is delimited by the institutional type, the educational context, in which students are permitted to learn.

The principal mechanism through which a stratified society is reproduced is the creation of a diversity of institutional types that roughly mirror the social status and expectations of participants. The varying institutional types with higher education may be conceptualized as belonging to three ideal categories. Elite education affirms apriori social status and bestows competencies for elite forms of doing. Democratic education affirms membership in various lesser- or non-elite social categories or bestows competencies for non-elite forms of doing. Both elite and democratic education effect identity transformations that afford significant differentiation between participants and non-participants. Mass education affirms non-elite status and bestows competencies for forms of doing to which no rights and entitlements accrue. Its socialization effects are relatively transparent, effecting little or no differentiation between participants and non-participants.

Within the conceptual ambit of these forms are a diversity of institutional types which reflect the social status of participation and the social aims of education. The social value of teaching and learning varies both within and among institutional types. Accordingly, the meaningful exploration and description of any program of higher

education must establish the general form to which that program conforms, the institutional types it might include, as well as the degree to which its practices are legitimated by differentiations among beings and aims.

If higher education is a system of contexts that reproduce a stratified society by regulating the social value of participation, the social value of participation prison higher education is delimited by its location within this system of contexts. Higher education's historical pattern of expansion through the creation of educational forms and contexts that roughly mirror social expectations about participants lends strong support to the proposition that it became possible to educate prisoners precisely because some of those forms and contexts are no longer wholly in conflict with social expectations of what it means to be a prisoner.

In light of our understanding of the prison as a symbolic-expressive mechanism and our understanding of the variable contexts of higher education, we anticipate that the yield of the empirical component of this descriptive and exploratory inquiry will furnish support for three propositions. These are:

Proposition 1- Prison Higher Education is Mass Education. The tentative proposition that prison higher education in Massachusetts is an element of mass education will be supported if it is characterized by marginality within higher education, if the enrollments are clustered within institutions low in the hierarchy of institutional types, if admissions policies reflect an absence of selectivity, and if its routine practices - including its residentiality - suggest that higher education exercises relatively little institutional authority in relation to participants.

Proposition 2 - Prison Higher Education is evolving into a specialized context within Mass Education. The tentative proposition that prison higher education in Massachusetts is evolving into a specialized context will be supported if its aims and practices are principally legitimated by reference to prisoners as a distinct social category and if its structure is predicated on roles defined in extra-institutional contexts.

Proposition 3 - The efficacy of prison higher education as a vehicle for offender reformation is limited by its place in the contexts of higher education. The tentative proposition that the efficacy of prison higher education in Massachusetts as a vehicle is limited by its place in the differentiated contexts of higher education will be supported if proposition 1 and 2 are supported, and if tentative support exists for two sub-propositions:

Proposition 3A - Prison higher education in Massachusetts, despite reformative aims, has limited credibility as a reformative mechanism within the structure of confinement. Support for such a proposition will include consideration of the degree of intersystem integration, but will emphasize the inter-institutional transfer of authority and the degree to which participation impacts correctional "judgements" regarding participants.

Proposition 3B- Prison higher education in Massachusetts, despite reformative aims, has limited credibility as a reformative mechanism beyond the structure of confinement. Tentative support for such a proposition will include consideration that the existence of prison higher education generates opposition among various audiences and the degree to which participation impacts post-correctional "judgements" including parole.

CHAPTER 6

PRISON HIGHER EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the descriptive and theoretical exploration of prison higher education in Massachusetts. It is grounded in the deductively formulated views of the prison and higher education presented in previous chapters, the findings of the empirical component (see Appendix A) of this inquiry, and information gleaned from an historical examination of the emergence of prison higher education in Massachusetts (Jones, 1992). While it provides some basic descriptive information, it is largely a discussion of the way in which the inclusion of prisoners in higher education was made to appear rational within the moral order. It involves the identification of structural features that enable prison higher education in Massachusetts¹ to be located within the differentiated contexts that delimit the meaning and value of participation in higher education in the larger society.

¹It should be noted that a prison higher education program is defined for the descriptive purposes of this inquiry as (1) any program of accredited post-secondary education (2) that has as its principal mission the delivery of educational opportunities to men and women (3) confined in correctional facilities operated by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections. Two programs that offer post-secondary coursework to incarcerated men and women in Massachusetts were excluded by this definition. Bunker Hill Community College offers a program of correspondence courses in which prisoners may participate, but the program does not meet the second element of the definition. Quinsigamond Community College offers a program of study leading to the Associates associates degree at the Worcester County House of Correction that fails to meet the third element of this definition. Programs offered by six (6) institutions of higher learning in Massachusetts meet all elements of this definition. These include Curry College in Milton, Boston University in Boston, Massasoit Community College in Brockton, Mt. Wachusett Community College in Gardner, the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, and the University of Massachusetts in Boston. With the exception of Curry College, all of these institutions offer coursework at multiple sites within the prison system.

In Chapter Four, I presented my theoretical view of the behavior of the prison as an instrument of diffuse and direct socialization. I posited that the prison functions to actualize a degraded status. Actualization occurs as the prisoner is compelled to internalize the structure of social relations that confinement authorizes and also occurs as that structure of social relations is effectively communicated to wider social audiences. The principal symbolic-expressive function of the prison, in short, is to credibly communicate to offenders and others that reductions in status have occurred. That is to say that the prison behaves as mechanism of status allocation by effecting an inversion of the signs of belonging in the larger society. The status allocated by the prison endures beyond the structure of confinement and is manifest in myriad obstacles to the prisoners reintegration to the larger society.

In Chapter Five, I presented a theoretical view of higher education as a system of specialized contexts that reproduce a stratified society by regulating the social value and meaning of participation. The varying institutional types with higher education may be conceptualized as belonging to three ideal forms. Elite education affirms apriori social status and bestows competencies for elite forms of doing. Democratic education affirms membership in various lesser- or non-elite social categories or bestows competencies for non-elite forms of doing. Both elite and democratic education effect identity transformations that afford significant differentiation between participants and non-participants. Mass education, however, affirms non-elite status and bestows competencies for forms of doing to which no rights and entitlements accrue. Its socialization effects are relatively transparent, invoking little or no differentiation between participants and non-participants. Specialized contexts within the ideal forms of higher education are those legitimated as appropriate for a differentiated being, the purposes for which that being is educated, and the practices these particulars necessitate.

This inquiry is an attempt to apply contributions to the analysis of culture by Peter Berger, Michel Foucault, and others to the study of higher education and, specifically, to

the inclusion of prisoners in higher education. That inclusion was defined as a possibility or concept that exists at the intersection of the prison and higher education. We have posited that the inclusion of prisoners in higher education appeared from the outset to contradict fundamental cultural and social assumptions about both what it meant to be a prisoner and what it meant to be a participant in higher education. The expansion of higher education into the prisons created a new social role and category of persons, prisoner-college students, who comprised a marginal situation and indistinct role (Wuthnow, Bergesen, Hunter, and Kurzweil, 1984) not wholly embraced within the institutional boundaries of either higher education or the prison. Prisoner-college students did not, at the outset, fit into the social category of either prisoners or college students.

A fundamental question was posed in Chapter One and that question is now revisited. How did it become possible to include prisoners in higher education without undermining the moral legitimacy of incarceration? Confinement serves to "unmake" human beings. Confinement, through the infliction of shame, denies access to the means for meeting the most basic social and psychological needs. Confinement strips from the individual the very statuses that sustain identity in the larger society. Confinement actualizes a degraded status, creates and sustains a wholly abhorrent identity that endures beyond its structure. Confinement is neither arbitrary or capricious in its behavior, which are instead systemic - authorized and dictated by the state's monopoly on the legitimate use of threat, coercion, and violence.

And if all of this is true, how are we to understand the inclusion of prisoners in higher education? How are we to understand a practice that has insinuated itself into that coercive milieu? What, in essence, can be said about a practice that claims to "make" amid processes that "unmake?" How is it that higher education can unshame amid processes that shame, yet not contradict the fact of shaming? How do we grasp a practice that claims to prepare certain beings to participate in a social world which has largely prohibited their participation? How is it that higher education can, against the very political and moral order

that sustains and empowers it, give something of great value to those who that political and moral order insist on degrading and defiling?

The answer is more descriptive than explanatory. Prison higher education is the product that emerges from a "compromise" through which it came to make, to a greater or lesser degree, sense in the moral order. It would be useful to elaborate all of the social and economic transformations through which the concept of prison higher education came to be thinkable. It would be useful to enumerate the specific material conditions that allowed the intention to include prisoners in higher education to be perceived as practical. Though this inquiry does not deny the importance of these concerns, it is not focused on the various processes that may have shaped prison higher education. Rather, it asserts that there is considerable value in describing what prison higher education actually is before we presume to begin more detailed inquiries into how it might have been created. What precisely is it, regardless of what might have created it, that confronts us on the social landscape? What, quite simply, is this thing that all the fuss is about?

A Marginal and Contested Practice

More than a thousand prisoners in Massachusetts correctional facilities participate in prison higher education each year. The total number of enrollments for all programs was 695 during the fall semester of 1990 and 1048 during the spring semester of 1991. The six institutions of higher education that operate prison higher education programs delivered coursework at 17 sites. That number increased to 21 the spring semester of 1991. Because more than one program delivers coursework at some sites, 16 is the actual number of correctional facilities in which prisoners are able to participate in post-secondary education.

Programs sponsored by private colleges accounted for 3, or 17.6%, of program sites and also accounted for 128, or 18.4%, of the total enrollments during the fall semester of 1990. They accounted for 4, or 19%, of program sites and 140, or 13.4%, of the total enrollments during the spring semester of 1990. Programs sponsored by public

colleges accounted for 14, or 82.4%, of program sites and also accounted for 567, or 81.6%, of the total enrollments during the fall semester of 1990. They accounted for 17, or 81%, of program sites and 908, or 86.6%, of the total enrollments during the spring semester of 1991. Two year programs offered course work at 9, or 52.9%, and 12, or 57.1%, of correctional sites during the fall semester of 1990 and the spring semester of 1991. They accounted for 434 or, 62.4%, of the total enrollments and 758, or 72.3%, of the total enrollments during those semesters.

Although the role of prisoner-college student in Massachusetts has become increasingly institutionalized within both higher education and the prison, it appears to remain a marginal² and contestable area of educational practice. General opposition to prison higher education is known to exist.³ Periodically, members of the general public express their opposition to the education of prisoners. William Weld, the Republican Governor of Massachusetts, opposes the provision of higher education to prisoners. Legislation filed in Michigan calls for the elimination of funding for all education programs in state prison facilities. A task force of the National Association of Financial Aid Administrators recently recommended that prisoners be deemed ineligible for federal Pell Grants, the largest source of funding for prison higher education. Legislative initiative

²The term "marginal" is not utilized here to convey a sense of the location of prison higher education in the larger system of higher education. Rather, it refers to Douglas' (1966) conception of a "marginal situation" as one in which the incumbent of a social role or the role itself is perceived as improperly located in social structure. In this sense, it refers to a social location that is not fully institutionalized or cannot be universally legitimated.

³What is at issue is not learning itself, but inclusion in a system of education presumed to have value. It important to note that learning - facilitated by the provision of materials and instruction or undertaken independently - has always been a possibility within the prison and it is that possibility which provides the substance for claims about an historic role of education in the prison. What was seldom provided, however, was a role for the formal apparatus of education. To be granted access to that apparatus is to realize the possibility of a learning whose social and symbolic meaning can be located within the system of regulated values - the legitimate uses to which learning may be put - in the larger society. The historic role of education in the prison has been limited to programs of learning devoid of social and symbolic value in the larger society, while opportunities for inclusion in systems of learning that possesses social currency has been resisted and thwarted.

with the same intent have been filed in both the United States Congress and Senate, by Representative Gingrich and Senator Helms respectively. Albeit magnified by state and federal fiscal crises, such opposition centers not on the issue of whether higher education is an effective rehabilitative approach, but whether prisoners "should" or "ought" to have access to higher education.

Given the theoretical assumption that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education precisely because certain forms of undergraduate education may no longer conflict with what it means to be a prisoner, opposition might vary according to either the type of education offered or the level of degrees that are awarded. Responses to the question, "Has your program been challenged or criticized by any of the following groups?" sought to determine whether specific programs had been challenged or criticized by the general public, elected officials, correctional officers, correctional administrators, college faculty, or college officials? revealed that it is likely that opposition varies in relation to these criteria. Programs leading to the associates degree have not been challenged or criticized by members of any of the groups indicated. All programs leading to the bachelors degree, however, have been criticized or challenged by the members of at least one of these groups.

The degree of opposition within the prison, the "atmosphere" in which the programs operate, may differ within the correctional hierarchy. The directors of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts do not generally perceive correctional administrators to be wholly supportive of prison higher education. Correctional administrators, sensitive to public criticism that offenders might "benefit from their crimes," have historically refrained (Foucault, 1979; Reagan and Stoughton, 1976) from offering avocation, educational or vocational programs which have currency beyond the prison. While correctional administrators have expressed support for higher learning in the prison, they have generally opposed the granting of credits for courses and both the current Governor of Massachusetts and the commissioner of corrections have publicly expressed

their opposition to degree programs within the prisons. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that these programs could not exist without the cooperation of these same officials.

A possible explanation for this apparent contradiction may lie in the fact that senior correctional administrators - speaking the retributive language of "justice models" - must emphasize the functions of punishment, custody and control, but must also legitimate the "rehabilitative" intention of these functions by providing opportunities for those prisoners who truly desire them. As one of the prison higher education directors stated in a 1988 interview:

The existence of competing aims is essential to justice models of corrections. a justice model is a model which theoretically makes no assumption that anyone ought to be addressed at all, but lets them self-select and finally some end up doing what they want to do. But you warehouse the rest.
(Dante Germanotta, personal communication, 1988)

The current legitimation of correction practice, in short, requires the acceptance of outside interests - such as higher learning - that are legitimated by the possibility of reformation.

Correctional officers may be more likely to oppose prison higher education. The marginal situation of prison higher education, and the likelihood of intersystem conflict are reinforced by studies which report negative attitudes of correctional officers (Hutchinson, 1978; Siano, 1985), and the incongruence between the expectations and goals of higher education and correctional personnel (Holbert, 1976). In fact, a majority (66.7%) of the directors of prison higher education in Massachusetts indicated "agreement" or "strong agreement" with the statement that correctional officers resent the fact that prisoners receive a college education.

A probable explanation lies in the proximity of correctional officers to the immediate practices of defilement that are at the heart of confinement (Jones, 1992) . The prisoner is mortified, de-socialized, and subjected to interpersonal terrorism and personal contamination in a moral atmosphere which is authoritarian and de-humanizing (Goffman,

1961). These systemic features of incarceration are maintained through the routine behavior of lower-level correctional staff and they have historically opposed higher learning's presence in the prison. The good prisoner, in the ideology of line staff, "knows his place." He does not seek meaningful change in his life. He works at a menial job, passes his time watching television, and "talks sports." The good prisoner has accepted his fundamental lack of worth and is resigned to a life without social or economic status, during and after incarceration. Prisoners who strive to better themselves through higher learning are viewed as "problematic" and "arrogant," or are accused of "conning the system" by pretending to be something they are not. They are subjected to increased personal harassment and other forms of interpersonal terrorism (Jones, 1992).

Toward a Structural Description

It is within the context of such opposition that the concept of Prison higher education takes shape. The inclusion of new groups within higher education is a social matter. Social institutions, the contexts in which meaning is located,

are now coupled through symbolic linkage with the overall destiny and purposes of the society. Under these conditions it becomes important to have ways of expressing the projected activities of each institutional arena and the relation between these activities and those in other arenas. Any deviation from conventional expectations or any ambiguity in the face of novel circumstances creates uncertainties not only for the immediate actors in the situation but also for the larger society. (Wuthnow, 1987:119-120)

The inclusion of any group within higher education has the potential to affect and fundamentally conflict with the symbolic meanings of other institutions. It can promote a form of "boundary crises" which may threaten the stability of a moral order by creating conflicts among competing realms of competence (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Both the primary and secondary legitimation structures of prison higher education are products of

attempts to reconcile its existence with conventional expectations within the institutional order.

In posing the question of how it became possible to include prisoners in higher education without undermining the moral legitimacy of incarceration, we are essentially inquiring into the value of an educational practice that does not, in fact, alter the fundamental nature of incarceration itself, but claims to alter those who are incarcerated. This section, organized in relation to three tentative propositions identified in Chapter Five, describes (1) the primary legitimation structures that enable prison higher education to be located among the differentiated concrete symbolic structures of higher education, (2) the secondary legitimation structures that are the product of attempts with the imaginary symbolic realm to make prison higher education appear rational within the moral order. It describes, in essence, the structure of a practice that made it possible to include prisoners in higher education without undermining the social meaning of incarceration. In addition, this section includes a discussion of the relationship between these primary and secondary legitimation structure of prison higher education and its reformatory goals.

Concrete Symbolic Structure: Prison Higher Education in Massachusetts

Prison higher education, like any social phenomena, may be located within the concrete symbolic structures that comprise higher education as a system in the larger society. A concrete symbolic structure is both a ritual form and its primary (organizational) legitimation structures. In Chapter Five, higher education was conceptualized as a system that embraces three ritual forms or institutional types with distinct diffuse socialization effects. These institutional types may be differentiated by their organizational structure. The cultural and social significance of an educational practice in the prison are determined by its location with the distribution of inclusions within higher education in the larger society.

The results of the empirical inquiry into the nature of prison higher education in Massachusetts support a tentative conclusion that all programs of prison higher education in

Massachusetts, in relation to the differentiated institutional types within higher education in the wider society, are elements of mass education. This conclusion is supported by (1) the location of prison higher education programs within higher education generally and within the organizational structure of their parent institutions, (2) the absence of selectivity, (3) the absence of residentiality, (4) the characteristics of faculty, and (5) the nature of curriculum.

It may well be objected, however, that each of these features is made necessary by the context in which practice occurs and are little more than a statement of the obvious. Yet when the social world is conceptualized as wholly symbolic, and we recognize that institutions are symbolically linked, description of those features of a social phenomenon that possess "appearance of necessity" and are part of the "taken for granted" of social life (Berger and Luckman, 1966) is precisely the way in which meaning can be located. These attributes may not dictate the individual's experience of learning, but they do comprise the structured experience of learning that has meaning in the larger society.

(1). Location Within Higher Education. Prison higher education in Massachusetts is comprised of programs offered by six (6) institutions of higher learning. Four of the sponsoring colleges and universities are public institutions and two are private. The public institutions include two branches of the University of Massachusetts and two community colleges. These offer programs of study leading, respectively, to bachelor and associate degrees. The two private institutions offer programs of study leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree and one of these also offers a program of study leading to a Master of Arts degree.

The theoretical view of higher education presented in Chapter Five posits that the community college is the institutional type that furnishes the model for mass education. Although only two of the six programs of prison higher education in Massachusetts are sponsored by community colleges, these accounted for more than 62 % (N= 434) of total enrollments (N=695) during the fall semester and more than 72 % (N= 758) of total enrollments (N=1048) during the spring semester of academic year 1990-1991. That the

overwhelming majority of those who participate in prison higher education do so through community college programs supports the view that prison higher education is an element of mass education.

Although it could be argued that four of the programs are sponsored by colleges and universities that are more closely associated with democratic education, it is important to note that the theoretical view of higher education presented in Chapter Five also posited that mass education permeates the institutional types that comprise elite and democratic educational forms. It was noted in that theoretical view that continuing education departments constitute the primary organization structure that allows elite and democratic institutions to participate in mass education without diluting the value of their mainstream programs. Though four of the six programs of prison higher education in Massachusetts permit pursuit of bachelors degrees and one of these permits pursuit of a master degree and are sponsored by colleges and universities which are arguably institutions of democratic education, each is in fact an extension of the continuing education divisions of its parent institutions.

(2). Admissions/Selectivity. All prison higher education programs in Massachusetts possess "open admission" policies which exercise virtually no selectivity among prospective students who possess the minimum qualifications. Table 2 illustrates the criteria for admission to the various programs. The principal academic qualification for inclusion is possession of a high school or general equivalency diploma. No program bases inclusion on past academic performance. Although some programs require entrance examinations or preparatory courses, these are not evidence of selectivity because they postpone rather than deny admission. Financial aid status is typically a requirement for participation, but does not function as a form of economic selectivity. The principal source of funding is federal Pell Grants, which are awarded on the basis of income, and almost all prisoners, as adults who have no income, qualify by virtue of incarceration. The director

of one program estimated that during the last five years, ninety-nine percent of all requests for Pell funding were successful.

(3). Residentiality and Invisibility. Prison higher education in Massachusetts is mass education by virtue of the fact that it exercises virtually no residentiality effect upon participants. The theoretical view of higher education presented in Chapter Five posits that residentiality principally refers to a "total institution" effect which may vary on a continuum reflecting the permeability between an educational context and the wider society. When residentiality is viewed in this way, it expresses the degree of inter-institutional transfer of authority over participants.

All programs of prison higher education in Massachusetts are "off campus" and, by definition, are characterized by limited residentiality. Neither the programs nor their parent institutions possess physical residentiality requirements and thus appear to maintain wholly permeable boundaries between the academic experience and the social world. The empirical findings that the directors perceive that prison administration enforces rules governing participation in the programs and that educational participation is not a factor affecting classification or parole decisions strongly suggest that no institutional transfer of authority is associated with prison higher education in Massachusetts.

(4). Faculty Characteristics. Although the empirical findings related to faculty characteristics lack specificity and require further study, they suggest that the faculty employed by the programs are generally low in the academic hierarchy. The faculty employed by the programs are not the holders of permanent appointments specific to their activities on behalf of prison higher education. The directors indicated in follow-up conversations that their programs rely on graduate students and full-time faculty "borrowed" from the parent institution, adjunct faculty who also teach at the parent institution and adjunct faculty expressly hired for the prison education program.

Five (5) of the six (6) indicated that their hiring practices reflected the organizational policies of their parent division. All programs belong to the continuing education division

of their parent institutions, and five of these divisions employ no full-time faculty members. Boston University, however, also employed no full-time faculty for its prison program although Metropolitan College, its division of continuing education, does employ permanent full- and part-time faculty.

The theoretical view of higher education presented in Chapter Five also posits that residentiality may be conceptualized as the "gaze" or social authority to which the participant is subjected within the educational context. In this regard, residentiality is related to the status of faculty members in relation to the professional hierarchy within higher education. These findings suggest that the gaze to which participants are subjected possesses limited authority to attest to credible identity transformations both within and external to higher education. The absence of that authority furnishes additional support for the conclusion that prison higher education in Massachusetts is an element of mass education, as it was conceptualized in Chapter Five.

(5). Curriculum: The curricula of the programs of prison higher education in Massachusetts also support their identification with mass education. The four programs sponsored by presumably democratic institutions do not offer curricula that allocate specific competencies for social action. Despite the fact that their parent institutions offer a considerable diversity of concentrations, including many that attest to specific competencies for social action, the programs tend to emphasize a liberal arts education and in only one of these programs are students permitted to concentrate in a discipline linked with occupational categories. This fact is remarkable in light of the finding that the directors perceive increased employability to be among the goals of prison higher education in Massachusetts.

The two-year programs leading to the associates degree offer both general studies concentrations and concentrations that allocate specific competencies for social action. These concentrations, which include automotive repair and culinary arts, reflect the vocational orientation and mission of the community college which, as the exemplar of

mass education, allocates competencies for social action, but focus on competencies that are low in the occupational hierarchy and may require little formal training to exercise.

Beings, Practices and Aims: The Question of Specialized Context

The intention to include prisoners in higher education may be seen as an outgrowth of the emergence of a new institutional form within higher education. Mass education represents a distinct mechanism of diffuse socialization that enables the inclusion of large numbers of aspirants but does not bestow identifications that might de-stabilize the existing stratification structure of American society. Its failure to promote significant identity transformations is the basis for claims that it allocates failure rather than success, and constitute a structure that legitimates American society as meritocratic (Brint and Karabel, 1989).

We must not forget, however, evidence that prison higher education remains contestable even as an element of mass education. The inclusion of prisoners in even the lowest forms of higher education in Massachusetts produces contradictions and conflict.⁴ Secondary legitimation, in the case of prison higher education, arises from the necessity to reconcile the contradictions in the lived experiences of social actors which arise to the extent that this educational practice appears remarkable and inconsistent with "the taken for granted of everyday life" (Berger & Luckman, 1966). Educational discourse is secondary legitimation.⁵ It represents an attempt to reconcile the social fact of educational practice

⁴ It may well be that conflict regarding prison higher education is both a product of and may itself fuel false expectations about the symbolic meaning and social value of participation in higher education. In debating the question of whether a college education is appropriate for prisoners, both those who support and those who oppose prison higher education appear to evidence what Bourdieu (1984) has termed hysteresis of habitus, a phenomenon "which causes previously appropriate categories of perception and appreciation to be applied to a new state of the qualifications market." Both may over-estimate the potential socioeconomic value of educational credentials. In addition, they may over-estimate the symbolic meaning of educational qualifications in everyday life.

⁵ Professional discourse is not only bound inextricably to the moral order of a symbolic universe, but also to action within a socially sanctioned realm of competence. They are "explicit theories" belonging to that level of legitimation through which, according to Berger and Luckman (1966) "an institutional sector is legitimated in terms of a differentiated body of knowledge." The theorist at this level is a professional,

with conventional expectations about both education itself and the social category that is to be educated.

A specialized educational context is a scheme of secondary legitimations through which an educational practice is made to appear rational to the members of a social order. A specialized context is one in which (1) educational aims and (2) educational practice are legitimated in relation to (3) a specific category of persons. It should be noted that this is not intended to infer that actual practices must differ. Instead, identical practices may come to be differentially legitimated according to the category of persons to be educated and by variations in the aims which are posited for the education of that group.

As Chapter Four demonstrated, prisoners are clearly a category of persons that is differentiated within social structure. They are a legally differentiated category of civil beings who do not enjoy the rights and protections that accrue to citizens in the larger society. Yet of equal importance, they are a differentiated category of social beings. The prison, which creates and sustains this differentiated status, itself is legitimated as a structure capable of correcting and discouraging deviant behaviors which have been attributed to varying characteristics of offenders. Indeed, the very fact that the education of prisoners is contestable supports the claim that they are a differentiated category of beings

Nationally, prison higher education is principally legitimated as a mechanism for the rehabilitation of incarcerated criminal offenders. The literature pertaining to prison higher education, calls attention to a multiplicity of objectives - among them increased employability (Homant, 1984), increased educational levels (Seashore, et al., 1976), the meeting of psycho-social needs such as self-esteem (Pendleton, 1988), and the teaching of values essential to democratic society (Duguid, 1981; Gehring, 1988) - but each of these

differentiated from the practitioner merely through the specialization of institutional roles. Professional theory can only posit alternative arrangements within an existing institutional order. Educational discourse, in short, is professional practice that seeks to legitimate an institution's behavior in ways that preserve the institutional order from which its authority is derived. Professional theory, therefore, even if it casts light on new possibilities that may be termed "radical" in relation to some feature of the existing order, always legitimates that order.

may be considered of secondary importance because they are presumed to be instrumental to achieving the rehabilitation of the offender. The literature is replete with statements, which suggest that the rehabilitation of offenders has priority among the objectives of higher learning in the prisons.

The results of the survey provide support for a proposition that prison higher education in Massachusetts is evolving into a specialized context within mass education. Prison higher education appears to be a specialized context because its practices are principally legitimated as a vehicle for the rehabilitation or reformation of criminal offenders. The empirical findings suggest that the directors generally perceive offender rehabilitation to be among the principal aims of prison higher education in Massachusetts. It is also noteworthy that the directors evidenced less agreement with statements that identified increased employability and institutional adjustment as among the principal aims of their programs.

The survey also revealed that the directors of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts belong to a number of professional associations specific that serve the personnel of corrections rather than higher education. The Correctional Education Association, for example, is dominated by educators who subscribe to a philosophy and theory in which the roots of criminality are seen to rest in the cognitive deficiencies of offenders. The "cognitive deficiency model" supports education as an instrument capable of correcting such deficiencies (Collins, 1988).⁶ The fundamental assumption of such a

⁶Steven Duguid (1980, 1981a, 1981b and 1987) is among the most prominent of those who have attempted to advance theory supporting higher learning's reformative aims His effort begins with the refutation of the medical model which had dominated correctional programming until the end of the rehabilitative era in the early 1970s. That model assumed criminal behavior to be the product of antecedent causes traceable to various aspects of the offender's social and psychological history. The offender was regarded as a diseased person who needed to be "cured" and, as such, became an object, a thing to be examined, studied, and acted upon. In contrast, educational models emphasizing cognitive-moral development, assume that prisoners are responsible individuals who exercise free will poorly due to the nature of their development and reactive behavior to incarceration itself. In the educational model it is the offender who examines, studies, and ultimately acts upon the world.

model is that the prisoner is a being who is inherently different from other offenders and non-offenders rather than the subject of a broad social process of differentiation.

Despite the fact that the directors of the prison higher education programs in Massachusetts perceived that the goals of corrections and higher education were not the same, the various programs neither possess a clearly articulated or coherent philosophy nor have they developed clearly defined sets of program goals and objectives. Only two (2) of the prison higher education programs possessed a formal statement of its philosophy and goals, and no program adheres to a particular educational philosophy or pedagogy. The lack of formal statements or informal consensus regarding program philosophies, goals and objectives would be unremarkable were it not for the fact that 4 of the 6 directors regard their activities within the prisons as a specialized form of educational practice.

There is also evidence that prison higher education in Massachusetts is not yet a fully specialized context within higher education. Though it is legitimated in relation to a particular category of beings, the credentials it offers are undifferentiated from those offered in the larger society. No degree earned in a prison education program is specifically identified as having been earned in that context. This is significant because it

If the goal is to make moral reasoning an asset of a person deficient in certain analytic problem-solving skills, interpersonal and social skills and in ethical/moral development" (Duguid, 1981a and 1981b) the task confronting prison education is to provide the offender with opportunities for cognitive and moral development. Cognitive development will guide the offender to a new structure of thought which alters his perceptions of other individuals and the social world, while moral development will alter the way in which he interprets his perceptions and, ultimately, how he behaves (Duguid, 1981b).

Duguid avers that reformation can be accomplished through a liberal arts curriculum that fosters skills enabling the offender to identify and solve the many type of problems encountered in the couerson once deficient in this area, the liberal arts make that goal reachable by presenting compelling circumstances which transcend the spatial and temporal boundaries of personal existence and focus upon the resolution of complex issues and problems. It furnished opportunities to develop critical thinking skills in place of rigid, personal dogma. Cognitive development is accomplished by enabling the student to perceive in ways that credit multiple perspectives, moral development is accomplished by enabling the student to interpret alternatives in ways that reflect mature consideration of competing consequences, and reformation is achieved when higher cognitive and moral functioning lead to the acquisition of new values that will guide the actual behavior of the offender (Duguid, 1981a & 1987).

suggests that, thus far, the secondary legitimations of higher education's practice in the prisons have not been wholly concretized within the ritual structures that attest to credible identity transformations.

In addition, despite the fact that many involved in the education of prisoners regard prison higher education in Massachusetts to be a specialized practice, no institution of higher education in Massachusetts has developed a formal philosophy or pedagogy that differentiates prisoner-students from non-prisoner students. This suggests that the reformatory legitimations emerge spontaneously in response to threats against the programs, but do not in reality constitute the organizing principles of prison higher education.

Several additional facts are especially noteworthy in relation to the legitimation of prison higher education as a specialized practice. First, studies that compare prisoner-students with their counterparts have consistently found them to possess roughly comparable Motivational schemes and educational backgrounds (Curry, 1974; Lind, 1985). Second, prior and subsequent to the emergence of higher education programs within the prison, prisoners in community release facilities were able to participate in higher education as "on-campus" students. Third, degree requirements are not different for prisoners and non-prisoners at any of the institutions involved in Massachusetts prison higher education. These facts support the contention that differentiated contexts reflect the necessity of reconciling social expectations about particular groups rather than the necessity of specialized practices to address the needs of that group.

Integration and Status Reformation

Higher education has extended a hand into the prisons of America. That hand holds out the promise of renewing a relationship with the social world that confinement denies. To grasp that hand is to seek a reunion with the world beyond prison walls. Prisoners, like the members of other social categories, see higher education as an opportunity for

inclusion, a chance for personal growth and social mobility. The directors of Massachusetts prison higher education programs perceive, for example, that increased employability and self-esteem are among the principal motivations for prisoner participation. Like the members of other social categories, they are increasingly cognizant of the difference between inclusion in an education of constant value and inclusion in a system that simply varies the meaning and value of participation as it embraces new aspirants for inclusion. Prison higher education's location within the objectified contexts of higher education and its development as a specialized practice, however, suggests that it possesses limited power to create an altered status among participants.⁷

Prison higher education, because it is principally legitimated as a vehicle for the reformation of prisoners, may be regarded as a personal status reform movement that claims to act upon a specific population. The success of reformatory efforts has traditionally been viewed as a measure of the direct socialization effects they achieve. This accounts for the nature of assessments and evaluations of prison higher education. Though some of these concluded that there existed no correlation between participation in higher learning programs and the rate at which offenders subsequently returned to prison⁸

⁷However, to the extent that it claims that power, higher education's presence in the prison should be characterized by some conflict and marginality. Within the prison, faculty and staff of prison education programs are often perceived as intruders and many report the necessity of circumnavigating the hostile attitudes of correctional staff (Corcoran, 1985; Jones, 1992). The needs of prison higher education seldom rank high on the priority lists of prison treatment staffs, whose own agendas seldom rank more than a distant second to those of security personnel. Significant conflict may arise when correctional personnel perceive that the representatives of higher education may not share their negative assumptions about prisoners or their view of the appropriate role of staff (Tiller, 1974). A 1988 study, for example, reports that even "correctional educators" employed by the prison system possess "overall negative attitudes toward inmates" (Dansie, 1988). A 1985 study revealed that correctional officers had substantially negative attitudes toward higher level academic education for prisoners (Siano's 1988).

⁸Studies that support the contention that participation in prison higher education leads to reduced recidivism and somewhat increased employability in comparison to non-participations are made problematic by self-selection. Participants may represent an element of the prison population who are less likely to return to prison and more likely to be employed, regardless of their actual participation.

(Blumstein and Cohen, 1974;; Seashore, et al., 1976) and others concluded that a significant correlation did in fact exist (Chase and Dickover, 1983; Thorpe, Macdonald, and Bala, 1984; Duguid, 1981; Blackburn, 1981). Though the findings were inconsistent, the principal measure of program success employed in each study was recidivism, which was conceptualized as an indicator of individual change.

Though altered behavior is, in some cases, desirable and clearly suggests the necessity of individual change, an altered status primarily requires changes in the way others perceive and interact with that individual. It also requires changes in the classification of the individual within the institutional order. Such changes fall principally within the realm of the diffuse socialization effects of institutions.

The simple truth is that there is no evidence that suggests that prison classification, parole or commutation are significantly influenced by participation in these programs, that participants enjoy less deprivation of legal rights or a differential civil status than non-participants before or after release, that participants are exempted from statutes that prohibit offenders from entering various occupations, or that participants enjoy differential rights and entitlements in relation to any other institutional realm in the wider society.

Higher education's ability to effect the status reform of individuals lies strictly in the realm of the imaginary. The proliferation of higher education programs in the prisons suggests that despite claims of conflicting values and goals, accommodation governs the relationship between higher education and corrections (Collins, 1988). The accommodation that characterizes prison higher education is rooted in the somewhat obvious fact that incarceration is the direct application of the State's legitimate use of force and corrections, an element of the state, is the institutional realm that exercises the right to "speak" credible knowledge⁹ about the status of individuals the state confines. Put as

⁹I am referring here to the first principle in the formation of what Foucault (1972) has termed "enunciative modalities." Foucault asks, "What is the status of the individuals who - alone have the right, sanctioned by law or tradition, juridically defined...to practice and extend one's knowledge" (Foucault, 1972:50).

directly as possible, higher education is not legally sanctioned to speak "meaning" about the prisoners who it seeks to educate.¹⁰

Higher education programs in Massachusetts have generally attempted to maintain their autonomy from corrections. The program directors indicate, for example, faculty receive separate orientations from higher education and corrections. They perceive that not only are the goals of corrections and higher education dissimilar, but that the way in which they view prisoners differs as well. Despite this, at least half of the programs report that corrections attempts to influence course context, participates in the formulation of rules pertaining to the programs, and exercises police authority in the enforcement of rules pertaining to participation.

Higher education may face a "lose-lose" situation in the matter of autonomy versus integration. Because higher education and corrections possess different goals, integration with corrections may appear as the surrender of real efforts to reform the status of prisoners. On the other hand, as long as prison higher education programs are autonomous, it is unlikely that they will acquire the authority to attest to credible identity transformations.

Two of the six of the directors report that those who participate may be afforded special privileges, differential housing assignments or other symbolic recognition that participation alters or is capable of altering their status. Though this suggests some level of differentiation based on participation, it does not appear likely that higher education might be able to significantly alter the status of prisoners within the formal structure of confinement. The directors perceive that higher education plays little or no role in the institutional classification of prisoners. Not only do the representatives of prison higher education have no direct input into such decisions, but the fact of participation does not

¹⁰This offers a clue about the way in which intentions may be regarded. I suggest that no matter what status-related objectives, pertaining to the structure of confinement, higher education may formulate, it lacks the authority requisite to the actual realization of those objectives. Only the intentions of certain people, who are legally authorized to speak about a given category of persons can legitimate status transformations within a given realm.

appear to be among the bases for formal differentiation among prisoners in classification processes. Neither does successful participation lead to expedited transfer to lesser-security facilities.

Although only one survey item - which explored the perceived impact of participation on parole decisions - was related to the possibility that higher education produced a credible altered status beyond the structure of confinement, the simple truth is that there is no evidence that participants enjoy less deprivation of legal rights or a differential civil status than non-participants before or after release, that participants are exempted from statutes that prohibit offenders from entering various occupations, or that participants enjoy differential rights and entitlements in relation to any other institutional realm in the wider society.

Conclusions

How did it become possible to include prisoners in higher education? The prison is a social structure that creates and maintains the social status and identity of prisoners. The inclusion of prisoners in higher education, at the level of appearances, contradicts fundamental social and cultural assumptions about both the meaning of incarceration and participation in higher education. Prison higher education would appear to undermine the legitimacy of incarceration, which seeks to create and sustain a degraded status.

It became possible to include prisoners in higher education, in part, because of the emergence of a new institutional type within that system. That institutional type, mass education, can be differentiated from other institutional types within higher education by its organizational structure and the identity transformations it effects. Mass education is an educational practice in which organizational structure, in short, largely represents the institutional refusal to bestow credible identity transformations upon participants. Its principal diffuse socialization effect has the character of an "invisibility" which does not challenge contradictory identity transformations effected by other institutional realms.

It also became possible to include prisoners in higher education, in part, because higher education legitimates its practice in the prisons by claiming it to be a specialized context within higher education. A specialized context is one in which (1) educational aims and (2) educational practice are legitimated in relation to (3) a specific category of persons. Higher education has legitimated its practice in the prison by claiming to rehabilitate by intersecting cognitive and moral deficiencies presumed causally related to criminality. That there is no evidence that practices which actually are specific to the prison have been developed supports a conclusion that prison higher education's rehabilitative aims are imaginary symbolic structures that attempt to make the education of prisoners appear rational within the institutional order.

It also became possible to include prisoners in higher education because prison higher education programs possess no authority in relation to the ritual structures through which corrections communicates judgments (identifications) about prisoners. Though prison higher education operates within the prison, its judgments about participants are without meaning within the structure of confinement and, in its routine practices in the prison, it does not challenge the validity and superiority of correctional judgments about the nature of those who are confined within the prison.

The assumption that higher education and the prison function to construct credible but contradictory identity transformations no longer appears tenable in relation to prison higher education in Massachusetts. Instead, these institutions appear symbolically linked through higher education's affirmation or failure to contest identifications bestowed by corrections and the criminal justice system as a whole. They are also symbolically linked by higher education's willingness to legitimate its practices in the prison according to the pre-given status of prisoners and the diminished social and economic expectations that accrue to that status. Future inquiries should be guided by the assumption that, as an instance of mass education, prison higher education is severely limited in its capacity to alter the status of criminal offenders within or beyond the structure of confinement because

its own ritual structures do not attest to credible identity transformations among participants nor do they contest the identity transformations actualized by ritual structures of confinement.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This inquiry is an attempt to apply contributions to the analysis of culture by Peter Berger, Michel Foucault, and others to the study of higher education. Prison higher education is examined as a social concept formed at the intersection of the prison and higher education. Higher education is conceptualized as a system of contexts, differentiated by organizational structure, that reproduce a stratified society in a "transformed form" by regulating the social value of participation. The ultimate objective is to explore the way in which prison higher education, as a concept, is shaped through its location within this system of contexts and how that location delimits the meaning and value of participation.

What this inquiry contributes is not a completed project but a beginning. Among the factors which motivated this inquiry is the paucity of research pertaining to prison higher education in Massachusetts. An exhaustive search of the literature revealed a complete lack of descriptive or explanatory research pertaining to prison higher education in Massachusetts. In short, there is little that can be confidently stated about prison higher education in Massachusetts. While preparing the proposal for this inquiry, for example, not one of the directors of a prison higher education program in Massachusetts was able to indicate or approximate with reasonable accuracy the number of participants in Massachusetts prison higher education.

This inquiry is exploratory, descriptive and theoretical. Among its purposes is to generate a preliminary "social facts" description of prison higher education upon which to ground a theoretical examination of higher education as a mechanism for status reformation among prisoners. Its focus is upon the conditions that make meaning possible and

structure the experience of prison higher education rather than upon the subjective apprehensions that those conditions enable. The purpose of the inquiry can also be expressed as the exploration of the limiting conditions of the concept of prison higher education as an aspect of higher education in Massachusetts.

Because cultural analyses seek to make explicit the social structures that make meaning possible, the inquiry design incorporated both deductive and empirical methods. Prison higher education, as a special case in the more general expansion of higher education, is defined in two ways. For the deductive component, it is defined as a concept or possibility that exists at the intersection of two institutions, corrections and higher education. In Chapter Four, the prison is viewed as a mechanism that seeks to create and maintain a degraded status for a select category of criminal offenders. In Chapter Five, higher education is viewed as a system of educational forms and contexts that reproduce a stratified society by regulating the social value of participation. The concept of prison higher education bespeaks its location within this system of differentiated forms and contexts.

The empirical component was designed to elicit information that might enable the concept of prison higher education in Massachusetts to be located among the differentiated forms and contexts of higher education. For this component, prison higher education is defined as programs offering accredited post-secondary courses to prisoners confined in facilities operated by the Massachusetts Department of Correction. The directors of six (6) prison higher education programs in Massachusetts participated in the empirical component of this inquiry by completing a questionnaire that sought information about personal backgrounds, program characteristics, and perceptions regarding the intersection of higher education and incarceration. The empirical findings were reported in Appendix A and integrated into a continuation of the theoretical effort to locate the concept of prison higher education in Massachusetts among the forms and contexts of higher education. That effort is presented in Chapter Six.

It is concluded that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education, in part, because of the emergence of a new institutional type within that system. That institutional type, mass education, can be differentiated from other institutional types within higher education by its organizational structure and the identity transformations it effects. Mass education is an educational practice in which organizational structures, in short, largely represents the institutional refusal to bestow credible identity transformations upon participants. Its principal diffuse socialization effect has the character of an "invisibility" which does not challenge contradictory identity transformations effected by other institutional realms.

It is concluded that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education, in part, because higher education legitimates its practice in the prisons by claiming it to be a specialized context within higher education. A specialized context is one in which (1) educational aims and (2) educational practice are legitimated in relation to (3) a specific category of persons. Higher education has legitimated its practice in the prison by claiming to rehabilitate by intersecting cognitive and moral deficiencies presumed causally related to criminality. That there is no evidence that practices which actually are specific to the prison have been developed supports a conclusion that prison higher education's rehabilitative aims are imaginary symbolic structures that attempt to make the education of prisoners appear rational within the institutional order.

It is concluded that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education because prison higher education programs possess no authority in relation to the ritual structures through which corrections communicates judgments (identifications) about prisoners. Though prison higher education operates within the prison, its judgments about participants are without meaning within the structure of confinement and, in its routine practices in the prison, it does not challenge the validity and superiority of correctional judgments about the nature of those who are confined within the prison.

Lastly, it is concluded that the guiding assumption of this inquiry, that higher education and the prison function to construct credible but contradictory identity transformations, no longer appears tenable in relation to prison higher education in Massachusetts. Instead, these institutions appear symbolically linked through higher education's affirmation or failure to contest identifications bestowed by corrections and the criminal justice system as a whole. They are also symbolically linked by higher education's willingness to legitimate its practices in the prison according to the pre-given status of prisoners and the diminished social and economic expectations that accrue to that status. Future inquiries should be guided by the assumption that, as an instance of mass education, prison higher education is severely limited in its capacity to alter the status of criminal offenders within or beyond the structure of confinement because its own ritual structures do not attest to credible identity transformations among participants nor do they contest the identity transformations actualized by ritual structures of confinement.

Recommendations

Research

Foucault (1965) wrote that, "we have yet to write the history of that other form of madness, by which men, in an act of sovereign reason, confine their neighbors..." This inquiry suggests that the system of higher education may be treated as one of the diverse forms of that category of madness whose every manifestation has the appearance of necessity in the social world we have constructed. That appearance of necessity is structured in the interplay of concepts and power. It is shaped by a scientific rationality that largely elaborates the pre-given constructs of the social world and serves as the legitimation of existing patterns of inequality and dominance in the larger society. This inquiry focused entirely on the structured experience of education we permit for a specific social category and, in doing so, contributes to the identification of the structural conditions that enable the concept of prison higher education and delimit its potential meaning and value.

There remains a critical need for additional basic research that contributes to our knowledge of what prison higher education is, but that basic research must be focused on what prison higher education is as a social construction. This inquiry strongly suggests that basic research into the meaning and value of educational participation in the prison, and elsewhere, must begin with a challenge to the "taken for granted" of the social world. To the extent that institutional practices have the appearance of necessity, the presumption of necessity must be suspended in favor of examinations of the structural conditions that contribute to it. Given the intimate relationship between science, institutionalized "knowledge" and professional practices, I suggest that the most valuable basic research will be that which stands outside of the human sciences and scrutinizes it as but one of the forces that shape and legitimate the phenomenon with which we are confronted.

There is also a need for research into the effects of various intervention strategies aimed at enhancing prison higher education as a vehicle for the reformation of prisoners. Such research, however, should not be conceived and designed in ways that ignore the ritual contexts which dictate the meaning and value of educational participation. I suggest that meaning can be managed through the manipulation of the organizational structures that communicate the variable meaning and value of participation within distinct institutional types and contexts. Research into intervention strategies that challenge the validity of assumptions about prisoners as a differentiated social type is needed but, clearly, that research will be largely theoretical unless those involved in the education of prisoners actually design strategies that intersect the structures that create meaning.

There remains a significant need for research of a purely descriptive nature. Information is scant regarding virtually every feature of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts. At the current time, any proposed research regarding prison higher education is hampered by the lack of basic statistics about participants, faculty members, curriculum, and the like. Specific programs should especially be encouraged to maintain demographic data regarding those who participate in course offering. Indeed, the fact that

many of the programs have no clearly articulated education philosophy nor subscribe to particular pedagogies is not surprising given that few programs have a clear picture of the educational and social backgrounds of those who they seek to educate.

Of equal importance is descriptive research that seeks to identify the structures through which the social meaning of confinement is managed. The current literature pertaining to prison higher education is wholly remiss in failing to consider the precise structures within the prison that education intersects. Without that knowledge, very little of what passes for research into the meaning and value of prison higher education will constitute a contribution to our knowledge of higher education as a vehicle for status reform among prisoners.

Practice

While these recommendations focus upon the need for further research, this inquiry has significant implications for those who practice within the prisons. It is essential that those who practice within the prison pay significant attention to the distinction between learning and education and its implications for educational practice in the prison. Learning - facilitated by the provision of materials and instruction - has always been a possibility within the prison and it is that possibility which provided the substance for claims about an historic role of education in the prison. What was seldom provided, however, was a role for the formal apparatus of education. To be granted access to that apparatus is to realize the possibility of a learning whose social and symbolic meaning can be located within the system of regulated values - the legitimate uses to which learning may be put - in the larger society. The historic role of education in the prison has been limited to programs of learning devoid of social and symbolic value in the larger society, while opportunities for inclusion in the system of learning that possesses social currency has been resisted and thwarted.

More importantly, the learning available to prisoners has tended to be in the service of the entire panoptic regime of discipline, surveillance and control. Learning was tolerated

within the prisons only to the extent that it participated in the reformatory project that emerged from the birth of the prison. Foucault has noted that education, like other elements of the panoptic regime, limited its deployment and social meaning to treatment of the attributes of delinquency, and came to affirm delinquency as an objective attribute of offenders precisely by claiming its centrality to their reformation. Such an education, regards its students as essentially diseased people who needed to be cured and, as such, ought to be treated as objects, things to be examined, treated, and cured. It was and continues to be learning termed "correctional," bespeaking its compatibility with the "unmaking" of human beings, denial or limitation of human potential, and ease with participation in the historic failure of the prison's reformatory project.

Given the historic failure of the prison to affect the reformation of offenders, the notions of human renewal and reformation that comprise the ideal of higher education may require a practice and theory that sustains the fundamental conflicts between higher education and corrections. If higher education grapples effectively with the meaning of its own success within the prisons, it will come to recognize that increasing levels of integration with corrections threaten its ideals, goals and objectives. Higher education seeks to transform the social status of prisoners in ways that fundamentally contradict the degraded and delinquent status that prisons reinforce by claiming to act upon. Yet this goal is illusory within the limits of established educational theory and practice that are symbolically linked to the assumptions of other institutional realms.

There is a need to redefine professional roles within prison higher education. Those who brought higher education into the lives of prisoners may not have been aware of the structural conditions that shape the social value and symbolic meaning of specific educational enterprises. A new professional role will recognize at the outset that the meaning and value of the education offered to prisoners, if it equals its counterparts by level and type within the larger society, will already be limited within the hierarchy of institutional types within higher education. It will recognize, in short, the external limits to

the possibility of shaping social meaning within the site where learning occurs. It will also recognize that for much of its history, higher education has not participated in the debate about its own meaning.

There is no doubt that professional roles that challenge existing social expectations about prisoners will provoke conflict both within education, and between education and other social institutions. The professional voice that challenges the taken for granted of the social world also challenges the legitimacy of other institutional realms. Conflict between the institutional realm, however, is a fundamental aspect of meaningful social change. To avoid that conflict allows the meaning and value of educational participation to be dictated by other social institutions. But its greatest danger is in perpetuating the farcical notion that the highest ideals of education - democracy and equality in learning - can be achieved without sustained conflict with those institutions which seek their antithesis.

APPENDIX A

REPORT OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

This appendix presents descriptive findings regarding prison higher education in Massachusetts and integrates those findings into a discussion of their implications. The information contained in this description was obtained from a survey questionnaire administered to the directors of the six (6) higher education programs operating in state correctional facilities in Massachusetts. The information obtained from these survey questionnaires was, in some instances, supplemented with information obtained from prior interviews and follow-up conversations with the directors.

The Programs

A prison higher education program is defined for the descriptive purposes of this inquiry as (1) any program of accredited post-secondary education (2) that has as its principal mission the delivery of educational opportunities to men and women (3) confined in correctional facilities operated by the Massachusetts Department of Corrections. Two programs that offer post-secondary coursework to incarcerated men and women in Massachusetts were excluded by this definition. Bunker Hill Community College offers a program of correspondence courses in which prisoners may participate, but the program does not meet the second element of the definition. Quinsigamond Community College offers a program of study leading to the Associates degree at the Worcester County House of Correction that fails to meet the third element of this definition.

Programs offered by six (6) institutions of higher learning in Massachusetts meet all elements of this definition. These include Curry College in Milton, Boston University in Boston, Massasoit Community College in Brockton, Mt. Wachusett Community College in Gardner, the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, and the University of Massachusetts in Boston. With the exception of Curry College, all of these institutions offer coursework at multiple sites within the prison system.

Four of the sponsoring colleges and universities are public institutions and two are private. The public institutions include two branches of the University of Massachusetts and two community colleges. These offer programs of study leading, respectively, to bachelor and associate degrees. The two private institutions offer programs of study leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree and one of these also offers a program of study leading to a Master of Arts degree. All six prison higher education programs are elements of the continuing education divisions of their sponsoring colleges and universities.

While this exploratory inquiry did not attempt either an assessment of perceived needs of the prison population or the factors that might motivate members of this population to participate in higher education, two items were designed to guide future study in these areas. The first of these two items sought to determine whether the directors perceived that prisoners possess "reasonable" expectations about the value of a college education. Table 2 (page 138) presents the frequency and percentage of responses to the statement that inmates have reasonable expectations about the value of a college education.

The yield from this item was inconclusive. The majority, 66.67%, of the directors responded by indicating they were uncertain about whether prisoners possessed realistic expectations about the value of a college education. The inconclusive finding related to this item is consistent with the fact that few programs have conducted formal assessments of needs or program evaluations.

Table 2
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Prisoners have realistic expectations about the value of a college education."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	1	16.67	16.67
Uncertain	4	66.67	83.33
Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

The second item sought to ascertain whether the directors perceived that prisoners were motivated to participate in prison higher education for reasons that transcended academic improvement or vocational success. This item asked the directors to respond to a statement that prisoners participated in prison higher education in order to increase their self-esteem. Table 3 presents the frequency and percentage of responses to the statement

Table 3
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Inmates participate in higher education to increase their self esteem."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	4	66.67	66.67
Disagree	2	33.33	100.00

that inmates participate in prison higher education in order to increase their self-esteem. Because 66.67% of the directors agreed with this statement and 33.33% were not certain, these findings support a tentative conclusion that the directors perceive that inmates participate in higher education in order to increase their self esteem. The theoretical implications of these two findings are examined later in this chapter and their implication for future research is discussed in Chapter Seven.

Political Context

General opposition to prison higher education is known to exist, therefore the items related to political context explore not whether the directors perceive general opposition to prison higher education in Massachusetts, but whether specific programs have experienced opposition. Given the theoretical assumption that it became possible to include prisoners in higher education precisely because certain forms of undergraduate education may no longer conflict with what it means to be a prisoner, opposition might vary according to either the type of education offered or the level of degrees that are awarded. Three items were designed to elicit information about the political context in which programs operate.

The item "Has your program been challenged or criticized by any of the following groups?" sought to determine whether specific programs had been challenged or criticized by the general public, elected officials, correctional officers, correctional administrators, college faculty, or college officials. The responses to this item are presented in Table 4 (page 139). It is important to note that the directors of programs leading to the associates degree reported that their programs had not been challenged or criticized by members of any of the groups indicated. All programs leading to the bachelors degree, however, had been criticized or challenged by the members of at least one of these groups. These findings lend preliminary support to a tentative conclusion that a relationship may exist between the degree of opposition to prison higher education in Massachusetts and the level and type of education offered.

Table 4
Responses to the statement, "Has your program been
challenged or criticized by any of the following groups?"

Program	General Public	Elected Officials	Corr. Officers	Corr. Admin.	College Officials	College Faculty
Boston Univ.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Curry College	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Massasoit C.C.	No	No	No	No	No	No
Mt.Wachusett C.C	No	No	No	No	No	No
Univ. of Mass/Boston	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Univ. of Mass/Amherst	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Two additional questions sought to ascertain the director's perceptions of the attitudes of correctional officers and administrators toward prison higher education. The frequency and percentages of responses to the statement that correctional administrators are wholly supportive of prison higher education are presented in Table 5. Two responses (33.3%) indicated uncertainty, three responses (50%) indicated disagreement and one

Table 5
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Correctional policy makers are
wholly supportive of higher education in the prison."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Uncertain	2	33.33	33.33
Disagree	3	50.00	83.33
Strongly Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

response (16.6%) indicated strong disagreement with the statement that Correctional policy makers are wholly supportive of higher education in the prison. Because four, or 66.67%, of the directors expressed disagreement with this statement, a tentative conclusion that the director of prison higher education in Massachusetts do not perceive correctional administrators to be wholly supportive of prison higher education is supported.

The statement that some correctional officers resent the fact that prisoners are permitted to attend college (Table 6) generated only one response (16.6%) which indicated

Table 6
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Some correctional officers resent
the fact that prisoners are permitted to attend college."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Strongly Agree	1	16.67	16.67
Agree	3	50.00	66.67
Uncertain	1	16.67	83.33
Strongly Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

uncertainty and only one response (16.6%) that indicated strong disagreement. Four responses (66.7%) indicated agreement or strong agreement with this statement.

Based on these findings, it was concluded that the directors of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts perceive that correctional officers resent the fact that prisoners attend college. These findings further support a proposition that some correctional officers oppose prison higher education programs.

Philosophy, Goals and Objectives

Among the assumptions of this study is that the prison and higher education, in Massachusetts and elsewhere, are distinct institutional realms and the emergence of prison higher education appears to represent a fundamental conflict in the functions of these two institutions. An item was designed to determine whether the directors perceived that their efforts in the prison were harmonious or discordant with those of corrections. This item sought to establish a foundation for the future exploration of philosophy, goals and objectives. The responses to that item are furnished in Table 7. As the table indicates,

Table 7
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "The goals of higher education and corrections are not the same."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	5	83.33	83.33
Uncertain	1	16.67	100.00

five or 83.33% of the directors expressed agreement with the statement that the goals of higher education and corrections are not the same. One of the directors expressed uncertainty and no one disagreed with the statement. These findings support a tentative proposition that the directors of prison higher education in Massachusetts perceive that the goals of prison higher education and corrections are not the same.

In light of this, it is not surprising that the directors of the various prison higher education programs appear to value the autonomy of their programs from corrections. The frequency and percentage of their responses to the statement, "The prison administration should have input into the number of courses offered and their content" are presented in Table 8. Four, or 66.67%, of the directors expressed disagreement with this statement. These findings support a conclusion that the directors of prison higher education in

Table 8
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "The prison administration should have input into the number of courses offered and their content."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Uncertain	1	16.67	16.67
Disagree	4	66.67	83.33
Strongly Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

Massachusetts regard themselves as distinct from correction and value their autonomy from corrections.

Despite that the directors of the prison higher education programs in Massachusetts perceived that the goals of corrections and higher education were not the same, the various programs neither possess a clearly articulated or coherent philosophy nor have they developed clearly defined sets of program goals and objectives. This is consistent with the

view of one of the directors that the programs did not typically concern themselves with stating broader purposes.

Table 9 presents responses to three questions that sought to determine if programs of prison higher education were characterized by formal statements of philosophies and goals, whether they subscribed to specific educational philosophies or practices, and whether the directors regarded prison higher education as a specialized form of educational practice. The survey questionnaire revealed that only two (2) of the prison higher education programs possessed a formal statement of its philosophy and goals, and no program adheres to a particular educational philosophy or pedagogy. The lack of formal statements or informal consensus regarding program philosophies, goals and objectives would be unremarkable were it not for the fact that 4 of 6, or 67%, of the directors regard their activities within the prisons as a specialized form of educational practice.

Table 9
Positive and Negative Responses to General
Questions Related to Philosophy and Goals

Question	Positive Responses	Negative Response
Has your program developed an official statement of its philosophy and goals?	2	4
Does your program subscribe to a particular educational philosophy or pedagogy?	0	6
Do you regard you program and the circumstances in which it operates as a specialized type of educational practice?	4	2

Table 10 presents responses to an item which sought to ascertain whether the directors regarded the rehabilitation of prisoners as one of the principal aims of prison higher education in Massachusetts. Only one, or 16.33%, of those surveyed disagreed with the proposition that the rehabilitation of criminal offenders constituted a program goal. Five, or 83.33%, agreed or strongly agreed with this proposition. These findings support

Table 10
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Rehabilitation is among the principal aims of the higher education program."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Strongly Agree	2	33.33	33.33
Agree	3	50.00	83.33
Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

a tentative proposition that the directors regard the rehabilitation of prisoners to be one of the principal goals of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts.

Table 11 (page 142) presents responses to an item which sought to ascertain whether the directors regarded increased employability as one of the principal aims of

Table 11
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Increased employability is among the principal aims of prison higher education."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	4	66.67	66.67
Uncertain	1	16.67	83.33
Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

prison higher education. Four, or 66.67%, of the directors expressed agreement with this statement, while one, or 16.67%, expressed uncertainty and one, or 16.67%, expressed disagreement. These findings support a tentative proposition that the directors regard increased employability among prisoners to be one of the principal goals of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts.

There appears to be less general agreement about whether adjustment to institutional life is among the aims of prison higher education in Massachusetts. The frequency and percentage of responses to the statement that adjustment to institutional life is among the aims of prison higher education are presented in Table 12. Though three, or 50%, of the

Table 12
Frequency and percentage of responses to the statement, "Adjustment to institutional life is among the aims of prison higher education."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Strongly Agree	1	16.67	16.67
Agree	2	33.33	50.00
Uncertain	2	33.33	83.33
Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

directors agreed with this statement, the other 50% expressed either uncertainty or disagreement. These findings were not sufficient to support a conclusion that adjustment to institutional life constitutes an aim of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts.

Scope of Programs

Two items were designed to elicit information about the scope of prison higher education in Massachusetts. These items sought to ascertain the number of students enrolled in each program, the percentage of matriculated and non matriculated enrollments, the number of correctional sites served by each program, and the number of courses offered at each site. Table 13 (page 143) presents data obtained about the number of program sites and enrollments in each program. The total number of program sites was 17 during the fall semester of 1990 and 21 during the spring semester of 1991. Because more than one program delivers coursework at some sites, the actual number of impacted correctional facilities was 11 and 16 during the respective semesters. The total number of enrollments for all programs was 695 during the fall semester of 1990 and 1048 during the spring semester of 1991.

Programs sponsored by private colleges accounted for 3, or 17.6%, of program sites and also accounted for 128, or 18.4%, of the total enrollments during the fall semester of 1990. They accounted for 4, or 19%, of program sites and 140, or 13.4%, of the total enrollments during the spring semester of 1990. Programs sponsored by public colleges accounted for 14, or 82.4%, of program sites and also accounted for 567, or 81.6%, of the total enrollments during the fall semester of 1990. They accounted for 17,

Table 13
Number of Enrollments and Correctional Sites, by College or University

College or University	Number of Sites	Fall, 90	Number of Sites	Spring, 91
Boston University	2	79	2	79
Curry College	1	49	1	61
Massasoit CC	6	220	6	270
Mt. Wachusett CC	3	214	6	488
Univ of Mass/Amherst	3	67	3	63
Univ of Mass/Boston	2	66	3	87
TOTALS:	17	695	21	1048

or 81%, of program sites and 908, or 86.6%, of the total enrollments during the spring semester of 1991. Two year programs offered course work at 9, or 52.9%, and 12, or 57.1%, of correctional sites during the fall semester of 1990 and the spring semester of 1991. They accounted for 434 or, 62.4%, of the total enrollments and 758, or 72.3%, of the total enrollments during those semesters.

The data elicited about the number of courses offered at each site is presented in Table 14, which presents the average number of course offerings during academic year

Table 14
Average Number of Courses offered and Inmate Population, by Correction Site.

Correctional Site	Average # of Courses Offered per semester	Number of Colleges	Inmate Population ^A
Bay State Corr. Center	3.5	1	97B
MCI-Cedar Junction	8.5	1	686
MCI-Framingham	4.0	1	429
MCI-Lancaster	8.5	2	187
MCI-Norfolk	12.0	2	1,252
Old Colony Corr. Center	8.5	2	589
MCI-Plymouth	3.0	1	237
MCI-Shirley	10.0	2	442
MCI-Concord	5.5	1	1,063
North Central Corr. Ctr.	11.5	2	727
Northeast Corr. Center	3.5	1	194
"Bridgewater Complex."			831C
S.E. Corr. Center (Minimum)	2.5	1	
S.E. Corr. Center (Medium)	5.0	1	
Bridgewater State Hospital	4.0	1	
Bridgewater Treatment Center	3.5	1	

A. Population statistics for institutions on January 1, 1990. B. Includes the population of Medfield, a minimum security facility that transports prisoners to Bay State Correctional Center if they wish to participate in higher education. C. This figure includes prisoners confined at four units in the "Bridgewater Complex."

1990-1991 and the inmate population at the various correctional sites in which prison higher education programs operate. The directors were asked to estimate the total number of course offerings by their programs at each of the correctional sites in which they operate. In each of those cases in which more than one college offers courses at a given site, one college - typically a community college - offers the first two years of course work leading to an associates degree and the other offers the second two years of course work leading to a bachelors degree. While students must be matriculated in one or another of the programs, they are permitted to enroll in the course offerings of the other college program. There appears to be no correlation between the number of course offerings and the population of the correctional sites.

Funding

The way in which programs are funded is not uniform but admits some general statements to be made. Table 15 depicts the origins of funds received by each of the programs. Only those programs sponsored by private colleges and universities received funding from their parent institutions. Boston University pays one hundred percent of administrative and staffing costs and provides all students with scholarships that fully meet tuition and fees. The cost of textbooks was defrayed through a small subsidy furnished by the Department of Corrections. Curry College meets one-half of total program costs and receives no subsidy from the Department of Corrections. No significant state support has been received by these two programs, which have operated for 19 and 10 years, respectively.

Table 15
Funding Sources during Academic Year 1990-91, by College or University

College or University	Pell Grants	Dept. of Correction	State funded Grants	Parent Institution
Boston Univ.	---	---	----	100%
Curry College	50%	----	----	50%
Massasoit C. C.	60%	----	40%	----
Mt. Wachusett C. C.	80%	----	20%	----
U Mass/Amherst	73%	----	27%	----
U Mass/Boston	75%	23%	2%	----

Those programs sponsored by public colleges and universities are self-supporting elements of continuing education divisions. During academic year 1990-91, the Department of Corrections provided significant support to only one of these programs. Federal PELL grants constitute the largest single funding source accessible to these programs. It comprised 72% of all funding for programs sponsored by public colleges and universities. In addition, the balance of funding for these programs was derived from state funded grants to part-time students.

Staff Characteristics.

The directors were the only full or part-time, permanent employees of their respective programs. Three of the current directors are the founders of their respective programs. Four of the directors reported that their positions were full-time and two reported that they were part-time. The directors range in age from 40 to 67 years (with one of the directors failing to report age) and the average age is 57.2 years. Three are men and three are women. All of the directors report their race as Caucasian.

The average number of years the directors have held their current positions in prison higher education is 6.17 years, ranging from a low of one-year to a high of 17 years. The directors of the four programs leading to the bachelors degree reported that they

had been informally involved in prison higher education an average of nine years prior to obtaining their current positions. The duration of their employment in prison higher education (average = 8 years) is exceeded by the duration of their employment in higher education (average = 18.17 years). The directors of the two programs leading to the associates degree reported no prior formal or informal involvement in prison higher education. Their employment in prison higher education (average = 2.5 years) constitutes their sole employment within higher education.

All of the directors possess graduate degrees. One reports possession of a doctoral degree and five report masters degrees. In follow-up telephone conversations only one of the directors reported that prison higher education constituted the area of specialization in the program of study leading to their highest academic credential. Only three of the directors report membership in professional associations related to prison higher education.¹ These associations are the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (one membership), the American Correctional Association (one membership), and the Correctional Education Association (two memberships).

Follow-up telephone conversations revealed that the faculty employed by the programs are not the holders of permanent appointments specific to their activities on behalf of prison higher education. The directors indicated in follow-up conversations that their programs rely on graduate students and full-time faculty "borrowed" from the parent institution, adjunct faculty who also teach at the parent institution and adjunct faculty expressly hired for the prison education program. The directors of five (5) of the six (6) indicated that their hiring practices reflected the organizational policies of their parent division. All programs belong to the continuing education division of their parent institutions, and five of these divisions employ no full-time faculty members. Boston University, however, also employed no full-time faculty for its prison program although Metropolitan College, its division of continuing education, does employ permanent full- and part-time faculty.

Admissions/Selectivity:

An item was designed to determine the requirements for participation in the programs. In addition, an item was designed to determine what department or division of the parent institution each program is part of so that participation requirements for prisoners and non-prisoners might be compared. Table 16 (page 146) presents participation requirements for each prison higher education program.

The programs possess "open admission" policies which exercise virtually no selectivity among prospective students who possess the minimum qualifications. The principal academic qualification for inclusion is possession of a high school or general equivalency diploma. No program bases inclusion on past academic performance. Although two (2) programs require preparatory courses and two (2) require entrance examinations for those who seek admission, unsatisfactory performance is the basis for deferral rather than denial of admissions.

Financial aid status is a requirement for participation, but does not function as a form of economic selectivity. The principal source of funding is federal Pell Grants, which are awarded on the basis of income, and almost all prisoners, as adults who have no income, qualify by virtue of incarceration. One program estimated that during the last five years, ninety-nine percent of all requests for Pell funding were successful.

¹Each of the the directors is a de facto member of the Massachusetts Council on Prison Education (M.C.P.E.), an informal coordinating body for programs of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts. Although four of the six directors listed the M.C.P.E. among the professional associations to which they belonged, these were excluded because membership is conferred upon the position of director rather than sought or maintained by the individual.

Table 16
Participation requirements, by college or university

College	GED or HSD	Fin. Aid Status	Prep Course	Entrance Exam	Perceived Motivation	Reference
Boston Univ.	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
Curry College	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Massasoit C.C.	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Mt. Wachusett	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
U Mass/Amherst	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
U Mass/Boston	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No

Curriculum.

Items were designed to elicit general information about the curricula of the programs. Specifically, these items sought to determine the number and type of academic and vocational concentrations or majors are offered. The responses to these items are presented in table 17 (page 147). The theoretical orientation and deductive stipulations regarding higher education suggest that the lower the level of degree, the greater curricular diversity and the greater the likelihood of technical and vocational concentrations. Conversely, the higher the level of the degree offered, the less curricular diversity should be evidenced. In addition, we suspected that the higher the level of the degree offered, the less likely that concentrations would be tied to specific competencies for social action.

Only programs leading to the associates degree offer technical or vocational concentrations and these provide training in automotive repair, business administration, and culinary arts. This lends support to a tentative proposition that the lower the level of degree offered, the greater curricular diversity and the greater the likelihood of technical and vocational concentrations.

All four (100%) of the programs awarding at least a bachelors degree offered no technical or vocational concentrations. Three of the four (75%) offered only one academic concentration and two (50%) of these offered a general studies concentration. These findings lend support for the tentative propositions that the higher the level of the degree offered, the less likely that concentrations would be tied to specific competencies for social action, and that the higher the level of the degree offered, the less curricular diversity should be evidenced.

Curry College, however, reports diversified academic curricula and in fact offers a greater number of academic concentrations than the combined academic and technical/vocational offerings of any other program. Its four academic concentrations are English, Psychology, Sociology, and an "Individualized" concentration which permits even greater curricular diversity. This findings lends supports for a tentative proposition that the higher the level of the degree offered, the less likely that concentrations would be tied to specific competencies for social action; but weakens support for a tentative proposition that the higher the level of the degree offered, the less curricular diversity should be evidenced.

Table 17
Number of academic and technical/vocational
concentrations, by college and degree type.

College	Degree	Academic	Technical/vocational
Curry Col	BA	4*	0
Boston Univ.	BA	1	0
	MA	1	0
Massasoit C. C.	AA	1	1
Mt Wachusett C. C.	AA	1	2
Univ. of Mass/Boston	BA	1	0
Univ. of Mass/Amherst	BA	1	0

* Includes "Individualized" concentrations

Residentiality/Intersystem Integration.

Several items were designed to suggest the level of residentiality - as both the permeability of institutional boundaries and the inter-institutional transfer of authority exhibited by the programs - and explore intersystem relations. It should be noted that these items reflect the interchangeability of significant indicators for these areas of exploration

The directors expressed unanimous agreement with the statement that the prison higher education programs they administer conduct orientations for faculty members. The frequency and percentages of these responses are presented in Table 18. This fact becomes significant in light of the fact that the directors also unanimously agreed with the statement that instructors also receive an orientation conducted by the Department of Correction. The frequency and percentages of these responses are presented in Table 19 (page 148). It was

Table 18
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Your program
conducts and orientation for instructors."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	6	100.00	100.00

therefore concluded that instructors receive separate orientations conducted by corrections and higher education. This findings lend additional support to the tentative conclusion that the goals of higher education and corrections are not the same. It also supports the tentative conclusion that the director regard their programs as distinct from corrections and that prison higher education programs are not fully integrated within the correctional sites in which they operate.

An item was designed to explore whether the directors perceived that correctional officials had attempted to influence the curricula of the various programs. Three, or 50%, of the director agree with the statement the prison officials had attempted to influence curriculum. Two, or 33.33%, of the director, however, disagree with this statement. The

Table 19
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Instructors receive an orientation conducted by the Department of Correction."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	6	100.00	100.00

frequency and percentages of these responses are presented in Table 20. These findings

Table 20
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Prison officials have, at times, attempted to influence curriculum."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	3	50.00	50.00
Uncertain	1	16.67	66.67
Disagree	2	33.33	100.00

suggest that some of the directors perceive that prison officials attempt to influence curriculum, but offer insufficient support for a conclusion that prison officials generally attempt to influence curriculum.

When responses of the directors of two-year programs were compared with those of four-year programs, it was found that both directors of two-year programs disagreed with this statement and 75% of the directors of four-year programs agreed with this statement. This finding supports tentative propositions that (1) the higher the level of degree offered, the greater the likelihood that prison officials have attempted to influence curriculum and (2) that programs offering academic curricula are more likely, and programs offering vocational curricula are less likely to experience attempts by prison officials to influence curriculum.

An item was designed to determine whether the directors perceived that rules governing participation in their respective programs tend to be formulated in conjunction with the Department of Correction. The frequency and percentages of these responses are presented in Table 21. While three, or 50%, of the directors agreed with this statement, the

Table 21
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "The rules governing participation in your program are formulated in conjunction with the Department of Correction."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	3	50.00	50.00
Disagree	3	50.00	100.00

other three, or 50%, disagreed with this statement. These findings did not support a general conclusion that program rules tend to be formulated in conjunction with corrections. These finding do, however, suggest that programs differ in their autonomy and that this difference may reflect variations in the attitudes and policies of the correctional sites in which they operate.

Responses to an item that sought to ascertain whether compliance with programs rules was enforced solely by the staff of the prison higher education program appear to indicate that corrections personnel are involved in the enforcement of the rules governing participation in higher education programs. The frequency and percentages of these responses to the statement that compliance with rules is enforced solely by the higher education staff are presented in Table 22.

Four, or 66.67%, of the directors indicated their disagreement with this statement. Only one director agreed with this statement. When the one response indicating uncertainty is excluded, 80% of the responses support a conclusion that the directors perceive that enforcement of the rules governing participation in prison higher education is at least partially the responsibility of corrections rather than higher education. This finding suggests that, although autonomy may be valued by the directors, actual autonomy is

Table 22
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Compliance with rules pertaining to all aspects of your program, including the use of technology, classroom behavior, course completion, etc., are enforced solely by the staff of your program."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	1	16.67	16.67
Uncertain	1	16.67	33.33
Disagree	4	66.67	100.00

not a characteristic of prison higher education programs in Massachusetts. This finding supports a tentative proposition that prison higher education in Massachusetts is characterized by at least some degree of integration between higher education and corrections.

All prisoners except those in pre-release facilities are required by the Department of Correction to hold a work assignment for which they are paid between one and two dollars each day. An item was designed to explore whether participation in higher education fulfilled the correctional requirement that prisoners work during their incarceration. The frequency and percentages of responses to this item are presented in Table 23. Two, or

Table 23
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Educational participation fulfills the institutional work requirement for participants."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	2	33.33	33.33
Uncertain	2	33.33	66.67
Disagree	2	33.33	100.00

33.33%, agreed with this statement; two, or 33.33% disagreed; and two, or 33.33%, expressed uncertainty.

These findings were too varied to support a general conclusion that education fulfills the institutional work requirement. These findings do, however suggest that some forms of education may be more integrated with corrections than others. They also suggest that the status of education within the prison may vary at different correctional sites.

An item was designed to determine whether the directors perceived that prisoners who participate in higher education programs are paid an institutional wage. The responses

to this item, which focused on prison higher education, were more consistent. The frequency and percentages of responses to this item are presented in Table 24. Four, or 66.67 %, of the directors expressed disagreement or strong disagreement with this statement. Two, or 33%, expressed agreement. As in the case of education generally,

Table 24
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Prisoners who participate in higher education programs are paid an institutional wage."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	2	33.33	33.33
Disagree	3	50.00	83.33
Strongly Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

these findings would appear suggest that some forms of education may be more integrated with corrections than others. When responses were reviewed and correlated with institutional type, it was determined that no correlation exists between the level and type of education offered and the likelihood that participants are paid an institutional wage. The variation in responses again suggests that the status of education within the prison may vary at different correctional sites and supports a tentative proposition that the degree to which prison higher education is integrated with corrections varies among correctional facilities.

Two items were designed to determine whether prisoners who participate in higher education programs are differentiated from non-participants through eligibility for special housing assignments within the prison. The frequency and percentages of these responses are presented in Table 25. Four or 66.67 %, of the directors expressed disagreement with this statement and two, or 33%, expressed uncertainty. It was therefore concluded that prisoners who participate in prison higher education programs are not eligible for special housing assignments within the prison. It was also concluded that participants in higher

Table 25
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Prisoners who participate in higher education are eligible for special housing assignments within the prison."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Uncertain	2	33.33	33.33
Disagree	4	66.67	100.00

education are not differentiated from non-prisoners with regard to housing assignments. These findings lend preliminary support to a tentative proposition the participants in prison higher education are not differentiated from non-participants within the structure of confinement.

An additional item explored whether the directors had advocated special housing assignments that allowed for the clustering of students within the prison. The frequency and percentage of responses to this item are presented in Table 26 (page 151). Only two, or 33.33% of the directors agreed with this statement, while three, or 50.00% disagree or strongly disagreed. It was therefore tentatively concluded that the directors do not generally perceive the need to advocate special housing that allows the clustering of participants in prison higher education. These findings support a tentative proposition that

the directors do not perceive the need to differentiate between participants and non-participants with regard to housing.

An item was designed to explore the possibility that prison staff afford special

Table 26
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "You have advocated special housing assignments that allowed the clustering of prisoner-students."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	2	33.33	33.33
Uncertain	1	16.67	50.00
Disagree	2	33.33	83.33
Strongly Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

privileges, in the form of work assignments, etc., to those who participate in prison higher education. The frequency and percentage of responses to this item are presented in Table 27. The responses to this statement were varied and reflected a high degree of uncertainty.

Table 27
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Prison staff afford special privileges, in form of work assignments, etc., to those who participate in or graduate from the college program."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	2	33.33	33.33
Uncertain	3	50.00	83.33
Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

While two, or 33.33%, agreed and one, or 16.67% disagreed, three, or 50%, of the director expressed uncertainty. The tentative proposition that the directors do not generally perceive that prison staff afford special privileges to prisoners who participate in higher education programs was not supported. Further, the fact that one-third of the directors agreed with this statement suggests that to at least some extent participants in prison higher education are differentiated from non-participants within the structure of confinement.

Does participation in higher education constitute a mechanism by which prisoners can demonstrate that they are suitable for placement in lesser-security facilities? Table 28 presents the frequency and percentage of responses to the statement that prison

Table 28
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Prison classification boards reward participation in higher education by expediting transfers to lesser-security institutions."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Uncertain	3	50.00	50.00
Disagree	3	50.00	100.00

classifications boards reward participation in higher education by expediting transfers to lesser-security institutions. Three, or 50%, of the directors disagreed and three, or 50%, expressed uncertainty in response to this statement. It was therefore tentatively concluded that the directors do not perceive that prison classification boards reward participation in higher education by expediting transfers to lesser-security institutions. This finding lends support to a tentative proposition that prison higher education fails to create credible identity transformations among participants within the structure of confinement.

Table 29 presents the frequency and percentage of responses to a statement that successful participation in prison higher education is routinely used as a basis in determining an inmate's classification status or security-level. Three, or 50%, of the directors disagreed or strongly disagreed and three, or 50%, expressed uncertainty in response to this statement. It was therefore tentatively concluded that the directors do not perceive that successful participation in higher education is routinely used as a basis in determining an inmate's classification status or security-level. This finding lends support to a tentative proposition that prison higher education fails to create credible identity transformations among participants within the structure of confinement.

An item was designed to explore whether the directors perceive that participation in prison higher education is influential in decisions about whether to parole prisoners. The

Table 29
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "Successful participation in higher education is routinely used as a basis in determining an inmate's classification status or security-level."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Uncertain	3	50.00	50.00
Disagree	2	33.33	83.33
Strongly Disagree	1	16.67	100.00

frequency and percentage of responses to a statement that participation in prison higher education favorably impacts parole board decisions about whether to release prisoners are presented in Table 30. Only one, or 16.67%, of the directors agreed with this statement; two, or 33.33%

Table 30
Frequency and Percentage of responses to the statement, "The Parole Board is more willing to grant parole to those who participate in higher education."

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Agree	1	16.67	16.67
Uncertain	2	33.33	50.00
Disagree	3	50.00	100.00

expressed uncertainty; and three, or 50%, expressed disagreement. It was therefore tentatively concluded that the directors do not perceive the parole board to be more likely to grant parole to those who participate in higher education while incarcerated. It was therefore tentatively concluded that the directors do not perceive that prison classification boards reward participation in higher education by expediting transfers to lesser-security institutions. This finding lends support to a tentative proposition that prison higher education fails to create credible identity transformations among participants that have currency beyond the structure of confinement.

APPENDIX B
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have been asked by Raymond L. Jones, a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, to participate in a research project that he is conducting as an element of his doctoral dissertation. My involvement in this study will take the form of the completion of a survey questionnaire and possible participation in a semi-structured interview conducted by Mr. Jones at a time and place yet to be determined. The purpose of your participation is to assist in the development of a description of prison higher education in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The title of this study is "An Exploratory Cultural Analysis of Prison Higher Education in Massachusetts." The method of this study will require that I complete a brief survey questionnaire aimed at eliciting information about the characteristics of the prison higher education program that you coordinate or direct. Information gleaned from this survey will be utilized in providing description within the planned dissertation, but may also be utilized to develop questions to be explored in subsequent interview research.

I have been advised by Mr. Jones that data derived from the survey and the possible interview will be treated as confidential in that I will not be identified by name either within the planned dissertation or in any subsequent and derivative articles, books, or other publications he may intend to author.

I, _____, have read and understand the information furnished above and consent to participate in the study described.

PARTICIPANT

DATE

REASEARCHER

DATE

APPENDIX C
SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Section One:

1. How many years have you been employed in your current position? _____
2. What is your employment status? Part-time?_____ Full-time?_____
3. How many years have you been employed in prison higher education? _____
4. How many years have you been informally involved in prison higher education?_____
5. How many years have you been employed within higher education? _____
6. What is your: Age? _____ Gender?_____ Race?_____
7. Your present level of education is:

BA/BS _____ MA/MS _____ ED.D/PH.D _____
8. In what discipline did you receive your highest degree? _____
9. List the any professional associations related to prison higher education to which you belong.

Section Two:

1. How many students were matriculated in your program during the following semesters?

	Fall, 1990	Spring, 1991
Matriculated	_____	_____
Non-matriculated	_____	_____
2. What department or division or the sponsoring college or university is your program an element of? _____
3. How many academic majors does your program offer? _____

Please list each: _____

4. How many technical/Vocational Majors? _____

Please list each: _____

5. Estimate the total number of courses offered at each institution in which your program operates.

Facility	Fall, 1990	Spring, 1991
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

6. Which of the following are requirements for participation in your program? (Check all that apply)

____ GED or HSD ____ Perceived Motivation ____ Entrance exam
____ Prep Courses ____ Financial aid status ____ Other

7. Does your program provide routine assistance in obtaining post-release employment?

____ Yes ____ No

8. Are formal program evaluations conducted by the college or university which sponsors your program?

____ Yes ____ No

9. Has your program developed an official statement of its philosophy and goals?

____ Yes ____ No

10. Does your program subscribe to a particular educational philosophy or pedagogy?

____ Yes ____ No

11. Has your program been challenged or criticized by any of the following groups?

General public	____ Yes	____ No
Elected Officials	____ Yes	____ No
Corrections Officers	____ Yes	____ No
Corrections administrators	____ Yes	____ No
College Faculty	____ Yes	____ No
College Officials	____ Yes	____ No

12. Does your program currently receive funding from The Department of Corrections?

_____ Yes _____ No

13. Do you regard you program and the circumstances in which it operates as a specialized type of educational practice?

_____ Yes _____ No

14. What percentage of your funding is derived from each of the following:

_____ Federal Pell Grants _____ Federal Loan Programs

_____ State funded Grants _____ State funded loans

_____ Support from Department of Correction

_____ Other, please specify _____

Section Three

Please respond to the following statements by circling the number that best indicates your opinion. The numbers indicate that you:

1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	agree	uncertain	disagree	strongly disagree

1. Inmates participate in higher education in order to increase their self-esteem.

1 2 3 4 5

2. Compliance with rules pertaining to all aspects of your program, including the use of technology, classroom behavior, course completion, etc., are enforced solely by the staff of your program.

1 2 3 4 5

3. The prison administration should have input into the number of courses offered and their content.

1 2 3 4 5

4. Prisoners who participate in higher education programs are paid an institutional wage.

1 2 3 4 5

5. Your program conducts and orientation for instructors.

1 2 3 4 5

6. Your program possesses a specific philosophy or theory of learning.

1 2 3 4 5

7. Instructors receive an orientation conducted by the prison administration.

1 2 3 4 5

8. The Parole Board is more willing to grant parole to those who participate in higher education programs.

1 2 3 4 5

9. The rules governing participation in your program are formulated in conjunction with the Department of Correction.

1 2 3 4 5

10. Education fulfills the institutional work requirement for participants.

1 2 3 4 5

11. Prisoners who participate in higher education are eligible for special housing assignments within the prison.

1 2 3 4 5

12. you have advocated special housing assignments that allow the clustering of prisoner-students.

1 2 3 4 5

13. Prison staff afford special privileges, in form of work assignments, etc., to those who participate in or graduate from the college program.

1 2 3 4 5

14. The goals of higher education and corrections are not the same.

1 2 3 4 5

15. Rehabilitation is among the principal aims of your program.

1 2 3 4 5

16. The college program seeks to help prisoners adjust to institutional life.

1 2 3 4 5

17. Correctional policy makers are wholly supportive of higher education in the prison.

1 2 3 4 5

18. Increased employability is among the principal aims of higher education in the prison.

1 2 3 4 5

19. Prison officials have, at times, attempted to influence curriculum.

1
2
3
4
5

20. Prisoners have realistic expectations about the value of a college education.

1 2 3 4 5

21. Prison classification boards reward participation in higher education by expediting transfers to lesser-security institutions.

1 2 3 4 5

22. Some correctional officers resent the fact that prisoners are permitted to attend college.

1 2 3 4 5

23. Successful participation in higher education is routinely used as a basis in determining an inmate's classification status or security-level.

1 2 3 4 5

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