

VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN WOMEN'S PRISONS

by

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The topic of this report will be occupational preparation intended to provide criminal offenders with skills which will aid their reentry and reintegration into the community. This report will examine only one type of occupational preparation: vocational training programs in women's correctional institutions. This report will explain the rationale of vocational training programs, describe vocational training programs in context, and evaluate their effectiveness.

A concern of correctionalists has always been the high number of persons returned to prisons for committing additional crimes after release. Because in the history of corrections, punishment has been found to do little good in combatting this recidivism rate, modern correctionalists have turned to the concepts of rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders for the general benefit of society. The concept of the offender's being one who could be rehabilitated developed out of the later eighteenth century reformatory period (Beto, 1970:23). Chandler (1973:5) defines rehabilitation as "changing in a positive way, or rebuilding the offender toward becoming a useful member of society." At this time reformers and others viewed the offenders as an individual with emotional and moral deficiencies. The individual's behavior was seen as something he could no longer control. In this period, several biological, psychological, and sociological theories were advanced to explain criminal behavior. These theories helped to shape modern correctional emphasis on treatment rather than punishment and to advance the "view of the offender as a person with social, intellectual, or emotional deficiencies that should



be corrected to a point that would permit him to resume his place in the community" (Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967:4).

At present, Beto (1970:32) believes we are in a period of reintegration. He argues, "The avowed and not always attained goal is the reintegration of the offender into society, whether it be by probation, by the rehabilitation program of the prison, or by parole" (Beto, 1970:32). Further, the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower in Training states three purposes of a correctional institution:

1. To seek to limit confinement to persons actually requiring it, and under conditions that are lawful and humane.
2. To make the confinement experience constructive and relevant to the ultimate goal of reintegrating the offender into the community and of preventing recidivism.
3. To educate the community and its agencies about the problems of reintegrating offenders in order to elicit their collaboration in carrying out specific rehabilitative efforts and in improving conditions which militate such efforts (Galvin and Karocki, 1969:34).

Thus the goal of corrections becomes:

1. To seek diversion from corrections, parole, or other release of offenders for whom confinement or further confinement is not indicated.
2. To control offenders in order to prevent escapes, injuries, and disorders. . . .
3. To enhance the motivation, competency, and personal resources of offenders in order to facilitate eventual reintegration into the community (Galvin and Karocki, 1969:30).

The task of corrections is twofold: first is the protection of the community through imprisonment and rehabilitation of individuals considered socially harmful; second is rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders-- in other words, correcting defective social functioning of individuals and preparing them for adjustment in the outside world of employment.

### Problem Statement and Theoretical Basis

During the last several decades in our society, interest has increased in the problems of women and the problems of prisoners, but these have been coordinated only occasionally. One way proposed for meeting problems of women prisoners is through vocational training, but before we can evaluate the significance of vocational training programs we must provide background material so that vocational training can be seen in its proper perspective. The purpose of this section is to provide the twin theoretical bases of vocational training: the Mertonian model and the differential association model.

American society is oriented toward certain goals for the majority of the society, such as decent living standards and income toward whose attainment members of our society are provided with institutionalized means. However, certain individuals or groups of individuals (Merton refers to those in the lower stratum of our society) have educations and incomes whose deficiency prevents their obtaining these ends legitimately through society's institutionalized means (Merton, 1957:132-153). However, this process applies not only to lower class individuals. Anyone who lacks the legitimate means may have a hard time achieving needed ends; for example, a woman without earning skills and with several children whose husband dies.

The occupational opportunities of people in these areas are largely confined to manual labor and the lesser white collar jobs. Given the American stigmatization of manual labor which has been found to hold rather uniformly in all classes, and the absence of realistic opportunities for advancement beyond this level, the result is a marked tendency toward deviant behavior (Merton, 1957:145).

Merton is saying that those who are unskilled or semi-skilled cannot legitimately compete with others toward society's success goals. To the extent that the lower strata's access to legitimate gain is limited, deviant behavior will result.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) have reformulated Merton's theory of legitimate means. They argue, like Merton, that when legitimate opportunities to obtain success through economic opportunities are closed deviant behavior results (specifically Cloward and Ohlin refer to delinquent subcultures). Cloward and Ohlin further point out that pressures from lack of opportunity affect males more than females. They argue, "It is primarily the male who must go into the marketplace to seek employment, make a career for himself and support a family" (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960:106). It can be argued that at present many females face the same pressures, especially female offenders. Amundsen (1971:8) notes that over 5.8 million women workers are classified as divorced, widowed, or separated, and "nearly all of them are the main support, not just of themselves but of their families" (Amundsen, 1971:8). It might therefore be assumed that lack of legitimate opportunity to obtain certain ends affects women also.

Konopka supports this assumption in her argument that women, especially female offenders, face this lack of opportunity. She suggests that women in our society lack employment opportunities largely due to social roles learned as children. Konopka (1966:73) argues, "The dream of being 'taken care of' prevents the individual girl from seeking an education, from preparing for some sort of permanency in the working life. Her lack of opportunity is directly bound up with her being a woman." Employment opportunities are limited as a result of the lack of career planning. When legitimate opportunities are blocked to gain employment, women may seek to obtain goals in other ways. For example, one girl with a history of prostitution felt that lack of opportunity to do anything better than waitress work led her into this work. She states:

I'm dead tired on my feet in the evening when I do waitress work. And what do I get for it? I can make as much in one night as I make in a month doing that kind of work. But nothing else is open for me (Konopka, 1966:76).

From Konopka's work, the theory of differential opportunity or a discrepancy between institutionalized means and culturally approved goals can be extended to include women. The lack of opportunity that women face in a variety of vocations is especially notable. Since vocational training of women has been inadequate, their jobs have been low-paying and low-status; consequently women are forced into illegitimate activities.

Although variously stated, these theories concur that the discrepancy between culturally desired goals and culturally controlled means causes pressure toward deviant behavior. Similar conclusions were derived in studies relating to the opportunity theory.

One such study is Glaser's (1964) study of men. Glaser concluded, "It seems reasonable to infer that employment was usually a major factor making possible an integrated 'style of life' which included nonrecidivism, successful marriage and satisfaction in other social relationships." He argues that not only does employment promote the possibility of the inmate making a successful adjustment, but failure to obtain employment increases the likelihood of the individual's return to crime (Glaser, 1964:9).

Taggart also sees the offender as a disadvantaged person in the job market, contending, "employability is an important part of rehabilitating the offender. . . . Employment problems are a major cause of crime and . . . unless the offender can be prepared for and provided with a job, he is likely to fall back into criminal behavior" (Taggart, 1972:23). This result can be expected to apply to the female offender, since women are increasingly in the same predicament as men, supporting themselves and possibly a family. Amundsen (1971:9) argues:

5,800,000 women workers are widowed, divorced, or separated, and nearly all of them are the main support not just of themselves but of their families. Startlingly 2,400,000 of these women fall into the category of the poor in the United States and among them they have 4,500,000 children to support.

In further support of the assumption that economic need may be a main reason women engage in crime, the Uniform Crime Report (1974:184) points out that crimes for which women are arrested tend to be those committed for economic gain: statistics show that 28 per cent were arrested for larceny and prostitution.

Since women generally commit crimes for money they probably lack ability and/or opportunity to meet their own financial needs. Mitford (1973:25) states that 85 per cent of the women in prison are convicted for a combination of prostitution and narcotics. Burkhart (1973:83) states, "Many women who end up in prison are acting out of their inadequacies as individuals - - not with criminal rings. They have two or three children, and nobody to help them. So they write checks."

These examples suggest that many women, like men, are imprisoned due to offenses stemming from economic problems. Many women do not have the skills or education to obtain positions that would allow them to overcome these problems. As a solution they engage in some type of illegal activity which temporarily solves their problem of poverty.

When a female offender, no longer able to function successfully in the community, comes into contact with the criminal justice system, the philosophy of our correctional system is that she should be reintegrated with society. If poor job skills and lack of education have led the offender into the criminal justice system, and the goal of that system is to avoid returning her to that same situation, then the means to that objective is to provide her with

skills. If the woman is sentenced to a correctional institution, then a purpose of that institution must be to provide her with skills. The President's Commission (1970:30) contends, "Educational attainment, the development of useful work skills and habits, and the possession of general know-how in getting along legitimately in the economic system. . . ." are among the major needs of the offender. The Commission further contends that "many of the problems and difficulties of confined offenders . . . can be dealt with at the institutional level through programs of training and treatment" (1970:30). This means that in their definition training and treatment should consist of a high amount of job-oriented training programs as part of the treatment program.

An alternate model to those being presented in this report is the female offender's desire to be released from incarceration with the idea of finding a husband to support her. This possibility is recognized as characterizing only a small portion of the female inmate population. Simon (1975:79) cites a survey by Koontz (1971:7) which questioned inmates of the three federal prisons for women. Eighty-five per cent of the inmates wanted more job training, and 80 per cent wanted more educational opportunities than were available. Simon goes on to say, "Nine out of ten of the respondents also said they expected to work to support themselves when they were released. A majority also expected that they would support others who were dependent upon them" (Simon, 1975:79). It is felt that this survey demonstrates that the husband-hunting inmate is in the vast minority in American correctional institutions. Therefore, it should be a primary concern of correctional institutions to provide the inmates what they want and need to "make it" on the outside -- skills for a job. Simon's findings of women prisoners' wanting job training is consistent with the Mertonian model. Although it can be said that finding

a husband is another means to an end, the point is debatable whether offenders want a husband. The small percentage expecting upon release to find a husband show this is not likely.

A second theoretical framework which illustrates the importance of vocational training is that of differential association. The differential association theory emphasizes the importance of the group in creating a law-abiding citizen or a law-violator. Differential association theory views criminal behavior as learned through association with law-violating individuals. Sutherland gives nine principles of the differential association theory:

1. Criminal behavior is learned.
2. Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
3. The principal part of learning criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups.
4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple: (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.
5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from the definition of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable.
6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law.
7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity.
8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning.
9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those values since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values (Sutherland, 1966:81-82).

According to the differential association theory, changing an offender back to a law-abiding individual involves altering the offender's environment



and/or creating new associations. The idea of vocational training is to put the offender into a higher class and higher paying job and, thus, into associations with individuals less likely to be involved in criminal behavior. Cressey suggests how the theory of differential association can be applied to the rehabilitation of the offender:

1. If criminals are to be changed, they must be assimilated into groups which emphasize values conducive to law-abiding behavior and, concurrently, alienated from groups emphasizing values conducive to criminality. Since our experience has been that the majority of criminals experience great difficulty in securing intimate contacts in ordinary groups, special groups whose major common goal is the reformation of criminals must be created.
2. The more relevant the common purpose of the group to the reformation of criminals, the greater will be its influence on the member's attitudes and values. Just as a labor union exerts strong influence over its members' attitudes towards management but less influence on their attitudes towards, say Negroes, so a group organized for recreational or welfare purposes will have less success in influencing criminalistic attitudes and values than one whose explicit purpose is to change criminals.
3. The more cohesive the group, the greater the members' readiness to influence others and the more relevant the problem of conformity to group norms. The criminals who are to be reformed and the persons expected to effect the change must, then, have a strong sense of belonging to one group; between them there must be a genuine "we" feeling. The reformers, consequently, should not be identifiable as correctional workers, probation or parole workers, or social workers.
4. Both reformers and those to be reformed must achieve status within the group by exhibition of the "pro-reform" or anti-criminal values and behavior patterns. As a novitiate, the one to be reformed is likely to assign status according to social position outside the group, and part of the reformation process consists of influencing him both to assign and to achieve status on the basis of behavior patterns relevant to reformation.
5. The most effective mechanism for exerting group pressure on members will be found in groups so organized that criminals are induced to join with non-criminals for the purpose of changing other criminals. A group in which criminal A joins with some non-criminals to change criminal B is probably most effective in changing criminal A, not B; in order to change criminal B, criminal A must necessarily share the values of the anti-criminal members.



6. When an entire group is the target of change as in a prison or among delinquent gangs, strong pressure for change can be achieved by convincing the members of the need for a change. Rather than inducing criminals to become members of pre-established anti-criminal groups, the problem here is to change anti-reform and pro-criminal subcultures so that group leaders evolve from among those that show the most marked hospitality to anti-criminal values, attitudes, and behavior (Cressey, 1964: 140-2).

Basically, Cressey is emphasizing the importance of the group an individual is found in. Although Cressey is emphasizing the criminal group as an element of change, the work group can also be seen as an element of change. He points out two characteristics commonly found in association with work groups. First is a common purpose of the group. Work groups normally have a common goal; by working together toward this goal and in association, workers influence one another's attitudes and values, and tighten the bonds between themselves. Thus, the individual in a group becomes more susceptible to change through association with the group, due to its increased cohesion. Cressey sees some individuals in criminal groups "who show hospitality to anti-criminal values, attitudes, and behaviors" and believes they can help change others in their group away from criminal behavior. The example set by such members in a group might be more persuasive than appeals by professional prison staff. Cressey's Criminal A might be one who would value vocational training, take it himself, and encourage others in the group to do so. So, his ideas and the argument being developed in this report may be supplementary rather than contradictory.

As already mentioned, this report focuses on vocational training programs in women's correctional institutions. Specifically, the questions this report will attempt to answer are: Are female offenders given an opportunity through vocational training programs in prison to learn a skill, thereby

upgrading their marketability upon release? Will they, upon release, be able to enter group relationships wherein criminal behavior is not the accepted norm? This study will propose no hypothesis, but will be descriptive and evaluative, using available materials to describe vocational training programs which currently exist in women's correctional institutions.

### Significance of the Study

Any attempt to analyze the current status of women's vocational training programs is seriously hampered by lack of data. This situation is not exclusively a problem of women's vocational training programs, but applies to women's institutions in general. Furthermore, as other authors (Haft:1974; Burkhart:1973; Gibson:1973) have pointed out, this situation was not remedied when one of the most comprehensive studies on crime was completed. The Task Force Reports (1967) put out by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement did not include a single section on women. Lack of interest in women offenders is shown by the President's Commission, which produced a report on the female offender but never published it, thereby wasting possibly valuable material. What comprehensive and evaluative material on women's prisons does exist is to a large extent outdated. Glueck and Glueck's 1934 study is an example. Women's roles in society have changed, outdating some of the findings. The small amount of research done on women's correctional facilities indicates a need for a study of this area. I do not propose to offer a comprehensive study of women's correctional programs but only to describe what types of vocational training programs exist. However, this study may provide a basis for evaluation of vocational training programs in women's institutions. This study may also point to areas which are in need of change in regard to such vocational training.

If the goal of correctional institutions is to reintegrate the offender into the community, then the most effective means of achieving this end should be developed and utilized. Since unemployment or low income employment is a common problem of offenders and often the cause of their imprisonment, and since they need to be able to take care of themselves when they are released, it is important that the type of vocational training programs which women receive in correctional institutions meet their needs. This report will review locally available literature on such training programs and attempt to evaluate them. To do so, this study raises the following questions:

1. What are the current vocational training programs in women's correctional institutions, and how successful are such programs in enabling the trained women to get employed?
2. How successful are these programs in preventing recidivism?

Though this report focuses on rehabilitation and reintegration by vocational training, other important methods are often also needed. These include analysis of and treatment for emotional, mental, and motivational problems of offenders who have other lacks besides those of job skills. Often health treatment and instruction in health care, basic education, counseling, and income maintenance are needed.

### Rationale for Vocational Training

We have reviewed opportunity theory, differential association theory, and some empirical research on factors leading to women's incarceration. In this section these insights will be used to explicate the rationale for vocational training. Also this section will review the understanding and the objectives of vocational training on the part of current practitioners.

The Manual of Correctional Standards (1966:570) states, "Vocational training refers to those occupations to which inmates are assigned in the

expectation that they will learn skills which will be salable in the community." The basic belief behind vocational training is that a number of offenders are in prison because of a lack of opportunity in the job market, as our Mertonian model suggests. Lack of opportunity puts offenders into associations with others who are unemployed and of low status which increases their likelihood of recidivating according to the differential association model. The rationale of vocational training programs is seen in the following terms:

1. Post-release success, in terms of reduced criminal activity, is critically related to the employment skills and potentials of offenders.
2. Employment skills and potentials are improved through Manpower programs; therefore, offenders who receive Manpower programs services are less likely to be involved in criminal activity when they are released (McDonnell, 1972:123).

The Manual of Correctional Standards states that the objectives and goals of a vocational training program should be consistent with the overall objectives of the institution and that vocational training should be divorced from maintenance needs: "A work program to provide upkeep of the institution will also provide an opportunity to teach good work habits which are essential" (American Correctional Association, 1966:559). Ideally, upkeep of the institution is seen as important only insofar as it teaches good work habits. Hitt and Agostino (1968) advocate for their proposed model be such that:

1. The objectives are related to, and consistent with, the overall objectives of the correctional system.
2. The objectives are formulated in terms of job requirements in the free community.
3. They are stated in operational terms.
4. They are interrelated with the objectives of prison industries and prison maintenance.
5. They are organized and sequenced in accordance with clearly formulated priorities.
6. They are attainable (Hitt and Agostino, 1968:14).

While saying that the objective of vocational training should meet the needs of offenders by providing them with attainable skills which they can utilize in the larger community, Hitt and Agostino argue pragmatically that the objectives should be interrelated with prison industries and prison maintenance.

The objectives of vocational training programs by Hitt, Agostino, and Cress (1968:3) as a proposal for a program at Terre Haute Penitentiary are:

1. To motivate the inmate to want to acquire job skills.
2. To provide the inmate with skills needed to obtain and retain an honest job in the free community.
3. To teach good work habits - - such as assuming responsibility for taking care of tools, arriving at work on time, etc.
4. To modify the inmate's attitude toward work, toward society, and toward himself.

The above rationale and objectives are formulated from the Mertonian opportunity theory. It is also felt vocational training can be beneficial to inmates in light of Sutherland's differential association theory. Prisoners are given vocational training, not only to earn a decent living, but also so that they will be able to acquire higher status in the community, through higher paying jobs. Hopefully, this will put them into associations with people for whom criminality is not normal. In accordance with Sutherland's theory, it is felt that a primary stage of an offender's reform is to eliminate criminal behavior not through fear on the part of the offender, but through the offender's wanting to and being able to obey the law. This can be accomplished when the offender's group norms are those of non-criminal behavior. Due to the powerful control of the individual by a cohesive group, it is desirable that the norms of the offender's primary group be consistent with those of his reform.

These theories are founded on two basic ideas: the offender is seen as an individual without skills; it is assumed that once given enough skills to

get started at a job, the offender will be with a higher class of associates. Vocational training provides the offender with an opportunity to obtain skills needed for a good position in the community. Through these associates it is hoped that non-criminal behavior will become a part of his own set of values.

## CHAPTER II

### OBSTACLES TO VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Several obstacles frequently affect the number, diversity, and type of vocational training programs institutions offer - - the lack of distinction between vocational training and maintenance duties of the institution, lack of coordination between vocational training and length of sentence, the imprisoned women's not being viewed as a critical mass, and remoteness of the institution. Although all these obstacles hamper vocational training in both men's and women's institutions, three of them particularly affect women's vocational training programs. Vocational training programs for women are more oriented toward maintenance tasks of the institution than are men's (See Appendices I and II). Women generally are given shorter sentences than men. Fewer women than men are in prison. Finally, remoteness is a common problem among men's and women's institutions. In this author's belief, a primary solution to these problems in light of the theoretical background will be community corrections. This will also be discussed as a possible aid.

#### Lack of Distinction Between Vocational Training and Maintenance

The Manual of Correctional Standards put out by the American Correctional Association suggests the following with regard to vocational training in women's correctional institutions:

A realistic vocational training program which is divorced from the maintenance needs of the institution and under qualified instructors, training should be in as many as practical of the varied industrial, commercial, and service occupations as women are engaged in today. A work program to provide upkeep of the institution will also provide an opportunity to teach good work habits which are essential (American Correctional Association, 1966:539).

The manual advocates the teaching of skills which could be utilized upon release but maintains vocational training can be oriented toward work necessary to maintain the institution.

The goal of correctional institutions is to rehabilitate and reintegrate the offender into society, while at the same time maintaining economic self-sufficiency of the institution. In general, then, institutions for women, as for men, are expected to coordinate the vocational training programs and work programs with prison industry and maintenance. However, the vocational training programs in women's correctional institutions largely concern the maintenance requirements of the institution (See Appendix I); while men's institutions also require maintenance, men's vocational training programs do not emphasize maintenance duties so strongly (See Appendix II). Thus vocations in which men are trained provide them with an opportunity - - putting them into higher paying and higher status jobs where they are in association with individuals not likely to be involved in criminal activities. On the other hand, most women's vocational training programs are for semi-skilled or unskilled work and do not prepare them for quality job opportunities. If they are forced to return to the same unskilled vocations their opportunities and associations are not changed.

The extent of vocational training programs' maintenance orientation is demonstrated in Giallombardo's description of a girls' institution in the East:

All the vocational assignments were fitted into the maintenance needs of the institution. There were no janitors at Eastern: the inmates did all the cleaning, in the academic, chapel, and administration and other buildings. To accomplish this, many of the inmates went to school only in the morning or the afternoon and worked the rest of the time. (Giallombardo, 1974:69).



Giallombardo further contends:

Clearly the inmates' academic education was not of primary concern. The fact that the inmates had to work so many hours doing 'vocational' work would put most of them at a serious disadvantage when they return to their own community schools (Giallombardo, 1974:69).

Chandler (1973:56) agrees that making a profit or maintenance is the main goal of a women's correctional institution. In a California women's facility, the two main programs are janitorial training and industrial sewing. Women in the sewing industry do the same small tasks all day long, and sewing collars on a shirt rather than making an entire garment, becomes a person's vocational training. Vocational training at Alderson, West Virginia, is much the same.

Burkhart points out:

The majority of women work in the garment factory which makes uniforms for federal men's prisons, and linens and uniforms for the Veterans Administration. Others do key punch operating, sew clothes for release and work in the laundry, or do clerical or maintenance jobs around the prison yard (Burkhart, 1971:28).

Giallombardo (1966:66) further points out that at Alderson "almost half of the entire population is concentrated in such jobs as cooking, cottage maintenance, sewing household items for general prison use, weaving, doing farm and dairy work, landscaping, baking and painting." She concludes, "It is questionable that the training programs as presently organized do in fact have a real market; it is more realistic to state that these programs serve the needs of the institution" (Giallombardo, 1966:66).

Ideally vocational training programs are there to serve the offender. If implemented as the Manual of Correctional Standards suggests, we would find that industrial and maintenance requirements would be secondary to those of the offenders. The emphasis would be upon providing the offender with skills that she could utilize upon release, without consideration of maintenance

and industrial needs of the institution. But the goal of economic self-sufficiency enters into this problem. Giallombardo (1966:58) states:

The goal of economic self-sufficiency requires that the inmate community be mobilized into a work force. In order to accomplish this goal, official expectations dictate that inmates subordinate their own interests to the interest of the large collectivity, that is, the prison.

Since correctional institutions are much like the rest of our society - - that is, interested in a profit - - the goal of rehabilitation and reintegration becomes superseded by the goal of economic self-sufficiency attained by prison officials' relying heavily on inmate labor. Thus, vocational training programs consist largely of maintenance requirements of the institution and its industrial output.

Although we find the goal of economic self-sufficiency predominating, the goal of rehabilitation and reintegration is not completely thrown out. Rehabilitation and reintegration becomes an additional goal with which prison officials must deal (Giallombardo, 1966:67). In attempting to reach it, the necessary work in the institution is organized as vocational training programs. As Gibson (1973:226) states, "scrubbing floors becomes vocational housekeeping. Scrubbing clothing becomes vocational laundry." The requirement of rehabilitation and reintegration is met in theory but not necessarily in practice by justifications which enable the institution to call institutional work, vocational training. First is the rationale that these programs teach the inmates a skill. Second, prison labor is justified on the basis that it teaches good work habits which carry over to outside employment. Third, "it is held that if unpleasant tasks, as punishment, are the lot of the convicted criminal, work will serve as a twin-barreled deterrent to crime, for the law-abiding citizen as well as for the convicted criminal. . . . Fourth, work is assigned

to enable inmates to earn money for themselves and their dependents" (Giallombardo, 1966:58).

Some of these justifications are legitimate. Inmates can use their prison training, but the limited extent of that use has already been demonstrated. Second, the extent to which prison work teaches good work habits is questionable. Third, there is no evidence that the type of work alone in prison is a deterrent to future crime. Last, inmates do earn money in prison, but the sum is small and surely is not enough to support an inmates dependents. (Note: this is currently being changed.) These arguments are just what they appear to be - - justifications to put women in menial jobs. While prison maintenance jobs may have some training value, up-to-date vocational training is needed to meet present job market opportunities.

Many men's correctional institutions offer a number of vocational training courses. Generally women's correctional institutions limit their programs because of limited resources of the institution and jobs which women hold in society. Many women's institutions' vocational training programs are developed with the idea that the women will return to society in the role of a housewife, mother, or in a lower class occupation such as a waitress. Learning skills such as are needed for these kinds of jobs could be useful as a necessary supplement to the inmate's vocational training program. However, if this is the only training given to the woman, she is probably returning to a job providing an income similar to the substandard one she had prior to incarceration, and to her old friends on the streets for whom crime is a way of life.

The Manual of Correctional Standards (1966:510) states, "Occupations normally available in women's institutions include laundry and dry cleaning, food service, sewing, greenhouse work, housekeeping, medical services, office

work, and in some locations, farming, gardening, paint crew, and yard crew." Several other vocational training courses found in women's correctional institutions are listed below and briefly described. We may classify vocational training programs into two categories - - one type being those programs mainly benefiting institutional maintenance. These programs may have marginal value to inmates in terms of vocational or other types of training. The second type are programs which give more significant types of training, although sometimes these may also be compatible with institutional maintenance as a secondary benefit. First this section will present examples of these two types of training labeled satisfactory and unsatisfactory type programs and then present information about the extent each type is used.

Unsatisfactory programs. Included under this heading are laundry workers, janitorial or housekeeping workers, food service workers, institutional sewing and farming.

Laundry-Laundry work normally involves washing clothes, sheets and bedding of the inmates', and in some places, that belonging to local hospitals (Burkhart, 1973:297). Burkhart lists several tasks women are expected to do in a laundry.

- use presses that are outdated and break down frequently.
- lift 100-150 pounds of soap chips, etc., to pour contents into barrels.
- load washers by lifting anywhere from 25 to 100 pounds each into old machines that have dangerous washer doors.
- unload and sort approximately 100 bags of 25 to 100 pounds of laundry which comes to the institution from the general hospital (Burkhart, 1973:297-298).

Janitorial Services or Housekeeping-This work involves scrubbing floors, washing windows, emptying trash cans. Basically it consists of anything that needs to be done in the way of cleaning in the institution or cottages.

Food Services-In a correctional institution, this involves a number of activities ranging from baking, cooking, (sometimes cooking classes are offered), and cleaning vegetables, to serving in the cafeteria line. Sometimes waitress training is offered in this category.

Institutional Sewing-This usually involves working in the industry of the institution. Institutional sewing usually involves performing one routine task over and over again, all day long, like sewing a sleeve on a shirt. Other times, institutional sewing may include "flag making, sewing uniforms for inmates, and making mops" (McArthur, 1974:13).

Farming-Although it is not seen in many women's institutions, any more, there are still a few that offer this sort of training. Farming mainly consists of raising chickens, sheep, and other agricultural products to aid in maintaining the institution.

These vocational housekeeping programs are quite useful and sometimes a necessary part of the rehabilitation process since women may also need these skills along with vocational training. However, when used alone they can hardly supply training for a job with income higher than one without training. Nor will they change the job of the offender enough to bring about a significant change in social relationships. To attain these ends, it is necessary that the offender be given a more significant specialized training. The common types of this training are listed below.

#### Satisfactory programs.

Clerical Positions-This normally involves typing courses or typing for institutional personnel, filing, shorthand, reception work, running office machines, and sales clerk training. Many times inmates' skills are developed through institutional work that needs to be done. For example sales clerk

training is given when inmates are assigned to run the canteen (Giallombardo, 1974:69).

**Nursing Related Areas**-Nursing courses offered in the correctional institution are licensed Vocational Nursing (or L. P. N.) and Nurse's Aides. Licensed Vocational Nursing involves performing clinical duties in a hospital setting, while Nurse's Aides serve meals and perform tasks that the patients request. **Cosmetologist**-Normally this involves the "beauty culture student's functioning as beauticians for the entire inmate population. . . . All inmates [are] required to have their hair done by the cosmetology students" (Giallombardo, 1974:69). Areas in which most cosmetologists in women's institutions are trained are cutting, setting, and styling of hair, manicures and scalp treatments (McArthur, 1974:16). Sometimes the curriculum also includes, in addition to training, courses which prepare the offender to pass the state licensing examination.

**Computer Related Courses**-In most women's correctional institutions keypunch operating is the main computer related course offered. Other computer related courses rarely found in women's institutions are computer programming, logic, and design (McArthur, 1974:15).

Although other courses are sometimes offered in women's institutions, those listed above predominate. The extent to which inmates engage in specific types of training is demonstrated in the following. Haft (1974:3-4) argues:

In those institutions where vocational training programs have been established for female offenders, they are almost always limited to training women in domestics or other women's occupations, such as . . . sewing.

She further contends:

Many institutions pride themselves in turning out good housekeepers; the emphasis is on behaving like a lady or looking attractive and keeping things clean and neat (Haft, 1974:3-4).

Chandler, in 1973, surveyed the nature of vocational training programs offered in women's correctional institutions across the United States. The result of her survey is Appendix I. From this survey one can see that most institutions still consider sewing and laundry as part of their vocational training program. Domestic service, hotel baking, and cleaning are also vocations that predominate in women's institutions. Appendix I shows that the number of different occupational types is limited. This is due both to the concept that women will return to society in a housewife or mother role and to the necessity of providing a way to meet institutional needs. In the "other information" column most institutions offer courses in beauty culture or cosmetology. Some states are moving toward a Licensed Vocational Nursing program, but these programs are limited in number because many states are hesitant about offering any programs in which dealing with medicine is involved. However, recently several states have been trying the Vocational Nursing program, confining it to those individuals not convicted on a drug charge, not involved with drugs at the time of their arrest, and whose institutional records are "clean" (Chandler, 1973:58). These structures clearly prevent the large majority of women in a correction institution from becoming involved; as Mitford (1973:25) points out, 85 per cent of the women in the correctional institution she was studying were there for a combination of drugs and prostitution.

Being offered vocational training is in accordance with Mertonian theory that women be given a means to an end. However, it is questioned whether they are really being provided with a means. It seems as if these women are being required to do institutional work rather than receiving vocational training. This is not consistent with the Mertonian theory nor is it consistent with Sutherland's theory of differential association. Domestic institutional work



even when considered vocational training is likely to return the offender to the streets from which she was taken.

In concluding it appears that there is a conflict between correctional institutions' two main goals, but this conflict appears to be more of a problem in women's institutions. On the other hand, the correctional institution is supposed to provide the offender with job skills and habits she can utilize after release. On the other hand economic self-sufficiency is important to the institution. Overall it appears that the economic goal of self-sufficiency has superseded that of training and rehabilitation.

#### Lack of Coordination between Vocational Training and Length of Sentence

The length of the sentence a woman is given should be a factor taken into consideration when designating her vocational training. Women's sentences are usually short, preventing involvement in certain types of vocational training. If a nursing program takes two years to complete and the resident has only an 18 month sentence, she should not be assigned to this program. Partial completion of the program will not benefit the offender in obtaining a related position on the outside. Care must be taken by classification personnel in creating correctional programs for individual inmates, not for an entire institution. Optimum advantage must be taken of the time that the offender is incarcerated. Other times a woman may have a sentence of 10 years but completes her training program in two years. By the time she is released her training is likely to have become obsolete (Hovey, 1971:40). Furthermore, she may have forgotten her training and any improvement in attitudes may be lost. Bennett (1971:43) advocates that better coordination is needed in job training programs. He suggests that the length of the sentence should be taken into consideration when scheduling inmates for job training. Bennett (1971:43) states, "there



is no use trying to interest a man [or woman] in training if he's [she's] got such a long sentence. . . . Training must be coordinated and interrelated with the whole problem of punishment, of prison administration and of after-care." That is, each inmate's vocational training program should be coordinated with the length of her sentence.

#### Small Number of Women in Prison

The population of the institution limits the type of vocational training programs that women's institutions can offer. Since women are only a minority of the prison population, the diversity and number of programs are small because the cost of training per inmate is too large to support a diversity of programs (Haft, 1974:3). The Task Force Reports also recognizes the problem of handling a small group of offenders such as women. The Task Force argues:

The small number of many special offender groups adds to the problem of handling them. This is especially apparent with a group like female offenders, who usually either receive no rehabilitative treatment or are placed under a regime adapted for the quite different needs of male prisoners (Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967:58).

Handling female offenders in their community may be a solution to this problem. Fragmentation into a number of small community treatment centers would allow a number and diversity of vocational training programs to be offered. Since only a small number of women require incarceration, an obvious advantage of these centers over other types of facilities would be that women could be allowed to develop better occupational skills, through utilization of community resources. Furthermore, cost would be reduced by not having to hire a number of personnel as vocational instructors in a prison. The offender could be trained in a vocation she is interested in, and the vocations she learns would be in the community she returns to.

Another suggestion is to locally regionalize women's correctional institutions. In some areas this has already been done. By pooling resources among various communities, upgrading of vocational training programs can occur. Locally regionalizing women's institutions also provides job training related to an area which the inmate can utilize after release.

Sometimes women sent to an institution are trained in a vocation which their home community does not have. For example, a woman may learn pattern making in prison but her home community does not have a pattern making company or industry. When returning to her community she is no better off in terms of marketable skills.

The small size of women's groups however, can be to the advantage of the institution and the inmates, if properly dealt with. If locally owned businesses are willing to accept inmates for on-the-job training programs, the inmate may receive training to a position commanding higher compensation. During the time of work release training, authorities of the institution may supervise and regulate the offender's interpersonal associations outside the institution. This is consistent with the desirable goals which are the theoretical basis of this report.

#### Remoteness of Womens Institutions

Communities do not usually like prisons being constructed nearby. As a result, most prisons were built in secluded or rural areas rather than in locations with wide job opportunities. This distance between the institution and the community becomes an obstacle to the reintegration process. For instance, the Federal Reformatory for Women in West Virginia is located about 100 miles from the nearest metropolitan area. Even though communities may prefer prisons to be located away from them, Hovey (1971:39) argues, "the

distance between the prison and the source of jobs in the community can be an enormous obstacle. It seriously limits both the amount of training that can be done in cooperation with community industry and the possibilities for prisoner work release programs." The distance of prisons from the community limits not only vocational training programs by confining training to the institution, but also the type of personnel that can be recruited to teach vocations in a remote area. The Task Force Reports say, "Remoteness . . . makes it hard to recruit correctional staff, especially professionals" (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967:4). Personnel hired, therefore, are likely to be less qualified than individuals who could be drawn from metropolitan areas.

Remoteness of the institution requires it to function independent of available opportunities in the community, and, therefore, the offenders' opportunities are limited.

A cure for remoteness also is in the community. Breaking up some prisons into a number of small community treatment centers is a possible solution whereby inmates would be given a better opportunity for vocational training but also would be allowed to make contacts and associations with community people who do not accept criminal norms. Furthermore, inmate cohesiveness would be subverted if an offender were in contact with individuals who accept standards of the general community.

## CHAPTER III

### THE VALUE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The purpose of this section is to discuss vocational training's value to women, in terms of jobs available for the female offender in the area in which she has been trained, post-release use of vocational training skills, and the value of vocational training as an aid in preventing recidivism. Overall, this section will try to determine whether vocational training in the institution has given women either of the changes felt within this report to be important: a chance at employment, and a worthwhile reason and opportunity to develop relationships with law abiding persons.

#### Jobs Available in Vocationally Trained Areas

Jobs available for the female offender upon release are limited in number largely because of her limited skills. Despite her vocational training in prison, jobs available in areas where she has been trained are declining due largely to automation. As noted in Appendix I, vocational training in women's institutions is largely confined to semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. For example, it takes a person only half the time to clean a floor with a machine than it would a woman with a bucket and mop. Chandler supports the argument concerning the relative worthlessness of training women in domestic work when she contends, "It isn't easy to place women newly paroled in domestic service jobs, even when they are well trained for them" (Chandler, 1973:76). She argues that many inmates still have personality problems after they are released, for their past difficulties with drugs or alcohol present problems in coping with many jobs involving intimate contact, or jobs where drugs are easily accessible.

As a result, Chandler advocates industrial rather than these types of jobs as preferable for female offenders, but contends the demand for personnel in these areas is minimal (Chandler, 1973:57).

To determine the number of jobs available in several of the vocations women's institutions offer, the Occupational Outlook Handbook has been used as a source. The vocations examined below are positions the offender could obtain with her training in the institution. They are not definite vocations since many times occupational training is not directly linked with a definite type of position.

The difficulties in finding employment in areas which the female offender has been trained suggest that certain types of training which institutionalized women receive are relatively worthless. This is true in regard to vocational training in cooking, laundry, institutional sewing, and other positions which are limited in the free community. For example, the Occupational Outlook Handbook (1974-5:658) points out in regard to sewing positions, "Employment in the industry is not to keep up with the production of apparel, because new, mechanized equipment and improved methods of production and distribution are expected to result in a greater output per worker." The garment industry is expected to grow slowly, meaning there will be only a 5 to 14 per cent increase of needed workers. The handbook contends that most openings will arise to replace old workers. In the area of laundry, the easier care of clothing has offset many of the demands for laundry and cleaning services. However, laundry workers are still moderately in demand. It is expected, according to the Occupational Outlook Handbook (1974-5:786) that there will be a 15 to 29 per cent increase in need. In the area of cooking, although the Occupational Outlook Handbook sees the demand increasing moderately (15 to 29 per cent more workers will be needed), it contends that "most job openings . . . will result from the need

to replace workers who retire, die, or leave their job" (United States Department of Labor, 1974-5:167).

Employment opportunities for private housekeeping helpers are expected to decline rapidly; that is, there will be a 30 to 40 per cent decrease in need for those trained in this area. The apparent decline in demand for these services is due to mechanization and the growth of cleaning and child care businesses. The pay for private household workers is also poor. In 1972 in some private households workers averaged \$2,478.00 a year (United States Department of Labor, 1974-5:178). Employment prospects for hotel housekeepers appears to be even worse. According to the Occupational Outlook Handbook, there is going to be a larger supply in this area than there is a demand. Employment requirements for this area are expected to decline 40 per cent or more. The Occupational Outlook Handbook (1974-5:160) comments that competition in these areas is likely to be keen.

Other types of work called vocational training in institutions, and done by women, are working on garbage trucks, repairing cars, driving tractors, and unloading bags of potatoes (Burkhart, 1973:297). One inmate asks, "How many women do you know on the outside who drive trucks, and how many women plumbers do you know on the streets? The women here [at Frontera] are wasting time and energy on these types of jobs running the institution when they could be in some type of training program making something of themselves, but there is little or no training programs that would benefit these people when they are out" (Burkhart, 1973:297).

Not all vocational training in women's institutions is as unsuited to the models of rehabilitation. Some training is becoming more directly related to available jobs, such as nursing, clerical positions, various computer related

jobs and cosmetology - - vocations in which women are employed on the outside. Thus, the offender will not have to overcome a sex barrier when trying to obtain employment. Also, these are jobs which are in demand in larger society, which will permit economic independence, and in which most can succeed.

Again here, the Occupational Outlook Handbook (1974-5) has been used as a source to determine applicability of vocational training to jobs in larger society.

Employment projections in cosmetology are that an increasing number of women working in this field will be needed because larger numbers of women are working outside the home and use professional beauty care. A 30 to 40 per cent increase in the need for cosmetologists is expected (United States Department of Labor, 1974-5:171) and also presently many jobs are available. The salary offenders receive is largely a result of how much they do. The salary is based on skill, speed, and experience. The cosmetology program offers strong hopes in terms of future employment. However, to obtain employment as a cosmetologist after release, the institution must give the inmate other qualifications. Usually she must have at least a tenth grade education, and in some states a high school education is required. However, in most institutions it is up to each woman to have the motivation to get her diploma. Licenses are another problem. As one inmate puts it, "There is no guarantee that you will be able to get a license, because they don't give licenses to felons" (Burkhart, 1972:297). However, a few institutions are helping to eliminate problems associated with licensing by offering classes which will prepare the inmate for the test she takes to obtain her license. Assistance is further being given in obtaining jobs in which licenses are required. McArthur says the first 29 graduates of this program all passed their licensing exam and

were placed in related jobs (McArthur, 1974:14-15). Appendix I lists institutions which offer these programs.

The Occupational Outlook Handbook predicts, "Employment of clerical workers is expected to be increasing rapidly through the mid-1980's" (United States Department of Labor, 1974-5:87), and that there will be a 30 to 40 per cent increase in the need of clerical personnel. An individual may earn anywhere from \$83.00 a week to \$162.00 a week.

In women's institutions we find that keypunch operating is the main area in which women are trained. At present there is only a 15 to 29 per cent demand for personnel trained in this area. The Occupational Outlook Handbook shows that with experience some are promoted to supervisory positions. However, demand for other computer vocations such as console and auxiliary equipment operators is expected to grow rapidly; that is, a 30 to 40 per cent increase of workers will be needed (United States Department of Labor, 1974-5:107-9).

The demand in the mid 1980's for Licensed Vocational Nurses is expected to be much greater than the supply. A 40 per cent increase in demand for workers is expected for this vocation and for nurses' aides and RN's. The pay scale for nurses depends on their level of training. Most Licensed Vocational Nurses (a course which many women's institutions are beginning to offer) averaged around \$6,500.00 a year, while nurses' aides averaged around \$100.00 a week in 1973. Women in correctional institutions can easily handle and fulfill the requirements of a Nurses' Aide. Most employers will hire youth, non-graduates of high school, and untrained individuals who have licensed LPN certification.

#### Post Release Use of Vocational Training

The second part of this section will discuss whether women actually utilize the training and skills the institution offers to them. There is no recent evaluative research in this area that deals with women.



The Gluecks (1934) found that 57 per cent of the women that were paroled entered domestic service jobs, the main vocation the institution offered, and also the main vocation in which women were employed at that time (Glueck and Glueck, 1934:203). The Historical Status of the United States (1960:35) reports that one-third of women in normal population were employed in these jobs in the 1930's. It can be questioned whether they were using their vocational training. Twenty-seven per cent of the women worked in a factory job, a job also related to the type of work offered in the institution, and the remaining women were scattered among a number of other positions. The length of time women spent at these jobs is another factor that should be examined. Many women secured jobs in areas in which they had received training, but the length of time they utilized their training was minimal. Overall, the Gluecks concluded that only 16.8 per cent of the women actually used the training they had received in the institution (Glueck and Glueck, 1934:225).

Similar results were found with regard to male prisoners. Glaser found that in the first four months out of prison, "prison work experience is used in post release employment only by about a quarter of those released who by then had some post-release jobs of one week or more. . . . These releases held a total of 184 jobs, 47, or about a quarter of these post-release jobs were related to prison work experience" (Glaser, 1964:251). Furthermore a question which should be asked, but which is not satisfactorily answered is what percentage of men utilized their prison experience not as a result of training in prison, but, because of their job was the type of job they had before entering prison. Glaser (1964) points out a pattern in this type of occurrence.

The type of training women receive in the institution may affect post-release utilization of their skills. Burkhart illustrates a woman's feeling

toward utilizing factory work after release and comments; "A lot of women say, if the only thing they [referring to the vocational training program in prison] can offer me here is going back to the rafters in the garment factory, I'm going back to the streets when I get out" (Burkhart, 1971:28). This points to the need for vocations such as computer programming, keypunch operating, clerical work, and nursing programs to be offered and opened to all offenders. These are vocations which offer better working conditions and sometimes better pay thereby stimulating motivation to get her into better associations. Movement should be away from institutional maintenance and industry which possibly limits future employment, and toward areas in which personnel are well paid and jobs in demand.

McArthur suggests that these programs offer a hope. She points out that women upon release tend to use their training and skills. Of those engaged in the Licensed Vocational Nursing course at Frontera, all 46 graduates found employment immediately. There might have been a limitation on who could participate in this program since as already mentioned, those who have been involved with drugs are not ordinarily allowed to participate in a program in which drugs are involved. However, this shows that women are using these types of vocational training which perhaps should be extended to more trainees who want them. This is in agreement with both the Mertonian model and the differential association model. It appears women are given an opportunity because they have taken jobs in the fields for which they have been trained. If they have indeed taken better jobs than they had before they went to prison, it seems almost sure that their associations will at least change, hopefully for the better.

In the case of men and women trained in welding at Maryland institutions, of the first 550 graduates 390 were placed and many others had jobs waiting.

Similarly, in a cosmetology training program at Frontera, of the first 29 graduates all were licensed and placed in related jobs (McArthur, 1974:15-16). Although these two cases demonstrate that women are using training they receive in prison, they do not indicate how long offenders stay in their jobs. McArthur does not discuss this but only mentions that these women have found employment in jobs for which they have been trained. (Of course it may be too soon to have definite results since the programs are relatively new.)

The extent to which inmates utilize their prison training may be influenced by another factor, that is, the extent to which the institution aids the offender in finding a job after release. In Glaser's study the men were left on their own to find jobs. On the other hand, the three projects McArthur discusses and in the Gluecks' study, the institution placed women in their jobs. Lack of utilization of prison skills may be the result of the offender's having difficulty finding a job or in getting a job related to her trained area. McArthur (1974:16) argues, "If a vocational training program is to positively affect parole outcome, it must . . . link trained prisoners with jobs through adequate placement service." As more institutions take on responsibility for job placement assistance, a greater number of prisoners may utilize their skills learned in prison. This can be taken as verification of the differential association model. Vocational training has provided the inmate with a skill, but job placement services can aid the offender by seeking out jobs so she may utilize her skill. Thus rehabilitation and reintegration are aided since the offender is directed in the vocation in which she has been trained.

#### Vocational Training and Recidivism

The recidivism rate of female offenders may be an indicator of the value of vocational training. If after training the released offenders have trouble

finding employment, as a result of lacking skills or training, then recidivism may serve as an indicator of the value of vocational training. We cannot simply look at the total amount of recidivism and conclude that vocational training does not work. Extenuating circumstances may be the cause of the later crimes.

No statistics were found with regard to what percentage of women recidivate or commit another crime after release. Only Glaser's (1964:225) study concludes, "About twice as large of proportion of 'successes' as of violators reported the use of prison training on post release jobs, but for no group was this proportion more than one-fifth." We might surmise that if our opportunity theory is correct, since relatively few female offenders utilize their prison training, and few jobs are available in areas for which they are trained, recidivism is high due to unemployment. Although there do not appear to be nationwide statistics on the percentage of women who return to prison once released (because of the difficulty of keeping track of women after release) Burkhart (1973:399) estimated by looking at individual prisons that recidivism varies from 50 to 85 per cent. "In Los Angeles, officials say the recidivism rate exceeds 75 per cent. . . . At New York Correctional Institution for Women, it is 85 per cent. . . ." (Burkhart, 1973:399). Since it is not known whether recidivism was due to unemployment we cannot say what effect vocational training had on the offender. This high recidivism rate indicates either 1) vocational training has little or no effect, which McArthur suggests (later in this section) is not the case or 2) effective vocational training programs weren't offered, as pointed out above. If we work within the Mertonian model, the latter is clearly implied.

A special program for females was set up in the Milwaukee County jail in 1963. This program consisted of personal care and grooming, mother and child

care, remedial reading, writing and spelling, business filing, vocational guidance and group counseling (Ketterling, 1970:36). The purpose was to test whether a program of this nature could have any effect on recidivism among female offenders. Upon finding that women offenders generally had low education and minimal job skills this program was set up. February through May was established as the period of the experiment. One hundred and eight women formed the control group in 1962, and 102 formed the experimental group in 1963. With the control group, the jail carried out the regular activities while the experimental group participated in the experimental programs (Ketterling, 1970:36). It was hypothesized that the groups which had gone through this program would have a lower recidivism rate, fewer would be on county aid and fewer would be unemployed after release. However, in the observation period, of the members in the control group 28 were rearrested, 31 were on county aid, and 22 employed. Of those in the experimental group, there were 24 rearrested, 25 on county aid, and 23 employed. Ketterling (1970:37) found, "none of these differences were large enough to be statistically significant." However, there were some gains among the experimental group. Four went on further in school, thirteen contacted the employment center or went to the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation for job training and assistance, eleven sought vocational and psychological help, and fourteen received Red Cross certificates for completion of the child care course (Ketterling, 1970:37). Although Ketterling implies that the program was a success in this manner, he doesn't tell comparably what happened to those in the control group. Ketterling doesn't believe the question of recidivism was answered conclusively because of the inability to control extraneous variables. He was not able to control for employment fluctuations and law enforcement changes in the

different years. Another limitation was in the selection of activities for the program; some activities had to be dropped because of lack of finances (Ketterline, 1970:36-37). Another study cited by Spencer and Berocochea at the California Institute for Women produced a similar conclusion about vocational training in women's institutions. Spencer and Berocochea state:

The study failed to demonstrate that vocational training has no effect upon parole outcome. The differences in return to prison between the vocational trainees and comparable subjects who had not received training were slight (Cited in Gibson, 1973:255).

McArthur (1974:16) on the other hand, when referring to this study cites two reasons for the failure of vocational training to have an effect on parole outcome. First, she points out that vocational training courses were largely confined to the same types of jobs, unskilled and semi-skilled positions women had held before entering prison, and second, she contends that placement assistance was inadequate. This may have also been the problem in Ketterling's study. The vocation, business filing, was without much future, as Ketterling mentions that women didn't like the business filing course. The positive gains in the experimental group might be attributed to vocational guidance, since it appears that the positive gains were mainly in seeking assistance.

A high rate of recidivism may be due to the nature of vocational training programs. Particular types of vocational training programs appear to be a good aid in preventing recidivism. This is possibly demonstrated in the two studies presented above. They demonstrate that effective vocational training can be helpful if viewed in the light of the Mertonian model, and if the blame for the failures is placed upon ignoring the differential association model, that is, if we say that the good done was caused by the training itself, and the failures were caused by the person's returning to the same old associations

as before the training. In this we see that vocational training is looked at as only a part of the solution. Any rehabilitative and reintegrative project should not attempt to rely only on one method to reintegrate the offender.

To show need for other extensive programs, it is necessary to compare, contrast, and criticize our basic theories behind criminal behavior. The theories of opportunity and differential association differ mainly in that differential association places the cause for criminality at preexisting criminality (that is, someone has to associate with a criminal, learn the trade, learn the norms etc., before becoming a criminal), while the opportunity theory places the cause at a spontaneous level (that is, crime can generate out of wants, needs, and lack of legitimate means to gain needed ends).

The theory of differential association provides a usable framework for the construction of vocational training programs in postulating that the only block to the offender's reintegration are his criminal associations on the outside. But a higher paying job and job referral services can give an individual primary group contacts with persons unlikely to be engaged in criminal behavior. The differential association theory does not see the lack of opportunity as a cause of criminality because, according to Sutherland, "non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values" (Sutherland, 1966:82). However, Sutherland does not adequately account for the fact that offenders in prison tend to be poor and without legitimate means to obtain their ends.

In view of this, the opportunity theory can be seen as the most supportive of vocational rehabilitation in correctional institutions. However, this theory does not take into consideration several other factors important to rehabilitation. As Nettler points out, it neglects, for example, "the extent to which lawful careers and all they entail are preferred or derided" (Nettler,



1974:160). Although it is assumed the individual unwillingly engages in criminal behavior because she lacks an opportunity, this is not always the case. For example, in an interview Doris Hayes Fenton revealed that the prostitutes she had worked with in New Delhi, India, preferred the better pay and excitement of competing with other girls to hook a male customer. To these offenders vocational training did not appeal, and upon release they intended to go back to the soliciting game. Second, the opportunity theory does not take into consideration the interactions and associations of the offender as a cause for her criminality and a part of her rehabilitative plan; rather, only lack of opportunity is seen as needing remedy. If we were to follow the opportunity theory solely, we would be saying, all that is needed is vocational training. Obviously, this is not the case. We must take into consideration both the differential association theory and the opportunity theory with extensive individual programs of vocational training and social reintegration.

The necessity for taking into consideration the differential association theory is seen by the nature of the theory itself, demonstrable in three brief points. 1) It addresses itself to the limitations of the opportunity theory; that is, it considers the extent to which legal work may be positively valued, it considers individual differences, and it explains differential perceptions of opportunities (Nettler, 1974:159-162). 2) It strengthens the rationale for vocational training; that is, it says the vocational training provides an opportunity for persons to earn a living while placing them in different relationships in consequence of the new jobs they acquire. 3) It provides us with further evidence that one type of treatment can never cure the problem of criminality; that is, it shows us that vocational training may be a proper prescription for one person whereas another may only need to learn non-criminal leisure time activities.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The treatment model, instead of punishment, is the basis of the present American correctional process. One treatment method is vocational training. Since offenders generally lack job skills upon entering prison, this method seeks to alleviate unemployment problems of released offenders.

Specific types of vocational training programs such as those of cosmetology, nursing, and computer type programs, may affect whether vocational training is an aid in preventing recidivism and thus is in accordance with our treatment model. However, these types of programs appear to be offered on only a limited basis due to several obstacles institutions face. Vocations in demand seem to aid women with opportunity and thus put them into better than their previous associations. These are also vocations in which numbers of women are found in larger society. Since offenders generally have problems obtaining employment due to the stigma of a prison record, training women for employment in vocations which women are not found in would raise another problem.

Community cooperation is also needed to aid in rehabilitation and reintegration of the individual. Some obstacles to vocational training programs in women's correctional institutions may be overcome by transferring vocational training to the community as much as possible. The offender can be offered a wide diversity of programs while she remains in the more natural environment, an environment to which she will return. Not only will she be trained in a vocation, but upon release she will be able to fit into her natural environment. The community must not only become involved in the training but must be ready to help offenders when released. Prisons return women to communities after

attempting to help them overcome their lack of education and preparation for employment. But communities must pick up where correctional institutions leave off; that is, they must grant community and job acceptance. This does not require appropriation from legislatures. It might be concluded that correctional institutions cannot work alone in trying to rehabilitate and reintegrate any one individual; their responsibility legally ends when offenders are released. If the community is interested in preventing recidivism, then when our prisons release offenders, the community must assume responsibility.

The type of women's vocational training programs and community acceptance are not the only factors which affect rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. It might also be concluded that vocational training should be offered with such programs as job placement assistance and vocational guidance. Job placement assistance is further needed to insure that offenders obtain jobs suitable for their needs and not associated with persons likely to be involved in criminal behavior. Job placement is needed to make sure offenders are given opportunities. Many offenders upon release are barred from certain jobs, due to discrimination. Job placement assistance can arrange interviews and can talk with prospective employers about hiring ex-offenders. Also job placement assistants can look at available jobs to decide whether a particular job will enable an offender to meet her needs and furthermore evaluate and control, to an extent, the types of individuals the offender would be associating with at her job. Thus it appears that assisting an offender in finding a job may be as important as vocational training itself.

Besides job placement assistance further vocational guidance is needed, such as pointing out job possibilities, job skill requirements, monetary rewards of a job, chances of obtaining a job, and the likelihood of certain jobs being available in the future. Vocational guidance is needed since many

offenders come into the criminal justice system because they lack appropriate skills for work which might, through low pay or through interaction with individuals for whom criminality is accepted, force them into criminal behavior. The offender should be guided into vocations that will meet her economic needs and where her associates are less likely to be those adhering to criminal norms. It is further concluded that vocational guidance is needed to assess each individuals assets and to organize each person's vocational training around these assets.

Finally it might be concluded that vocational training alone cannot rehabilitate all offenders. A variety of other services such as counseling, psychiatric help, or other services may be needed. The proper mixture of these services depends on the individual. No one method, including vocational training, can cure all offenders.

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**APPENDIX I**

# VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS IN WOMEN'S PRISONS

State	Nurse's Aide	Licensed Vocational Nurse	Domestic Service	Sewing	Hotel Baking, Cleaning	Laundry	Other Information
Alabama	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Cosmetology, floral design
California	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	IBM word processing (MT/ST), cosmetology, pattern making & grading, manicurist, wiggyery (licensed program)
Colorado	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Janitorial service, food services
Connecticut	Yes	NA	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Deleware	Yes outside	Yes	Yes	Yes	Only as institutional work		
Georgia	Yes	No	Yes	Yes*	NA	Yes	*Institutional sewing, kitchen training
Illinois	No	Being planned*	Being planned*	Yes	On job	Yes	*All programs being improved
Indiana	In plan	No	No	Yes*	No	Yes	*Institutional sewing Beauty school, business cou- rses, 5 go out on vocational release
Iowa	Yes	Yes	On job	Yes	Yes	Yes	Advanced tailoring
Kansas	Yes	*	On job	Yes	On job	Yes	*Available in Leavenworth



VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS IN WOMEN'S PRISONS (cont.)

State	Nurse's Aide	Licensed Vocational Nurse	Domestic Service	Sewing	Hotel Baking, Cleaning	Laundry	Other Information
Kentucky	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Supermarket checkout, upholstery (Jan. 1973)
Maine	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Maryland	No	No	No	Yes	On work release	Yes	
Massachusetts	NA	NA	On job	On job	Yes	Yes	
Minnesota	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Food service program, Sauk Centre program
Missouri	Yes	No	No	On job	Yes	Yes	Cosmetology- - can be licensed
Nebraska	NA	NA	NA	Yes	Yes*	NA	*Hotel rehabilitation program - Beginning vocational rehabilitation programs
Nevada	No	NA	NA	Yes*	Yes	Yes	*Institutional sewing
New Jersey	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Beauty culture, electronics assembly
New York	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Beauty culture
North Carolina	Yes	No	NA	Yes	Yes	Yes	

## VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS IN WOMEN'S PRISONS (cont.)

State	Nurse's Aide	Licensed Vocational Nurse	Domestic Service	Sewing	Hotel Baking, Cleaning	Laundry	Other Information
Ohio	On job	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Oregon			Programs too new to report				
Pennsylvania	Yes	NA	NA	Yes	NA	Yes	
Rhode Island			Women's State Reformatory has closed				
South Carolina	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Any vocation requested if it is available in the community
Tennessee	On job*	On job*	On job*	Yes	Yes	No	*Only on work details Cosmetology, dental techni- cian added
Texas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Cosmetology, floristry, horticulture
Virginia	NA	NA	On job	Yes	On job	On job	Cosmetology, business
West Virginia	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Yes	W.V. planned to expand the vocational training after Jan.1972. No reply to fol- low-up questionnaire
Washington	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	
Wisconsin	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Key: NA-no answer given *-see Other Information column							

Source: Adapted from Edna Walkner Chandler, Women in Prison (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1973), p. 130-131.

## APPENDIX II



## VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS (cont.)

MALE PRISONS		TOTAL		MALE PRISONS	
Frank Lee (Ala.)		9		State Pen.	
Atmore		5		Training Center	
Draper		9		Lincoln (Neb.)	
Holman		0		Clinton (N.Y.)	
Cal. Corr. (Cal.)		12		Elmira	
Cal. Inst.		6		Green Haven	
Folsom		7		Wallkill	
San Quentin		13		Chillicothe (O.)	
Cheshire (Conn.)		6		Lebanon	
Osborn		7		Marion	
Menard (Ill.)		9		So.O.Cor.	
Pontiac		7		State Ref.	
Statesville		7		State Cor. (Oreg.)	
State Farm (Ind.)		3		State Pen.	
State Pris.		8		Rockview (Pa.)	
State Ref.		9		Camp Hill	
Ionia (Mich.)		5		Dallas	
Jackson		6		Grateford	
State Pris. (Minn.)		11		Huntingdon	
State Ref.		17		Pittsburgh	
Parchman (Miss.)		9		Reg. Cor.	
Int. Ref. (Mo.)		9		Monroe (Wash)	
				Shelton	
				Walla Walla	



VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN WOMEN'S PRISONS

by

DEBORAH KAY FRENCH

B. S., Kansas State University, 1974

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
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1976

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report was to examine vocational training programs in womens correctional institutions, which are designed to return the female offender to society as a law-abiding person.

This report is a descriptive summary of vocational training programs in womens correctional institutions and an evaluation of these programs in terms of jobs available in vocationally trained areas, post release utilization of vocational training, and what effect training has upon recidivism of female offenders.

The material gathered for this report was a review of available books and articles.

This study suggests that the type of vocational training a woman receives in prison may have an effect on vocational training's value, if preventing recidivism is the goal.